

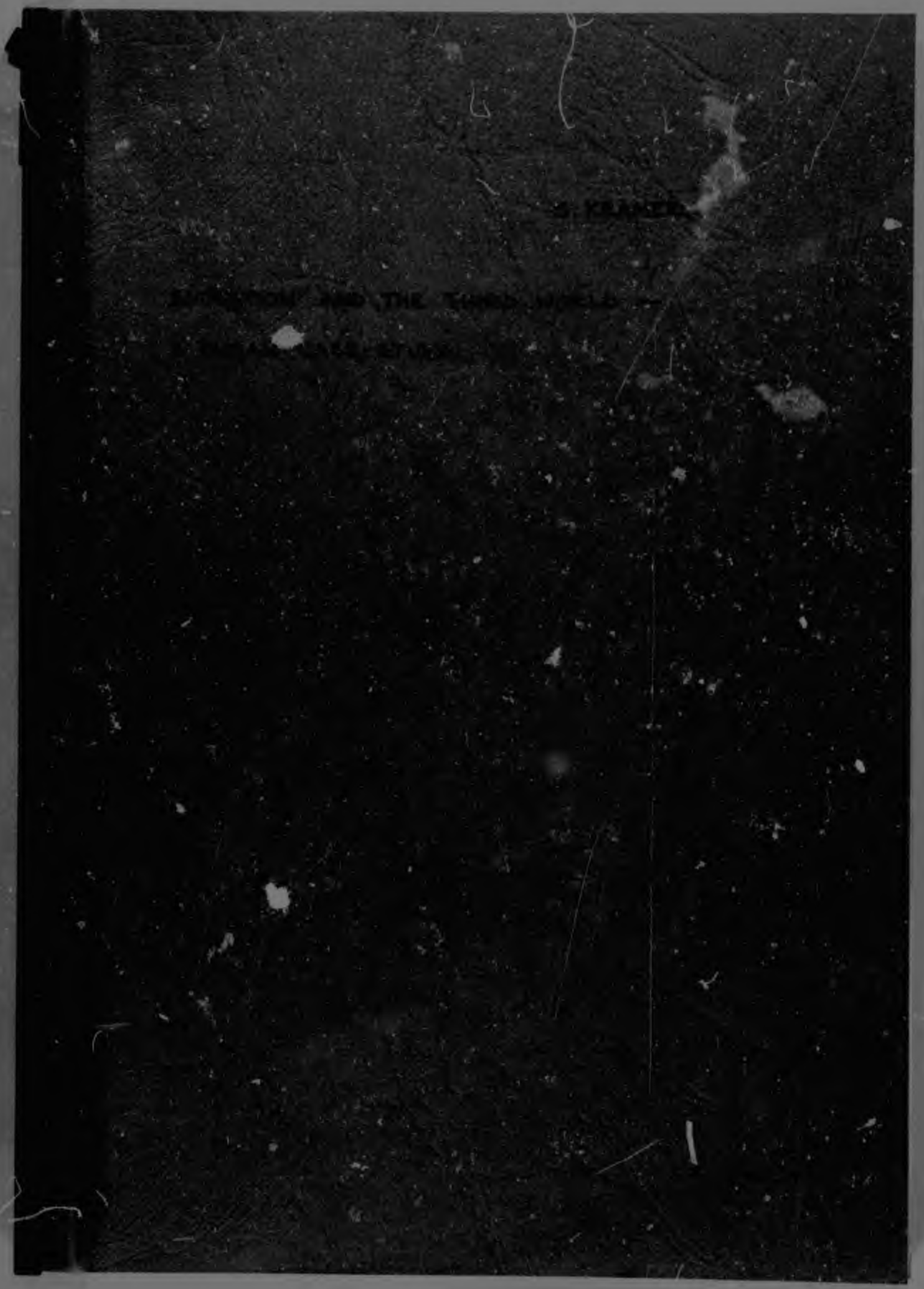
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Education and the third world in a Cuban case-study

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EDUCATION AND THE THIRD WORLD - A CUBAN CASE-STUDY.

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ABSTRACT

An examination of literature dealing with Third World education reveals a fundamental difference between the concept of education held by contemporary Anglo-American philosophers and that held by educational development-planners in the Third World. Generally, the Western philosophers have a broader view of what goes to make up the "educated man", an idea associated with concepts such as rationality, critical judgement, knowledge, understanding, objectivity, and intrinsically worthwhile pursuits. This paper attempts to contrast this Western philosophy with the writings of some of the development-planners of the Third World, where man, rather than being "educated", is expected to be "useful" to his community. Is this view justifiable, existing as it does, in countries where resources are scarce and where "knowledge for its own sake" may perhaps be considered a luxury ? Should not the basic physiological needs of the people be catered to first, before the other so-called "higher" needs? The role that the education system may play in the former sense is through the development of trained manpower, and of a leadership cadre which will guide the country in its movement towards national sovereignty.

The paper presents Cuba as a case-study of a Third World country. Although not wholly typical of other developing nations, Cuba is of interest to educationalists due to the manner in which the education system has been inextricably interwoven with the social and political policies existing in Cuba since the Revolution in 1959, and the educational innovations which have been introduced in post-revolutionary Cuba. Cuban education aims at the levelling of social inequalities, at becoming a force for economic development, and at the creation of the new socialist man.

Some of Cuba's achievements in the educational sphere cannot fail to inspire admiration. On the other hand, the Marxist-Leninist philosophies upon which they are founded, may provoke serious opposition and criticism. In aiming at the formation of the "useful" man,

and all the political implications associated with this idea, is the Third World aiming at a goal which will destroy man as a critical, unique individual capable of rational, unindoctrinated thought? Or is indoctrination a necessary part of this "education"? If so, future prospects look bleak.

PREFACE

I am indebted to Professor A.P. Hunter of the University of the Witwatersrand for stimulating my interest in the topic, and for his guidance, humour, warmth and encouragement during my travails.

I would also like to thank Wally Morrow and Don Margetson for their memorable teaching which has contributed in a true sense to what one hopes may be called my "education".

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INTRODUCTION

This paper will attempt to come to some understanding of the following issue: Is "education" for the developing Third World countries to be evaluated according to the same principles as our concept of education in the developed Western world?

A brief survey of some contemporary Western philosophy of education will be made. This will be contrasted with some of the priorities and aims of education as a prerequisite for "development". A brief case-study of educational policies and reforms in post-revolutionary Cuba will serve as an example, albeit not wholly typical, of a developing nation.

The problem under consideration may be summarized as follows: Is education merely a means to some extrinsic state of affairs, or does it have no other goal, as some philosophers maintain, than the development of the educated man?

To use the terminology of T.S.Kuhn (1962), the paradigm within which contemporary philosophers of education work is different from, and may conflict with the framework of concepts used by educational development-planners. Their points of departure, their comprehension and interpretation of the available "facts"; the problems they attempt to solve, have little common meeting ground. To several philosophers, the concept of education is associated with concepts of autonomy, rationality, critical thought, intrinsic worth, interest, knowledge and understanding, objectivity and truth. To others, and most specifically to development planners, education must be utilitarian and is linked with goals such as nation-building, training of man-power, economic development, political socialization and the creation of a leadership cadre.

Perhaps it is possible for the two paradigms to merge. Post-revolutionary Cuba will serve as a case-study to examine whether this merging has been achieved, or if education, when it is placed in a position of subservience to other goals, must necessarily become distorted into related concepts such as schooling, training or indoctrination.

CHAPTER 1

THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

It is not with the radical "deschoolers" of Western educational circles that I wish to contrast the development-planners, but with the rather more purist approach of British academia. What follows is necessarily brief and selective, but provides, hopefully, a working outline of what "education" may be understood to entail.

Education has to do with know'edge and understanding - knowledge in depth and breadth - not simply "know-how or a knack", or a too narrow specialization (Hirst,P.H. and Peters,R.S.(1970)(p 25). A distinction must be made between educating a man and training him, because education is not compatible with any "narrowly-conceived enterprise".

In this sense, a man who is becoming educated is changing to a significant degree, and this change - (and this second point is strongly emphasized by Hirst and Peters) - is necessarily change in a worthwhile and desirable direction. What may be considered to be worthwhile becomes a rather cumbersome issue, not entirely satisfactorily solved by Peters's "transcendental argument" (Peters R.S. 1966).

One can more easily come to grips with Hirst's elaboration of what knowledge may encompass. Knowledge, according to Hirst, is not relative, as has been proposed by, amongst others, Mannheim, Marx and Kuhn. Knowledge is an accumulated history of man's attempt to understand and appreciate the world we live in. Man may be said to view the world from various distinctive perspectives. These may be elaborated upon, or brought into focus more precisely, but there remain certain definable "modes of understanding" or inter-related conceptual frameworks which Hirst describes as "forms of knowledge", each with a conceptual network peculiar to itself, and each possessing its own unique tests for truth and validity, and its own standards of objectivity (Hirst,P.H., in Archambault,R.D.(ed.) 1965). In fact, Hirst makes a bold attempt to outline eight such branches: mathematics, empirical science, human science, morality, aesthetics, philosophy, religion and history. These are the "public modes of experience".

Education is the development of the rational mind, and the educated man must be competent to exercise his rational and critical judgement in each of these various form of understanding and to distinguish between them and their appropriate tests for truth.

Hirst's exact classification of knowledge into eight branches may be disputed, or regarded as merely provisional; but his approach to the problem of knowledge and its connection with education seems to be useful and sound. If it is found to be acceptable, his thesis provides grounds for suggestions of a universal and compulsory programme of study for the development of the ideal of the educated man, be he Briton, Ugandan or Pole.

To return now to the central issue of what is worthwhile in education: why, for instance, are these "forms of knowledge" more worthwhile than, as has been suggested, skittles, pin-ball, or blowing up frogs with bicycle pumps?

A. Philips-Griffiths (1965) distinguishes between activities which are regarded as an end and those which are considered as a means. No activity is of much value unless it is guided by certain recognized standards of achievement or failure and necessitates some degree of strenuous effort. Activities of value are said to be "absorbing", "interesting", "fascinating", and are varied and capable of infinite development without mere repetition of modes of action. Such activities possess "reciprocity". They require us to give varied and unpredictable responses. Our action is not merely mechanical but totally absorbing.

Griffiths makes an interesting observation which is of relevance to what is to be discussed later as regards Third World education:

> "Some very important activities derive their value from their effects rather than what they are in themselves. We may continue with them very wisely when they are mechanical, uninteresting, effortless or dull; but unless we are mad this will only be because we are concerned with some further end they happen to serve. Emptying dustbins neatly might, just possibly, be an interesting task at first, but it would make an odd permanent hobby. Nevertheless the efficient disposal of waste is undoubtedly of the utmost

> value. But we must not, because impressed by the important by-products of human activity, forget that some human activities have a value of their own. Emptying dustbins will, we hope, one day be done entirely by machines; but not our dancing or our conversation".

To pursue an activity as an end in itself is to learn to love that activity, and the pursuit of learning - the study of history, physics or philosophy - is undeniably an activity whose objects possess reciprocity and universality. They are public and objective in a way that other activities are not, and they all involve the pursuit of truth.

An interesting observation may be made: the so-called "liberal-arts" i.e. the humanities and the social sciences, are often contrasted with those studies having an immediate utility such as engineering, business-administration, forestry etc. But, what makes the distinction should not be the field of study, but the way in which it is pursued i.e. for its intrinsic interest as opposed to some means to an extrinsic state of affairs. Technological problems may be objective, public problems in exactly the same way as problems of physics or literary criticism.

Similarly, P.Herost in Peters, R.S. (ed.)(1973), distinguishes between work and labour to illustrate his concept of an activity of intrinsic worth. Work is absorbing, has standards of excellence and has as its "opus" the search for truth. Labour, on the other hand, is alienating and demands some form of extrinsic reward.

The accounts of P.S.Wilson (1971) and R.S.Peters (1966) both focus upon the difference between intrinsic and extrinsic justifications of educational activities. Peters distinguishes between "curriculum activities" and games, both of which are pursued "for their own sake". However, curriculum activities "are associated with a certain seriousness about their cognitive content, and are not "hived off from the business of living". Activities such as science, history, etc, are "serious in that they illuminate other areas

of life." They have a wide-ranging cognitive content which "spills over and transforms a man's view of life". But most importantly, these activities are connected with a "search for truth"; and some activities more than others best exemplify, or most explicitly embody disciplined, rational enquiry, and thus should be at the centre of a compulsory, universal curriculum.

It is here that the view of P.E. Wilson disagrees with that of Peters (and Hirst). At the centre of Wilson's argument is that the learner should be motivated by interest, by absorption in the matter being studied, and that <u>any</u> activity which is not harmful, trivial, dangerous or immoral, if pursued in a disciplined manner, is intrinsically worthwhile and thus educationally justifiable.

> "If he is seriously studying the doing of <u>anything</u>, then he is engaged already in trying to be more rational about it .... What is of fundamental importance educationally is whether or not his inquiries (whatever they are), are being engaged in for their intrinsic interest. What makes his curriculum educationally worthwhile is not the presence on it of any particular school subject, but the presence <u>in</u> it of serious thought about <u>whatever</u> he is doing". (p86).

Wilson attacks the "needs" approach to the justification of education. Needs presupposes goals , which in turn, precuppose values, and societal and individual needs may often conflict. Schooling is then seen as a means to an end which lies outside the process itself. Schooling may indeed be justified in these terms, but not so education.

The educative task of teachers is to help learners to understand and appreciate more fully, and to practise more effectively, some of the things which they find interesting, and to help them to choose sensibly which of their interests to follow. Education is whatever develops the learner's capacity for valuing, and his inclination to pursue what is valued in a disciplined manner, so that he will come to see more of its intrinsic significance.

In Wilson's terms of education, the only "use" of education is to get people more educated, and its only end is more education. Similarly, the only "needs" which education satisfies are educational

needs. So, in a sense, we cannot ask what external features "justify" education.

> "On this view, whether the actual activities in which pupils are engaged are cookery, gardening, mathematics, cricket, hopscotch, wall-climbing, history or anything else, is of no particular educational significance ..." (p83).

This is a fairly extreme view, countered in part by Philips-Griffiths's description, mentioned earlier, of the reciprocity of certain fields of study, as compared with others.

Balancing delicately and usefully between the two more extreme and opposing views of Peters and Wilson, is J.P.White's "Towards a Compulsory Curriculum"(1973). The argument is that the "objectives of curricula should be the same for all children". There may often be considerations which override the application of the moral principle of liberty - (in this case, freedom to learn whatever one wishes to learn). These considerations have to do with, firstly, the general good or the good of society, and secondly, with the individual's own good. This poses the traditional philosophical problem of what embodies the "Good for Man".

White recognizes the logical priority of intrinsic over extrinsic good. "What is good extrinsically is good ultimately as a means to something good in itself." (p7). Many activities may be worthwhile in themselves, but it does not follow that they are <u>educationally</u> worthwhile. Conversely, if it cannot be shown that science and art are intrinsically worthwhile for <u>everyone</u> - (someone may still prefer playing the horses) - it still remains possible that they are educationally so.

All children must come to know about the whole range of activities and "ways of life" which they will have to choose from. If this instruction entails a "temporary" restriction of liberty, it is, so White maintains, to ensure the child's autonomy at a later stage.

White divides intrinsically worthwhile activities into two categories: Category 1 activities are those which have to be formally taught,

as no understanding of the activity is logically possible without actually engaging in the activity.
Category 2 activities are those of which <u>some</u> understanding is possible without the individual engaging in the activity.

Examples of Category 1 activities are given as - (and the list does not presume to be exhaustive) - mathematics, communication (language), physical science, aesthetics, philosophy.

Examples of Category 2 activities are foreign languages, cookery, cricket, woodwork, and other vocational or leisure activities.

Category 1 activities open the door to an understanding of all sorts of Category 2 activities; for instance, a knowledge of a mother-tongue facilitates an understanding of what it might be like to speak a foreign language.

The consequences for the curriculum of this dichotomy of activities are that, given that a pupil must come to understand all possible kinds of activity before his education can be said to be "complete", he must be compelled to engage in those activities which are unintelligible without such engagement, i.e. Category 1 activities. However, "compulsory initiation must be kept to a basic minimum."

In the same way, pupils must be given some understanding of the various "ways of life" or guiding principles by which men live, e.g. the pursuit of truth, altruism, power, wealth; and towards this goal, "subjects" such as history, philosophy and literature play a significant role - in this sphere, as a means to an end.

White also emphasizes the "practical component" of the curriculum - that which enables the learner to integrate what he has learned and to understand the relationship of means to ends, and the obstacles in the way of achieving these ends. He suggests that some understanding of economics, political science, sociology, psychology, and most importantly, information concerning careers and job-opportunities, are an integral part of the school's educational activity.

"A rational education should give due weight to extrinsic and intrinsic values". (p60).

White argues against Hirst's thesis that one cannot ask for a justification of education, as to ask for a justification of rationality is to be committed already to seeking rational knowledge in the very asking of the question and the seeking after reasons. White maintains that education is, nevertheless, instrumental: its goal is the development of autonomous persons.

R.F.Dearden, in his article, "The Aims of Primary Education", (Dearden, R.F. in Peters, R.S. (ed) 1969), attempts to wade through the difficult issue of what is valuable, and thus, what should be included in an educative curriculum. Despite our "pluralistic" society, there does remain a quite substantial consensus on what is basically valuable for personal and social competence in our form of life.

Dearden emphasizes the value of personal autonomy. The autonomous person is contrasted with the indoctrinated person; he is able to test the truth of things for himself by the critical evaluation of all available evidence. Autonomy implies choice, and Dearden makes an important observation: "..... granted that it is I who am to understand and choose, then what is worth understanding and what deserves to be chosen?" (p 32).

The curriculum problem is far from solved by acceptance of the principle of autonomy. This principle - autonomy, the exercise of choice - presupposes a well-grounded <u>understanding</u> of one's situation in the world; an insight into the basic ways in which human experience has, as a matter of historical fact, been developed and elaborated. This brings us back to Hirst's outline of the forms of knowledge which have a central connection with the exercise of personal autonomy. Autonomy presupposes some mastery of an appropriate body of knowledge or skills. This initiation is essential before individuals can sensibly "strike out on their own". Without this basic content, reference to "autonomy" becomes a meaningless, pseudo-liberal gesture.

Let us now move on to what may be described as a more utilitarian understanding of the concept of education. I have chosen as a succinct and lucid example of such thought, Robin Barrow's chapter on "What Is Worthwhile" (Chap.11 , 1975).

Barrow maintains that no activity is necessarily worthwhile. The criterion of worthwhileness is pleasure, pleasure for both the agent and for society. However, some activities, because of their nature, have a more instrumental value than others. How do we choose between Bingo and literature if both activities give an individual equal amounts of pleasure? "A reasonable contention is ..... that the community would suffer more if it lost the sort of people who take pleasure in literature than if it lost the sort of people who take pleasure in Bingo." (p 159).

Thus, there are some activities which contribute more to increasing pleasure generally, i.e. in society as a whole, and it would be desirable that people should come to find pleasure in such activities. It is through education that people may be initiated into, and come to take pleasure in activities that they may not otherwise have taken pleasure in. Education should attempt to develop people who will want to contribute to the maximization of pleasure in the community.

What are the desirable characteristics which educational activities should cultivate ? Barrow suggests the following three: a tendency to want to know the reason why; a concern for coherent reasoning and ability in reasoning; a concern to understand other people and an ability to do so. These characteristics would go some way towards preventing unjustified and dogmatic conviction, error, and failure to take account of others, and in these ways must contribute to the sum of happiness. It is an empirical matter as to which activities most effectively achieve these ends.

Barrow distinguishes between different types of knowledge or ways of reasoning. There is philosophical knowledge - knowledge which cannot be arrived at by empirical enquiry; secondly, there is scientific knowledge which revolves around empirical enquiry; and thirdly, there is mathematics, which is accorded a "sui generis"

status. Participation in these three activities might develop two of the three desirable characteristics; curiosity and rationality. Barrow's third desirable characteristic, that of empathy, is promoted, so he maintains, through the study of literature.

Thus, what is educationally worthwhile for all children, he suggests, is initiation into literature, moral philosophy, mathematics and history - literature, as it is likely to promote empathy; moral philosophy, as this the most appealing representative of spheres of philosophical enquiry; mathematics because of its unique status and its utility; and history, (perhaps the least well-argued case), as the"vehicle for initiating the child into scientific knowledge".

The utilitarian argument, which is of major significance when we move on to consider the role of education in the Third World, is that pursuits or activities are the more worthwhile insofar as they tend to promote pleasure, and that it would be more worthwhile for people to take pleasure in those activities which contribute to the promotion of pleasure in general rather than in those activities which only provide immediate pleasure for the agent.

Thus, education is not seen as an initiation into intrinsically worthwhile activities, but as a means to human happiness, and specifically, the happiness of the community at large. If it could be proved that concern for the development of rationality would be likely to lead to more misery than the cultivation of irrationality would do, then the cultivation of irrationality would be preferable. But we have no reason to accept this belief.

In summary, we have elaborated on the concept of education as having to do with initiation into worthwhile knowledge and understanding. Where philosophies may diverge is in their clarification of exactly which activities are worthwhile. Opinions range from the valuing of any activity solely because of its interest to the individual, to activities which are necessarily of value to everyone because they most embody rational thought as found

within the various forms of knowledge, to more utilitarian and "needs"-based views of education as being of value both to the individual and to society in general. In the following chapter we shall see how the extrinsic value of education is emphasized to a greater extent with regard to the "uses" and "goals" of education in the developing Third World.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND THE THIRD WORLD

The following quotations from educational planners in developing countries may serve to illustrate the wide range of views as regards the role of education:

> "One man who creates goods is better than ten men who think and create nothing".
>
> (Guinean Republic Party Conference Quoted by Sekou Touré in Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon (eds.), 1965)

> "Certainly, most people would agree that education is desirable even if it contributed nothing to material output."
>
> (W. Arthur Lewis, in Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon (eds.), 1965)

W. W. Rostow has pointed out that in developed countries, three main interests have competed for attention: power in the world, the increased welfare of the people, and the mass consumption of goods and services. In developing societies, there may also be said to be three dominating concerns: economic development, the growth of political unity and nationhood, and the maintenance of a particular social system. It is believed that education has a part to play in all of these considerations.(Curle,A. (p76) (1973).

The present chapter does not aim to define what education actually does achieve, but what development-planners and educationalists maintain that it should achieve. In other words, the discussion is not focussed around whether education (or schooling) actually is a prerequisite for economic development, for example: what is illustrated here is how development-planners in the educational sphere define their concept of education and its role in the developing countries, and what other concepts are linked together with this concept of education.

Perhaps a note to counter extreme views of knowledge as being culture-relative would be appropriate before we launch into the discussion below: It may be objected that education and knowledge are relative to the "needs" of each particular society and therefore

there cannot be any useful comparative study made across cultural barriers. However, in its extreme form, this thesis does not stand up well to scrutiny. For objective knowledge is not relative to the individual who tries to understand the world he lives in. We share a common reality, or, in Wittgenstein's terms, a common "form of life" (Hamlyn, D.W., in Dearden, Hirst and Peters (eds) (1972). How we conceptualize our understanding of the world is not a matter of mere convention.

> "It is not a matter of convention that human beings are what they are and have the perceptual apparatus that they have; and it is not a matter of convention that the world is as it is and that things affect our senses in the way that they do. Given this, there are clearly limits to the extent to which our concepts may change."
>
> (Hamlyn, D.W., in Dearden, Hirst and Peters (eds) 1972).

If, as Kuhn maintains (Kuhn, T.S. 1962), we live in different "paradigms", each one almost impenetrable to inhabitants of the other, and there are no ultimate, hard facts, from where do Kuhn's "anomalies" originate, if not from rubbing up against the <u>real</u> reality which, by implication, must exist?

Although few educationalists may maintain that knowledge itself is culture-relative, many philosophies of education may have their origins in this line of thought. For instance, Wallace (Wallace, A.F.C., quoted in Paulston, R.G., 1972), has outlined a number of provocative propositions concerning the value orientations of a society and its learning priorities. In answer to the question: "What should a man learn?" he contends that this will always be more or less imposed by the community and by its culture. From this perspective, education is a cultural process to produce functional adults in any given society. What a man is expected to do in his life will depend upon the society in which he lives; and what he is expected to do determines what he is expected to learn.

What are the "needs" of a developing country? What is this "developed" state of society that is considered to be more desirable than the present state? What is "development" - obviously a value-laden term which would benefit from a little clarification?

A Dutch team of social scientists at the University of Amsterdam have attempted, with a considerably scholarly and methodical approach, to tackle this question. (Droogleever Fortuijn, A.B. and Oud, P.J. (eds) 1974). They define the concept of development in terms of the realization of values and go about this task by giving a general survey of studies - sociological and psychological - of the needs, values and goals of man and how these relate to education. Their aim is to construct a fairly comprehensive synthesis of the many studies of human values, and to focus upon whether or not consensus exists as to a set of values that is more or less universal.

As a result of the team's survey of theoretical literature including the writing of Maslow, Myrdal, Dahl and Lindblom, Etzioni, Lasswell and Kaplan and others, as well as a study of several policy speeches of Third World leaders, they are able to formulate a definition of the concept of development:

> "Development is a process that leads to a situation in which all members of a social system live in freedom and equality i.e. a social system that provides for equality of power of all its members by guaranteeing each member equal opportunity to maintain or increase to the same extent..... his participation in decision-making, knowledge and wealth, as required for his optimal degree of physical and mental wellbeing".
>
> (p 42)

The team concludes that the central values implied in the literature from developing countries can be seen to correspond with the values predominating in the theoretical literature. A set of human values is formulated as follows: physical wellbeing, mental wellbeing, participation in decision-making, knowledge and wealth.

The following analysis is a summary of the investigations of the Dutch team:

1. Physical wellbeing: the physical health and security, the unimpaired maintenance of the human organism - including the satisfaction of biological needs; this consists of the following compenents:

(a) absence of hunger, thirst, sickness and defects;

(b) sexual satisfaction;

(c) alternation of stimulation and rest of the senses (e.g. waking and sleeping);

(d) appropriate physical environment (protection against climatic conditions).

2. Mental wellbeing: the psychological complement of physical wellbeing, consisting of the following components:

(a) freedom and equality: perception of equality of power;

(b) self-realization, the development and expression of one's own capabilities, (inter-alia: creative capabilities);

(c) security: the perception of order, predictability of events, and safety;

(d) belongingness: being a member of groups that one likes;

(e) affection: the perception of being liked or loved (or the active reciprocal: altruism);

(f) variation in activities;

(g) aesthetic satisfaction.

3. Participation in decision-making: the opportunity to influence the decisions that concern oneself.

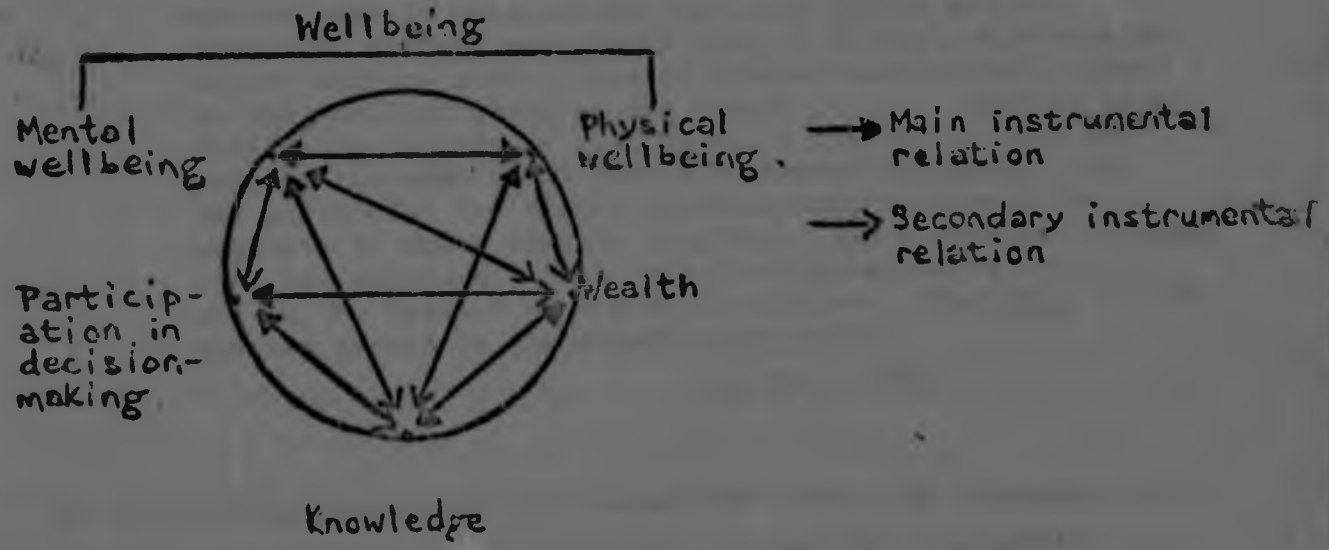
4. Knowledge: to know and understand the nature of things, as well as the skill to apply these insights.

5. Wealth: the ownership or use of material goods of any kind.

(p 38)

It is the value of knowledge which is most closely connected with educational institutions.

The diagram below (Droogleever et al p 39), shows that each value is not only an end in itself - (an intrinsic value), but also an instrument for the realization of other values. Wealth and knowledge in particular, have a high instrumentality with regard to all other values, while the intrinsic character is most pronounced in the case of mental and physical well-being.



(p39)

Where, in the last chapter, the emphasis was on the intrinsic worth of education, knowledge, as seen in the preceding diagram, has a direct bearing on all of the other values mentioned, and can be instrumental in the creation and maintenance of physical and mental wellbeing, power and wealth. Where then, do we find a place for the pursuit of "knowledge for its own sake?"

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania writes with typical clarity, (Nyerere, J.K. (1968):

> "The pursuit of pure learning can be a luxury in society; whether it is or not depends upon the conditions in which that society lives; ..... when people are dying because existing knowledge is not applied, when the very basic social and public services are not available to all members of a society, then that society is misusing its resources if it pursues pure learning for its own sake ..... Extending the frontiers of knowledge is important for humanity..... But in all things there are priorities, and we have to look at the immediate future and the immediate present and decide what it is that universities in our kind of society can at present most usefully give to the world of which we are a part ..... Whether in a developing country or elsewhere, a university does not deserve the name if it does not promote thinking. But our particular urgent problems must influence the subjects to which thought is given, and they must influence too, the approach both in university-promoted research and in the content of degree syllabuses, the <u>needs</u> of our country should be the determining factor".
>
> (p 179 - 186)

An interesting suggestion made along these lines by Todaro, (Bellagio Conference Papers, (19??), is that the university, instead of being organized according to the traditional faculty framework, could be focussed around major national development problem areas, for example, university divisions such as Agricultural Production and Supply - (production, resource use, prices, wages, finance, mechanization, storage, marketing, and formal and non-formal education); Economic and Social Affairs - (population problems, poverty and unemployment, rural and urban development, social and economic policy); Division of Health - (medicine, nursing, paraprofessionals, nutrition, etc.); Division of Cultural Affairs - (languages,

cultural studies, arts, literacy). Other development problems such as industrial production, housing, power and water-supply, transport, fuels, and communication facilities could also be tackled by similar divisions with the needed disciplinary inputs.

Most thought concerning the expected role of education in under-developed countries falls into four main categories, between which the dividing lines are often hazy. The four functions of education may be seen as the development of a competent labour-force; nation-building; the creation of a leadership cadre; and social and socio-cultural development.

Due to the influence of resolutions agreed upon at a conference of African states on the Development of Education in Africa, jointly organized and convened by the Director-General of UNESCO and the Executive Secretary of the U.N.Economic Commission for Africa, held in Addis Ababa in 1961, it is now becoming a part of the philosophy of education in contemporary Africa and elsewhere in the Third World, that education should be geared to manpower needs.

Traditional education has always existed in these countries. For instance, in Africa, education was informal and imparted by the older generation to the young. Everything the young were taught had relevance to the life and culture of the community and to the life they were expected to lead. The goals of traditional education were clear. Skills for coping with the environment and for making a living were taught. In their conditions, and with the available knowledge and technology, the skills to be learned were few, and could be imparted through informal methods. Traditional Africa did not have open to it the different occupations and specializations that the introduction of Western science and technology and the beginnings of industrialization have made available and essential. In the new situation, training the young to earn their living is discussed in terms of facilities for producing technologists, scientists, engineers, doctors, economists, administrators, teachers and the like, but all this is basically an extension of the traditional concept of imparting to the young the skills necessary for successfully coping with the environment.

Richard Jolly (1969) writes that the central economic question of our time is why some countries grow faster than others. Few persons with recent experience of the less developed countries of the world doubt the need for their social and economic development. Expanding education is seen as a vital part of this development.

Literacy levels and school and university enrolments are now commonly used as statistical measures of development. In developed countries, according to Jolly, it is clear that increased productivity has resulted from not only an expansion of the labour force and physical capital, but from education and training. In developing countries, development demands an infrastructure, in particular, an educated and enterprising labour force. This interest in education was emphasized by Vaizey, ("The Economics of Education", 1962), Clark, ("Cost and Quality of Public Education", 1963), and others.

Some progress has been made by practitioners in developing countries in manpower planning as a technique for estimating the numbers of engineers, craftsmen, etc., that must be trained if development is to proceed. The aim is to analyse the economic problem in operational terms, both on the side of demand and supply. Manpower planning begins with the number of educated persons needed to achieve certain objectives and works back to the numbers of students which must be enrolled to produce the required "future stocks".

> "It is only be a quantitative manpower approach that a nation can make its choices clear: how many students it should sent to university; in what year every man will know how to read and what must be sacrificed to make this possible."
>
> (Jolly, R., (1969)(p xvi).

In this sense, education becomes a matter of minimizing costs and maximizing returns to investment of human resources. Areas of concern associated with this central issue are the employment of graduates - (the number of graduates often exceeds the absorptive

capacity of the as yet underdeveloped economy); the "qualification spiral" where increasingly higher academic qualifications are demanded as the number of graduates grows; adult, rural, vocational and technical education, and in-service training; wage-structures, and the political strategy of winning national support by extending educational facilities.

Fundamental to this approach, as we have noted, is the assumption that schooling is a means to an end - not necessarily an economic end, as the demand for educated persons may be for political, social, or any other reasons - but an end in the sense that "the purpose of schooling is to become educated rather than to enjoy the process of schooling for its own sake ..... Individuals see beyond the process of schooling to the benefit it will bring them later", writes Jolly, (p 143).

(The conceptual gaps in the terminology used in Chapter 1 and here are clearly illustrated in the above quotation).

Jolly does not argue the point that education in the Third World should be primarily needs-based; he assumes this as inevitable. He writes that once the demand for education to meet the needs of the economy has been determined, the demand for other purposes can be added to it. He does add that usually, economic priorities for man-power will exceed non-economic priorities at the higher educational levels, and so determine the quantity of education to be provided; while at the lower levels, the reverse is generally true, and social and political factors will be the crucial ones. The desired "stocks" of educated persons can be based on whatever motives enter the considerations of those responsible for making the policy - the need for a literate electorate, the political desirability of offering primary education to all, i.e. equality of educational opportunity, the social advantages of giving everyone in the population a minimum basic education, etc.

> "The need to adapt every element of the school system - from the syllabus to the building designs - to the needs of the country cannot be disputed. Education must prepare a student for the life ahead of him, and for the majority in (developing) countries, this means a rural life dependent on agriculture". (p 148)

Cowan, et al writes: (Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon (eds.), 1965):

> "If education is considered as an economic investment, then the expenditures on schools and training programmes should have a high priority in limited budgets ..... but if seen primarily as a social service, it must compete for governmental funds with other social services such as public health".

René Dumont writes about the need for relevance of education under the compelling chapter-title: "If your sister goes to school, your next meal will be your fountain-pen". (Dumont, R., in Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon (eds), 1965). Dumont, among others, insists upon the creation of a predominantly agricultural economy in the underdeveloped country; the training of a rural population, including girls and women, in the more efficient use of land. Instead of this, education is now seen as a means of escape from the land, and a means of entering the elite class of civil servants.

> "Even in the deepest bush, everyone knows that the official with the clean hands makes a nice income without hard work. After a few years of education, few are willing to return to the soil and many join the ranks of the unemployed in the urban areas."

Education must be relevant and useful, and this means agricultural training.

> "It is stupid to insist that exactly the same instruction must be given to the son of a Paris workman and to a Betsileo rice-farmer - people who come from totally different environments."
>
> (p 207)

Education must not train people who are "crippled in their fingers". Education must be tied to productive work. This is not a "cut-rate" education. Dumont reminds us that Europe could not provide free, universal education until it had reached a stage of economic development that most underdeveloped countries have not yet reached.

It is interesting to note that the work of Dumont has strongly influenced the "self-sufficiency" policy of Nyerere in Tanzania.

Another influential educationalist, P.H.Coombs, (1973), has formulated a list of"minimum essential learning needs":

(a) Positive attitudes toward co-operation with and help of one's own family and fellow-men, toward work and toward community and national development; not least of all, toward continued learning and toward the development of ethical values;

(b) Functional literacy and numeracy;

(c) A scientific outlook, and an elementary understanding of the processes of nature;

(d) Functional knowledge and skills for raising a family and operating a household;

(e) Functional knowledge and skills for earning a living;

(f) Functional knowledge and skills for civic participation.

This summary reveals a broader view of the role of schooling, emphasizing priorities other than economic, and links Coombs with educationists such as A.A. Busia (1964), who perceives education in a fuller sense. He concedes that as education in the under-developed countries is linked to the building of new societies, the raising of standards of living must be one of its most urgent tasks.

> "This emphasis, however, tends to becloud the ultimate goal. There has been a tendency to see development solely in materialistic terms - in roads, harbours, buildings, factories and the like; and this in turn tends to obscure the fact that the aim in securing these things is to create the environmental conditions which will give every individual the best chance of developing his talents and personality to the fullest extent possible, so that he may be as good a human being and citizen as he can be. The tacit postulate of (this) argument ..... is that the economic policy must be based on respect for human dignity and freedom and on a concept of citizenship in a free society."
>
> (p 95)

But the economist is inclined to view education as something of a luxury unless it contributes directly to the "materialist" goals mentioned above.

> "He will have a sharp answer to those who protest that he is not serving the interests of the people. He could hardly do so, he will exclaim, by bankrupting the country.

> If he is allowed freedom to develop rational plans for economic development, there will eventually be enough money to pay for all the education anyone could wish".
>
> (Curle, A., (1973) p 79).

What are the expected functions of schooling in terms of social goals? In the developing countries a new social order is being created, and schools and colleges are seen as instruments for preparing students for the social changes likely to occur in the immediate future as far as they can be foreseen. Busia points out that educating for a new social order compels a consideration of ends. It is essential to have a sense of direction, especially when so much is changing and there is such a flood of new ideas and so much uncertainty about old values and standards. On the one hand is a striving for progress through science and technology, and on the other, for a sense of identity and continuity through a country's own culture. In this way, social change sets various tasks for education.

Education may have a vast social impact in spheres such as literacy, health and hygiene, agricultural and vocational training, and fuller participation in political and civic life. Education need not be limited to the more familiar, formal, institutionalized schooling, but may be broadened to include non-formal and adult education, as well as rural training centres, district farm institutes, social welfare and community departments, youth and voluntary organizations, vocational training schools, in-service training, part-time and correspondance courses, and university extra-mural departments. The scope of non-formal and adult education has been wide and varied. In this sense, education is seen as "an instrument for creating a harmonious community. (Busia, p 58).

Education must attempt to bridge the gaps between literate and illiterate members of a community, and between school and home; to achieve an understanding between different racial or ethnic groups, and to develop active, responsible citizens who may participate in the political process. Thus, education is seen as having an egalitarian aim. "Everyone has a right to education", states UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Again, Busia sounds the liberal note for the creation of what may be called the "educated man" rather than useful cogs in the economic wheel. The ultimate objective of an education system is the development of a certain quality of man and a certain quality of social life. It is in the public interest that the education system develop citizens who are able to exercise the discriminative function of judging issues soundly and responsibly. To do so, there must be freedom of access to different ideas, and to discussion and expression not barred by political expedience, subservience, fear or ideology.

Besides the goals of economic development and social harmony, education may be expected to play a part in the creation of a cultural and national identity. The developing countries often seek to rediscover and preserve their cultural heritage and history neglected under colonial rule, as an expression of their independence and as a sign of their newly-found nationhood. The rise of European nationalism in the 19th century was also associated with this emphasis on education. Contemporary Soviet education too, is well spiced with moral and political indoctrination aimed at the creation of the "New Soviet Man" who will further the aims of the U.S.S.R.

Through education, national and international languages are learned, making possible cohesion between citizens who may have tribal differences, for example, as well as communication between nations. Moreover, education may instill in the student a sense of a nation's cultural heritage and future. In addition, the educated man is capable of being instructed in the "political faith" of his leaders. Viewed in these terms, education is worth almost any price.

A. Curle (1973), maintains that the vigorously pursued economic development as such, is not the principle objective of most developing countries. For a new country - and he points out that more than one third of the nations of the world are less than twenty years old - the establishment of an ideology, an ethos, a way of life, a national identity, is a matter of primary importance. Education may be viewed as an important element in the "mysterious task" of creating a nation.

It is education which is responsible for the creation of the leadership cadre, the literate "ruling class" or group. In a highly developed country, the number of persons whose influence spreads beyond their face relationships is extremely large; but in a developing state, the people with influence are not hard to identify. Power is more concentrated in them, and the scope for the intrusion or self-interest is greater. Education, which often serves to alienate the ruling elite from its background, should foster in the leadership an interest in promoting the welfare of the majority, and the capability to administer its responsibilities with efficiency and judgment.

Curle maintains that it is possible that change towards development may not take place due to the vested interests of the leader-elite who, in their struggle to maintain their position, do not direct their efforts towards the utilization, through such measures as education, of the skills and talents of their people for the development of their country.

Education must create a number of persons sufficiently trained and educated, (in moral terms too), to be professionally and technically indispensable, and sufficiently numerous to compete with each other and not to be subordinated to the power-struggle of the ruling group. This would provide a strong basis for the stable growth of administration, education and technology, through which the latent talents of the population could be developed. This could be described as laying the basis for democracy.

It is clear then, that the question of what could be considered to be an educative curriculum in Third World countries is a complex and problematic one. The needs-based view of schooling cannot be dismissed, but neither may the more intrinsically justified "search for truth". We may sensibly opt for neither one nore the other without a knowledge of the problems pertaining to that particular society with which we are concerned. This is <u>not</u> to say that education is relative to particular cultures, but simply to admit that in differing circumstances, priorities must differ, and education cannot be impervious to the differing demands made upon it.

In assessing new forms of education, we must not limit ourselves to the preconceptions of European or American academic life. This does not mean that we should abandon the search for truth, because without it there can be no worthwhile basis for learning; but we must learn to seek it by new means. To remain obstinately static in changing situations may distort the truth which we are trying to safe-guard.

R.S.Peters (Niblett,W.R. (ed.) 1973) tells of the philosopher who was castigated by the Marxist for trying to understand the world rather than to change it. When asked what he proposed to <u>do</u> when he had achieved the classless society, the Marxist admitted that he might then get around to the sort of thing that the philosopher was doing ..... to which the philosopher replied: "I guess I am ahead of my time then!"

Perhaps this anecdote is useful in that, firstly, it points out the existence of a time-scale by which priorities may be weighed, and secondly, it reaffirms the eventual over-riding worth of the intrinsically justifiable activity.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION IN CUBA : A CASE-STUDY.

Why Cuba is of particular interest to educationalists.

The Cuban revolution has entranced or troubled the minds of scholars, reformers, revolutionaries, publicists and politicians throughout the world. It has done so because of the compelling alternative which it offers to the inequities of neo-colonialism and capitalism in the Third World, and because of its rather remarkable accomplishments in the face of severe obstacles: an American blockade, the early exodus of its professionals, and shortages of every kind. With increasing emphasis, the revolution has attempted to link the building of a more just society to Ché's vision of "the new man". Education is seen as being crucial to the realization of that vision and fundamental to Cuba's struggle to overcome underdevelopment.

> "The radical has a passionate faith in the infinite perfectibility of human nature. He believes that by changing man's environment and by perfecting a technique of soul forming, a society can be wrought that is wholly new and unprecedented."
>
> (Eric Hoffer, quoted in Fagen,R., 1969).

In ten years Cuba has seen the advent of Leninist politics, agrarian reform, educational reorganization, economic transformations, and international realignments - all drafted at a rate that leaves outsiders as well as many Cubans bewildered. The manner, pace and magnitude of these transformations make the Cuban experience radical. It is the effort to create the new Cuban and a new Cuba that is fundamentally linked with education. In the Cuban view, there can be no successful and enduring change without the education and re-education of the Cuban masses. As Castro has said, "All revolution is an extraordinary process of education ..... Revolution and education are the same thing."

The Cuban elite is not alone in giving "the making of citizens" a high priority. As students of politics have been pointing out at least since the time of Plato, all viable political systems develop procedures for creating the types of citizens thought necessary for their survival and growth. In various political systems, many different kinds of institutions play a part in citizenship training, among them the family, the church, the mass media, schools, peer groups, youth organizations, religious and social clubs, and political parties.

The leaders of the Cuban Revolution seek a new society, one organized from the ground up on principles different from and often diametrically opposed to those of the preceding régime. The social, economic and political bases of Cuban life have been transformed. The pre-Castro system of land-ownership is gone; private enterprise has been destroyed; education has been restructured and nationalized; the politics of Batista have given way to the politics of Castro and the Cuban Communist Party; dependence on the United States has been replaced by an alliance with the Socialist countries; more than five per cent of the population - including many of the most highly skilled - have fled. Perhaps the only major hold-over from the old order has been Cuba's economic dependence on sugar, a dependence that the régime tried unsuccessfully to break in the early 1960's. Few nations have ever undergone such massive transformations in so short a time.

The dramatic success of the "Year of Education" in 1961, brought the educational revolution to international prominence. But as early as 1959, Guevara himself made a speech in which he anticipated the formation of groups like the "columna del centenario", programmes like the literacy campaign, the school-to-the-countryside and, more recently, the school-in-the-countryside concepts. He also looked forward to the massive granting of scholarships, to the end of an age-old exclusive and autonomous university system, and to the brigades of cane-cutters which were to include educators, artists, students and soldiers in an attempt to wipe out the distinction between physical and mental labour and thus bring down barriers of caste and class.

Cubans readily admit that the innovations have not been without their short-comings and dilemmas. However, Cuba's commitment to change and improvement is responsible for the advance which its achievement represents.

A crucial problem facing educational policy-makers of many less developed countries today, is to determine which of the two generally recognized major aspects of development they should stress: economic development or social justice. Unfortunately, the two might seem to be mutually exclusive with regard to education, with the result that policy-makers must give priority to one at the expense of the other. Economic growth is often thought to necessitate a narrowly-based educational structure designed to train a highly technological elite. Social justice would seem to require just the reverse: an educational system geared to offer at least a little general education to the many.

Cuba has attempted, with some success, to maintain a balance between these two aspects. This fact alone makes the country's efforts in this field both exceptional and interesting. Cuba is unique in Latin America in that she has included in the definition of development a third goal - that of forming better human beings - which she is also trying to reach through education.

One may disagree with some or all of Cuba's policies, philosophy or structure, but one cannot ignore the dramatic steps taken by Fidel Castro's government toward development. The educational reforms warrant study as they are unique and interesting, and certain of them may be of use to other less-developed countries, although, as will be described later, Cuba is not typical or under-developed countries, and thus the educational system could not be transplanted holus-bolus.

Pre-revolutionary education

Although not totally neglected, schooling in colonial Cuba lagged far behind educational efforts in metropolitan Spain. Soon after Cuba's occupation during the 1500's, Dominicans and Franciscans began teaching, and the first schools opened in Havana between 1574 and 1578. Two and a half centuries later, however, in 1833,

there were no more than sixty schools on the island which, since 1728 had had its own university. Toward the middle of the 19th century, some efforts to reform and expand education were made, but educational centres were the breeding grounds of anti-Spanish and anti-colonial sentiment. By 1894, ninety per cent of the population still received no formal education.

After "freeing" it from Spain in 1898, The United States established Cuba's first comprehensive system of primary schooling. By the turn of the century, over one-third of Cubans were literate and the illiteracy rate continued to descend gradually. Educational policy attempted to ensure that teacher-training, textbooks and other aspects of education would not counter American concepts and interests. Whatever the alien influence, however, pre-revolutionary Cuban education reached a reasonable level of development by Latin American stan··ds. The problem was that these standards were generally rather low and unsuited to Latin American needs. In terms of Cuba's own needs, its education by the mid-fifties, (when guerillas were preparing their mini-invasion), was quantitatively inadequate and qualitatively inappropriate. It was elite-oriented, it served as a force for economic stagnation, and perpetuated the "alienation" of the people.

In both China and the Soviet Uni··· ·he road toward Communism began with a revolution which ove turned the power-structure of what was essentially a peasant society. In Cuba, however, capitalist penetration of the economy · · virtually complete by the end of the sugar boom which extended from the end of the 19th century through the 1920's. By 1930, the small property-holding peasantry was of minor significance in the economy. According to the 1953 Population Census, about two-thirds of the agricultural labour force worked for wages or salaries, and seventy-two per cent of the economically active population were employees, (Bowles, S. 1971) (p 474).

Thus, on the eve of the Revolution, Cuba was a capitalist country with a largely proletarian labour force and relatively few independent producers. This fact is central to the explanation of both the opportunities and the objectives of the Revolution. Men and women worked for wages with no other source of income and with little

or no control over their hours or conditions of work. Strikes were ineffective as there were many unemployed who would gladly take the places of the dissident strikers. The economy was characterized by a highly developed division of labour. Moreover, a hundred years of nationalist struggle, and decades of radical labour organizing had made Cuban workers acutely aware that their interests were not those of the Cuban and North American capitalist class. Thus Cuban workers could not have had any intrinsic interest in either the product of their labour or in the process of production. Cuban workers worked in order to survive.

Samuel Bowles states the correspondance principle that "the social relations of production are replicated in the schools". Capitalist societies, characterized by a hierarchical division of labour, need a relatively small group - the future technical and managerial personnel - who plan, decide and rule, while a much larger group develop the capacity to follow instructions in "boring and alienating jobs". This stratification of the labour force is partly accomplished in the schools, through different amounts and types of schooling for different children. Thus, the class structure is replicated in the school system. The correspondance between education and the economy is vividly illustrated in pre-revolutionary Cuba. Economic stagnation was matched by educational retrogression. The available data (1953 Population Census) indicates that the percentage of school-age Cubans who never attended school at all rose over the period 1938 to 1953, while the percentage completing primary school fell. In 1925 to 1926, sixty-three percent of the primary school age children were enrolled in school, a larger percentage (according to a Cuban government report) than in any other Spanish-speaking republic. Three decades later, the level had fallen to fifty-one per cent; all but three Latin American countries had by then a larger proportion enrolled in school, and the Latin American average was sixty-four per cent. (Jolly,R., in Seers, D., (ed), quoted in Bowles, S., 1971).

Cuba's economic dependence on the United States was equally reflected in her educational system. The concentration of technical, research and managerial functions in the hands of North Americans - often outside Cuba - manifested itself in the poor state of Cuban higher

education. Enrollments in higher education had risen during the pre-revolutionary decades, in answer to the needs of the Cuban upper-middle class. Nevertheless, Cuba had proportionally fewer students enrolled in higher education in 1958 than less dependent Latin American countries at similar levels of development.

Thus, although theoretically open to the many, Cuban public education served the few, and being of low quality, it did not even do that very well. Many schools, particularly those in remote areas or poor urban neighbourhoods, were ill-equipped. Corruption was widespread; posts offering tenure could be purchased by "teachers" who never set foot inside a classroom. Huge sums were swallowed up in "administration". An ex-minister of education referred to the country's school system as "a shame .... a dangerous menace to the Cuban nation". (quoted in Jolly, 1964.)

Further, the education system prepared the Cuban labourer for his future "alienation":

> "To be well adjusted and content, individuals and communities need at least the three following attributes: 1) a sense of identity and worth, an awareness of and satisfaction with what is unique in past and present history, and future prospects of oneself and one's community; 2) the present and continuing possibility to influence effectively both personally and collectively, the major decisions affecting one's life as an individual and a member of a community; and 3) the present and continuing possibility to direct constructive energies to creative work that injures no other individual or community, and that has both intrinsic interest and social value. An individual or society seriously deficient in one or more of these characteristics may be defined as "alienated".
>
> (Gillette,A., 1972)(p 6).

Cuban society lacked all three characteristics.

Cuban education was completely unbalan ed in terms of rural and urban education and primary and secondary schooling. While her primary school attendance record placed Cuba below most countries in Latin America (Thomas, H., 1971), her secondary education record (in 1953 Census), if low in real terms, placed her among the leaders: twelve per cent of those between the ages of fifteen and nineteen were at school in Cuba, and over four per cent of those between twenty and twenty-four were engaged in higher education.

Such statistics were typical, writes Thomas. "Cuban education was ambiguous. In some sections of society Cuba was as bad as Asia, in some as good as New York." (Thomas, H., 1971)(p 1135).

The educational aims of the Revolution

Pre-revolutionary education in Cuba reflected and perpetuated an elite-based social structure; a labour force unsuited to modernize the economy; and a society characterized by individual and collective alienation. The Revolution's educational goals have aimed at the removal of these obstacles to development. Education figured prominently in the earliest reforms urged by Fidel Castro's movement. When it took power in January 1959, the revolutionary government appeared to accord roughly equal stress to two educational aims; to make education available to all, and to transform education into a force for economic development. From 1961, when the socialist orientation was made explicit, (and particularly after the 1965 political re-organization), increasing emphasis was placed on a goal that was unique in the western hemisphere: the use of education as a way to overcome individual and collective alienation. In addition, through education, the Revolution hopes to establish national sovereignty and to free Cuba from its old dependence on the United States.

Democratization of education

In July 1961, in the hope of providing equal educational opportunity for all, the Revolution nationalized all private schools in the country, with indemnification to owners who had not acted against the interests of the revolutionary movement. Thus the Cuban Revolution's assault on privileges centred early on education as a mechanism that maintained privilege. It was decided that schools in "Cuba libre" would be open to every citizen regardless of class, race, sex or ability to pay, so that educational opportunity would be universal from pre-school to university.

Revolutionary Cuba differs from other less developed countries who aspire to universal education: first, the Revolution was not content merely to make this basic human right a possibility: it sought also to make it an effective reality. Second, the Revolution set out to change the country's attitudes to education: in the new view, education was not something that could be taken or left according to individual desire. It was a vital national necessity, a duty as much as a right.

The educational duty of [illegible]ans is not limited to learning. Those already possessing some education may not sit by passively while there is a chronic shortage of teachers to meet the new demand for education. The double nature of the duties is summed up in a 1961 slogan (now adopted in Chile): "If you know, teach; if you don't know, learn".

The goal of mass education has become something of an obsession in Cuba. Some may smile at what they see as a naive faith that education will save Cuba's continuing difficulties, (Illich,I., in La Belle,T.J. (ed.) 1972); but one can easily think of obsessions far more dangerous than this (for instance Cuba's present military drive). Through education, Cuba attempted to replace the rigid class structure of capitalist Cuba with a classless and egalitarian society, to eliminate sexism and racism, and to end the city's economic and political domination over the countryside.

Education for economic growth

A most important objective of the educational revolution was to expand and utilize fully the society's productive capacities. The Cuban economy, stagnant for the half century prior to the Revolution, was to be transformed into a rapidly growing system capable of ensuring increasing abundance for all. It is interesting to note that just as the new government was formulating its educational policies, UNESCO's general conference (1960) was for the first time viewing education as a factor in economic development in addition to being a cultural and social force. Cuba moved towards treating education not only as an intrinsic human right, but also as a crucial means of supplying the necessary manpower for development.

The goal of economic development required firstly, the acceptance of the need for state intervention to impose a rational set of priorities on a system which had previously served the tastes of an elite. Second, it meant that these priorities re-ordered the kinds, levels and proportions of skills produced, and the teaching used to produce them. In particular, stress was laid on giving practical training to technicians both to replace the existing supply (which was being rapidly reduced by emigration), and to increase substantially the national supply. In addition, education would have to be re-shaped to transmit new attitudes about science and technology. The technician and the labourer would be revered. (Fidel Castro, a lawyer by training, has schooled himself in agronomy - although not always with happy results).

Not only does education influence the economy via the forces of production, but it also plays a role in the reproduction of the social relations of production: the inculcation of values, expectations, beliefs and modes of behaviour required for the adequate performance of adult work roles. This "hidden" aspect of schooling is primarily conveyed not by the formal curriculum, but by the social relations of the schooling process itself. Whether established relations are competitive or cooperative, whether relations between students and teachers are authoritarian or democratic, and whether relations between students and their work are alienating or creative, are as much indicators of what is taught in schools as are texts or formal curricula. The social relations of Cuban education were to be transformed to develop the new socialist man fit for a variety of different labours, and motivated towards the service of society as a whole.

The new man

The Cuban citizen was not only to live better, he was to be better. To this end, the Revolution embraced the Marxist dream of creating an integrated, unalienated human being, and education was to be central to the process of creating this new socialist man. If the schools of the pre-revolutionary period socialized workers for a competitive, alienating work environment, new forms of education would be necessary to accompany the development of the new man.

The good citizen is one who struggles to raise production, who studies in his spare time, who is responsive to calls from the authorities. Such definitions of the good citizen, rooted as they are in behaviour, are clearly easier to formulate than definitions of the good society, and provide an immediate and flexible guide to action. There are, however, important constants like cooperation, egalitarianism, sacrifice, service, hard work, self-improvement, obedience and incurruptibility.

> "We see the new man as arising from the huge educational programs that the revolution has started, from the troops that protect our Fatherland against the threats and aggressions of the imperialist enemy, from the heroes of the fight against counter-revolutionary bandits, from the permanent voluntary laborers, from the women who march off to agriculture, from the efforts undertaken by the labor movement and the Union of Young Communists to incorporate thousands of workers into agricultural jobs".
>
> (editorial in Granma, quoted in Fagen, p 17),(1969).

At first, the goal of creating an unalienated new man was more of a philosophical slogan than a well-defined concept. In 1965 however, Ché elaborated the idea in a letter to a Montevideo weekly. (quoted in Gillette,A., p 9) (1972). The new man seems to have at least three main characteristics: Firstly, he describes the Cuban's need for a sense of identity, both as an individual and as a member of society, a need to belong to and contribute to an authentically Cuban process; a second attribute of the new man is that he will play a role in shaping his own destiny. Under capitalism, he writes, "man is controlled by a pitiless code of laws which is usually beyond his comprehension", let alone his control. In reaction to capitalism, then, the goal is to shape a new man who understands and can therefore control the forces shaping his future, assuming that mechanisms of control exist, (a subject Ché also deals with). Thirdly, the new man will have a radically different kind of relationship to his work: he will begin to realize his full stature as a human being through the work accomplished. Ché writes, "Work will represent an emanation of himself, reflecting his contribution to the common life, the fulfilment of his social duty".

If the integrated man - the opposite of the alienated man - is the goal, conciencia is the Revolution's means of achieving it. Conciencia is a key concept of the Revolution and could be translated as "an amalgam of consciousness, conscience, conscientiousness and commitment", (Kahl,J.A., quoted in Gillette,A., 1972). Education is viewed as one of the most important tools for cultivating conciencia.

Of course, such a transformation is a long process involving not only changes in attitudes and in the social relations of production, but also changes in the techniques of production and the products produced. Efforts are being made to eliminate, through mechanization, the most strenuous and unrewarding work activities, such as cane-cutting. Wage-incentives are being de-emphasized, although very gradually.

What are the new forms of education which attempt to realize these three main objectives of the Revolution - to democratize education, to make it a force for economic development, and to shape a new socialist man?

New forms of education - achievements and problems

It must be stated at the outset, that although Cuba is similar to other Latin American countries in many aspects, in many others it is atypical. Both critics and supporters of the Castro regime see the Cuban Revolution as a model for other nations seeking to throw off the shackles of backwardness and political dependence. But many interpreters of the Cuban experience over-estimate its transfer value.

Firstly, all but a few Cubans spoke Spanish as their mother-tongue; Roman Catholicism never flourished there as elsewhere; physically, Cuba is compact and has a reasonable network of communications; politically, partly because of its insular situation, and partly because of its struggle against two successive foreign masters, it was a nation as well as a state; economically it was already relatively developed in terms of per capita income, if not of equitable income distribution, and was fairly industrialized.

In addition, it must be noted that the Revolution and the consequent North American embargo severed Cuban education from its traditional source of educational ideas, methods and equipment - at first with traumatic effects, but doubtless to its benefit in the long run. Perhaps the most salient socio-cultural problem in pre-Castro Cuba might seem to have been racial relations, in which social and economic discrimination were evident. Thus, Cuba in the 1950's was far from "underdeveloped" when compared with much of the rest of the world.

The countryside presented a far less attractive picture than the urban areas: illiteracy, poverty, poor health and seasonal unemployment were widespread. There were few schools, fewer clinics, bad roads, impure water, and little electricity. If not underdeveloped in the overall sense, Cuba was unevenly and inharmoniously developed in the manner characteristic of many other Latin American nations.

In addition, for better or for worse, the Cuban Revolution bears the indelible imprint of one man - Fidel Castro. Much may be said against him, but some of the things which have been said in praise of him are that he is extremely intelligent, energetic, proud, an astute politician, and a gifted orator. Perhaps his most important asset is his charisma.

> "For many, the Revolution remains incarnate in Fidel; he is the prophet who led his people out of the Batistiano wilderness, turned back the Yankee hordes, and is now constructing a promised land of full employment and social equality ..... Castro's presence - both physical and symbolic - has been a key element in all revolutionary programs undertaken in the new Cuba".
>
> (Thomas, H., 1972) (p 27).

The revolutionary content of Cuban education is conveyed primarily outside the classroom. It is in the fields and the factories, at least as much as in the schools, that one finds the development of a new concept of education.

In numbers, the changes in education since the Revolution seem immensely beneficial. Half the children of primary school age had no education before 1959. Today they all receive some teaching

so that primary schools have nearly one and a half million pupils instead of 720,000 in 1958, (Thomas,H., 1972)(p 1427). There are 50,000 primary school teachers in place of scarcely 17,000 before 1958. A much bigger percentage of children also go as state scholars to secondary schools than in the past - about 180,000 out of 400,000 of the appropriate age group; while since 1967, nearly all infants go to kindergarten from their 45th day onwards. In 1964-5, the Ministry of Education reported an enrollment in adult education of 484,000.

Many children, however, are taken away from home to go to the secondary boarding schools against their wills, and all teaching is carried out under the regime's slogan for youth - "Estudio, Trabajo, Fusil" (Study, Work, the Rifle). Children from six years upward have to play a part in "productive labour" in some branch of agriculture during the weekends and in the holidays, as a part of "socialist education". Much attention is paid to revolutionary heroes; religion has no part in the curriculum. There remain serious shortages of books, teachers and school-rooms. However, the content of education in revolutionary Cuba remains "old-fashioned"; there is learning by rote and rules. There is an emphasis on physical fitness and team spirit, and military training plays a part in all schools from secondary level upwards. Pictures, slogans. the names of state farms, all teach young Cubans to think of their lives as intimately related to Revolution elsewhere ..... as Thomas says, it is "an imperial education through the looking-glass".

In higher education too, at first sight, the achievements seem remarkable. There were 30,000 technical school pupils and 40,000 full-time students in 1969, compared with 6,250 an 25,000 respectively in 1958, and if the increase of university places has been relatively slight, it is because, in an agricultural country, technical education has been emphasized at the cost of historians, philosophers and law-students. All students have to take a year's course in dialectic materialism; spend fifteen days a year in a military camp; play their part, like school children, during the vacations, in "productive labour"; and serve a number of hours a week in the militia. Most available textbooks are direct translations of Russian texts. The teaching in some departments is mostly done by final year students. University autonomy has come

to an end, and although students nominally participate in the running of the institutions in which they work, these are in all important respects tied to the needs of the economy, and not to the desires of the student. In 1965 there was a purge of all students suspected of a lack of enthusiasm for the Revolution. In 1966 Castro denounced the "wall of theory and abstractionism" at the University. He looked forward to the time when all Cuban Universities could be abolished and a normal education would always include technical education for entry into agriculture and industry. This is hardly an encouraging sign for "higher studies".

The literacy campaign, 1961.

In its determination that mass education should benefit not only the next generation, but the present generation as well, a campaign against illiteracy was waged during the "Year of Education" in 1961. It was a fantastic gamble, and its success was perhaps the Revolution's most spectacular single mass education achievement. The task of the literacy brigades was to locate and to teach the one quarter or so of the Cuban population which was illiterate. This objective was virtually accomplished - (the illiteracy rate reported at the end of the campaign was 3.9%). Over a quarter of a million literacy teachers or "alphabetizadors" were drawn from the school system itself. Over 100,000 students joined the campaign when schools were closed for the year on April 15th, 1961, and almost all the professional teachers in the country participated. In addition, 121,000 spare-time adult volunteers were mobilized. As most of the illiterate population lived in rural areas, the alphabetizadors - disproportionately from urban areas - spent long periods away from home, often living and working with the "campesinos" whom they taught. The campaign encountered obstacles such as C.I.A.- financed counter-revolutionaries, logistics of transporting, feeding and supervising such a large number of teachers who often worked singly or in small groups. Also, training was not always adequate, and the economics of the operation were questioned by some: was the closing of the schools necessary? Would it not have been wiser to concentrate on the potentially productive sectors of the illiterate population?

However, the campaign achieved other important objectives: the pupils were actively involved in the educational revolution; they attained the allegiance of and gained a better understanding of the Cuban peasantry; and in addition, in a single year, illiteracy in the adult population was reduced from 23.6% to 3.9%, the lowest illiteracy rate in Latin America and one of the lowest in the world.

But mass adult literacy came to be viewed as only a first step. After the campaign, follow-up courses were opened to provide the equivalent of three years of primary education, generally considered a minimum to maintain basic literacy. About one-third of those made literate in the campaign enrolled, although fewer actually attended.

Gradually, classrooms were found, a stable corps of teachers was formed, special textbooks were written, and other problems overcome. By 1968, more than one-third of a million adults had earned their primary school diplomas.

School-to-the-country

A second revolutionary aspect of educational policy is the "escuela al campo", the school-goes-to-the-country programme. The educational value of productive labour has repeatedly been emphasized by the revolutionary leadership. In part as recognition of this, and in part to augment the agricultural labour supply, entire schools move to the countryside for extended periods to harvest crops and do other agricultural work. Schools-to-the-countryside have since become schools-*in*-the-countryside, all boarding-schools at the junior high school level.

Classes attend formal lessons in the morning and work in the fields in the afternoons and vice versa. In the evening, students have individual study or take part in extra-curricular interest circles. Alternate weekends are devoted to home visits or to special programmes such as political education and excursions. The student-body is divided into brigades of about thirty members, and each brigade is assigned a plot of land for which it has full responsibility. The

teacher/supervisor works alongside the pupils, and a brigade-leader is elected by the pupils. Accounts by foreign visitors to the schools reassure the doubtful that these are not child-labour-camps, and that despite the work, the children's academic records are well above the national average. In this way, the schools, besides reducing the difference in status between physical and mental work, are self-supporting.

Assuming that these schools in the country are considered to be successful, and continue to finance themselves, they will certainly be generalized. By February 1972, about ten schools had actually been opened and were working. Many more are planned. For 1980 an ambitious target of 1000 schools-in-the-country has been suggested. If this target is even nearly fulfilled, it will mean that almost all junior secondary school age youngsters will have the opportunity to receive education, and that that education will take place in schools-in-the-country. This is a good indication of the intensity of the faith placed in the formula that combines education with production. In addition, the schools might spread from junior high school to other educational levels.

Interest circles

Not only are the schools moved to the workplace - the productive life of the nation is integrated into the curriculum by means of the "circulos de interes". They are similar to the extra-curricular activities in other countries, but are oriented exclusively around productive activities. Many of the scientific and technical interest circles are related to the field work students are doing. Among these are groups working on citrus fruits, parasitology and agricultural mechanization. They thus make a real contribution to the productive capacity of the school and thus to the nation. There are also cultural interest circles dealing with themes such as dance, theatre, literature, film-appreciation and plastic arts. The main goal of most of the cultural groups is to put on shows in the surrounding communities.

A society which foregoes the use of wage incentives needs an alternative means of encouraging young people to enter particular occupations. Thus, the interest circles provide a means of informing young people about the content of various occupations, while at the same time stimulating interest in careers that are likely to make a major contribution to national development.

The role of students themselves

The vast and rapid expansion of formal education led to rocketing teacher-pupil ratios, ill-trained new teachers, double shifts, multi-level schoolrooms, and lack of equipment. Perhaps in the early years, the record of quantitative expansion was achieved at the cost of quality. But authorities have increasingly stressed the importance of quality in education.

To overcome teacher shortages (which are now down to respectable levels), students were encouraged to study in groups, that is, to pursue collective rather than individual study. The process of expanding knowledge and competence was seen as a group effort, and elements of competition in the classroom were to be minimized. Although recently the importance of individual study has been re-emphasized, the collective spirit is maintained in the monitors programme. Each class selects a student or a group of students in each subject to help the rest of the class. Their role is primarily in leading group discussions, helping individuals who were having difficulty, taking charge of classes being taught by educational television, and similar activities. This programme has proved so effective in diversifying sources of learning, and as an educational experience for the monitors, that it will be continued even when the teacher-shortage is ended.

Rural education

In addition to the school-to-the-country programme, Cuba has had other successes in shifting the emphasis from urban to rural areas. Due to agricultural projects, housing schemes, health programmes, distribution of the labour force and differential food-rationing, there has been a gradual decline in the proportion of the total population living in the capital, in contrast with most developing countries.

New primary schools were built in rural areas, and the "school-city" provided boarding accommodation in inaccessible areas. Teachers in isolated mountain areas go to "teachers' centres" every two weeks for a weekend of instruction, discussion and relaxation. Attempts to strengthen teachers' incentives to work in rural areas are made. In primary school teacher-training, the emphasis, from the beginning, is to work in rural areas. Training takes place in mountain schools where the tough conditions harden teachers to difficult rural living, and through the association of the mountains with the revolutionary guerilla movement, win dedication to the Revolution. Teacher-training is provided to put across teaching methods for the one-teacher school where children of many grades are in one classroom. In addition, rural values are instilled among the students.

At the risk of oversimplifying a complex situation, we can say that the main thrust of current practice seems to be toward engaging as many citizens as possible for as long as possible in productive work in rural and openly anti-urban environments. This is, of course, the experience of the brigadistas generalized to other sectors of the population. Thus for schoolchildren there is the schools-to-the-countryside plan, which each year takes tens of thousands of students with their books and teachers to rural areas for forty-five days of study and work. For other young people, there is semi-permanent residence on the Isle of Pines - renamed the Isle of Youth - with its special emphasis on forming the first generation of true Communists in a setting of equality and sacrifice, (see below). For the adults of the capital, there is the Cordón or greenbelt around the city, a program to make the urban complex self-sufficient in foodstuffs by bringing adjacent lands under cultivation. Sometimes called the Isle of Youth for the middle-aged, the Cordón represents the implementation of the strain in revolutionary doctrine that views agricultural work as essential for liberating the urban masses from their city values and bourgeois ways. In addition, there is the annual quota of "voluntary" agricultural labour for all, (see below).

Programmes like these represent an effort to make available to more and more Cubans the integrated, formative experience seen by the revolutionary elite as central to the radical transformation of government and institutions. They are an attempt to introduce practical education and "learning by doing" to the people.

University education

A more recent programme is the "universalization" of the university. The underlying assumption is that scholarly work in universities should be integrated with the productive activities of the nation. The direct implementation of this objective has yet to be worked out, but specific projects are underway. Students studying economics already spend a considerable amount of time attached to the various ministries with economic responsibilities, doing applied research and attempting to improve programmes. Sociology students carry out community studies concerning the process of adjustment to life in the new towns. Those in the school of engineering work on irrigation projects or on terracing. Nearly every faculty in the University of Havana is involved in at least one development programme. Even the students in the faculty of letters carry out rural surveys of the cultural and educational needs and aspirations of the "campesinos". Teachers qualify through on-the-job certification combined with part-time study.

As all students are to be workers, so all workers are to be students. There are plans to set up faculties of the university throughout the island, some located on industrial plants and other productive units. Ultimately, the central physical facilities of the university are to be devoted exclusively to advanced research, with instruction in the traditional sense decentralized in a number of widely separated units.

In 1961 initial measures were taken to meet Cuba's needs for trained manpower. New criteria were introduced governing the granting of scholarships in higher education. Just over two-fifths of mechanical engineering students received scholarships, and the figure for medical students was one quarter. However, only one twentieth of the students of law and government were assisted, while not a single philosophy student received aid. As a result, the number of students specializing in different areas changed markedly during the first decade of the Revolution.

The major shift came in the creation of worker-peasant faculties; from no students before the Revolution, they have come to comprise over one-fifth of the total student body, almost all their members in, or moving towards, careers in science or technology.

The reforms led to the end of the autonomy of the universities. It is maintained that the universities must be under the control of the people's government, since only in that way may they be fully geared to serve the needs of the people.
finally destroyed.
In the middle of 1960, freedom in the University of Havana was finally destroyed. A new board of governors was appointed by a minority of pro-Fidelista students. Two-thirds of the teachers at the university refused to accept the new board of governors and were dismissed by it. The government endorsed the board of governors as a policy-making body and approved a committee of University Reform to change the curriculum, the administrative procedures and policies of the university. Writes H. Thomas (1972):

> "The manner in which this ancient university lost its liberties was deplorable. Nevertheless (the University's) liberties in the past had led so often to licence, its institutional fabric was so rotten with politics and gang-warfare, that mere reform could arguably never have altered the fundamental disequilibrium"
>
> (p 1287).

The corruption and inefficiency of many teachers had given the University a terrible name.

In practice, the universities were Marxist-Leninist in bias by the spring of 1961. The University was later to be harnessed to the needs of the economy. Matters such as the abolition of arts courses were in the air. Heads of departments were all safe Revolutionaries. Students were far more strictly disciplined than ever before. Attendance at lectures was virtually compulsory, length of hair, tightness of trousers and lengths of skirts were strictly regulated. Those who did not wish to join the militia were in difficulties.

Technological institutes

Re-orientation did not focus solely on higher education, as often happens in developing countries. The need both to prepare secondary students for higher scientific and technical education and to provide terminal secondary education in these fields (so as to meet middle-level manpower requirements), received full recognition in Cuba. In the first nine years of the Revolution, there were created: 23 technological schools to train skilled workers, 13 technological institutes to train middle-level technicians for industry, 21 technological institutes to train middle-level technicians for agriculture and animal husbandry, and specialized junior and senior high schools linked to the development of fishing.

Much attention has been paid to making a scientific attitude part of the education of every Cuban. More narrowly conceived, this is seen as a kind of vocational training, the teaching of skills needed to run a more modern and dynamic economy. The scientific attitude implied an appreciation for the part science and technology play in the entire developmental process. "What part can the scientifically illiterate man, the technologically illiterate man, possibly have in the community of the future?" Castro has asked on many occasions. Furthermore, the notion of Communist man as a technologically trained and sensitive man is increasingly being linked with the concern for moral incentives.

In the more modern society of the future, the opportunities for integrating work with life, for deriving personal satisfaction from confronting problems and bringing knowledge to bear on their solutions, will be increased. The distinctions between manual and intellectual work will become blurred, and both for individuals and for society in general, the separation between education and production will be bridged. Technology will not only lead to abundance of material goods, but will contribute to ending alienation by enabling more men to work at callings instead of jobs.

Technical students' work is by no means exclusively concerned with technology or designed to produce people of narrow competence. While about half their study is concentrated on the speciality, the other half is devoted to general education, which includes both technical studies at the pre-vocational level and Spanish, physical education and socio-economic studies (history, civics and current events). The shortage of equipment that may have been experienced at the start of the Revolution seems to be well on the way to solution.

Cuba has made no detailed projections of manpower needs. There is a highly flexible approach, and as there are shortages in almost all technical areas, education does not seem to be anywhere near over-producing with regard to the absorptive capacity of the economy. The people do generally seem to get jobs that require the kind and level of skill that they possess.

Adult education

In addition to the literacy and follow-up campaigns, there were worker-farmer improvement courses to enable those with a third-grade education to continue up to the sixth grade. Cost-free, part-time study in classrooms located at places of work, make it possible for a working person to continue right through secondary school and into university. A rough average of ten per cent of workers and employees are engaged in this kind of parallel education.

More specifically linked to technical training are the technical courses organized chiefly in factories, giving both theoretical and practical training to workers on the job. One third of Cuba's industrial workers were enrolled in these courses at one point. Alongside these major programmes were many other courses tailored to the needs of small groups with specific needs. People's schools catered for small craftsmen (e.g. shoemakers), whose trades were being industrialized, and crash seminars were held in sugar-mills and other enterprises to teach administration to workers and employees who suddenly found themselves running the firms where they had worked. As many students had to be reached as possible.

Scheduling was designed to coincide with seasonal free-time of people like farmsers.

It is difficult to assess with any precision the impact of such out-of-school programmes, but it seems likely that they contributed greatly to avoiding disaster in the mid-sixties.

Another concrete type of non-formal educational activity is the "People's Cultural Groups". These new institutions, which are being established in Cuban towns and cities, arose from the need to stimulate and satisfy the intellectual needs of citizens and to encourage self-education. The programme is designed by the members of the group, and debates, lectures and creative activities take place. When each cycle of weekly or monthly sessions is finished, some artistic or cultural event is held, at which certificates of credit are awarded for completion of the course. According to R.F.Perez, (1974), a Cuban writer, "these new institutions, which constitute 'true universities of the people', have found difficulties in channelling the human resources that can be drawn upon to make a cultural contribution in any community. However, this complementary activity of non-systematic education will certainly develop further".

The Isle of Youth

The Isle of Pines was in 1966 renamed the Isle of Youth , and became the centre for agricultural experimentation carried out without pay and without expenses by an ever-increasing number of Cubans from the age of twelve to twenty-seven. The island is separated from the main island by about thirty miles. At various times during the preceding centuries, the island was a haven for pirates and escaped prisoners, later becoming the site of the so-called "model prison", a group of austere, circular concrete buildings used in the 1940's, 50's and early 60's for both common and political prisoners. (It was here that Castro and his companions were held after their abortive attack on the Moncada Army Barracks in 1953.)

During the first years of the Revolutionary Government, little changed on the Isle of Pines. It remained a place of detention, this time for political opponents of the Castro regime. It is possible that as many as 15,000 men were held on the island during the mid-1960's, the peak years of political imprisonment. Today, all the prison camps have been closed or converted into schools. Their inmates have either been "rehabilitated" or taken to camps on the main island.

In one of the most audacious of the social and educational experiments of the Castro government, in 1966, the first contingent of young Cubans started arriving on the island. Some came to live and work for only short periods; others pledged to remain on the island for two years, this pledge being morally binding rather than formally so. A philosophy of social and political formation was articulated to explain and promote the venture. It is felt that on this sparsely populated, scarcely developed and poorly endowed island, a new breed of young Cuban, a true Communist youth will be formed. Away from the influence of city life and the older generation, and under the direction of the Party, these Cubans will become the first generation of truly "new men". The Spartan atmosphere of the Isle of Youth will teach them the meaning of sacrifice, cooperation, selflessness and discipline in hard work. It is the philosophy of the schools-to-the-countryside" movement carried to its logical extreme. The island's pre-revolutionary population of about 10,000 has now swollen to about 40,000, and the agricultural plans for the island are extremely ambitious.

At the encampments for younger people, schooling is combined with agricultural work. Class instruction, sports and drill take place in the afternoon. The school encampments are usually of a vocational sort. As on the main island, these schools have a decidedly military cast, and are run by a special section of the Ministry of the Armed Forces. The internal discipline of the schools resembles that of basic training, and the male students can fulfill their military obligation while they work and study.

There is also a special school encampment for what the Cubans call predelinquent boys, where they are "rehabilitated" and made into"useful citizens". The directors of the camp express unqualified optimism that here on the Isle of Youth, even these youngsters can be transformed.

The Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR)

In September 1960, Fidel Castro formally launched the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. These formed a system of "collective vigilance" so that:

> "everybody will know everybody else on his block, what they do, what relationship they had with the tyranny, (the Batista government), what they believe in, what people they meet, what activities they participate in. When the masses are organized, there isn't a single imperialist who can operate."
>
> (Fidel Castro's speech from the Presidential Palace, 1961)

In a mass meeting in support of the Revolutionary Government, the following oath formed part of the document "ratified" by the audience in public assembly:

> "We swear to increase our revolutionary vigilance at work, at home and in the streets in order to uncover counter-revolutionary conspirators, saboteurs and propagandists of imperialism and the counter-revolution, and to silence them or turn them over to the revolutionary authorities."
>
> (Fagen, R., 1969, p70)

The CDR were to be block or neighbourhood committees that would draw their membership from and exercise surveillance over given residential areas. CDR were also formed in factories, stores, administrative offices and schools. If Castro's figures are to be taken as correct, within one year, a mass organization of well over one million members had been created in a country with only seven million inhabitants.

The CDR engage in day-to-day activities: coordination, organization, administration of finances, revolutionary instruction, vigilance, popular defence, education, public health administration, urban reform, rationing, voluntary work, propaganda and cultural instruction, sports and recreation. Thus, the CDR are expected to integrate, socialize and mobilize the masses, to implement revolutionary policies

and programmes, and to protect both the material and the social resources of the Revolution. In contrast to other mass organizations, the CDR were designed to incorporate all Cubans of fifteen or older who were disposed to work for the Revolution. Of course there was no room in the organization for "enemies of the people, parasites, exploiters, and those who don't work."

The relationship of instrumental activities to education in citizenship was underlined in a newspaper editorial written to honour the sixth anniversary of the CDR:

> "This extraordinary working force (CDR), oriented and directed toward accomplishing tasks - in local administration, recreation, social service, mass education and public health - no doubt constitutes a form of organization that not only will be useful for doing pressing and immediate jobs, but also will aid decisively in the formation of a new collective conscience concerning the acceptance of social responsibilities. "

Ideally, the local committee plays its educative role in bringing together all those who are willing to work for the Revolution, and provides them with immediate opportunity for serving the local community which is seen as contributing directly to the higher goal of service to the nation. The fundamental responsibility of the CDR was to be the great "teacher" of the Cuban people.

The Committees are also involved in an extensive, more narrowly defined programme of political education. This refers to formal or semi-formal classroom instruction in the basics of Marxist-Leninist thought and the ideological underpinnings of revolutionary policies. At first, this instruction took the form of weekly neighbourhood meetings or seminars, in which key speeches of the revolutionary leaders were discussed, governmental programmes and policies explained, and the civic training manual of the Rebel Army was studied. The seminars evolved into study circles led by scarcely trained local committee members. More intensive seminars met three evenings a week for three months under the guidance of members who had slightly more background than the others.

Of course, the CDR system left the path wide open to corruption and use for personal gain, but because of its capillary-like organization throughout the nation, involving almost the entire population of

Cuba in some fashion, the CDR appeared to be an administrative arm of the state. It was the leadership's most effective way of reaching quickly into every corner of the island for administrative purposes.

"Heroic Vietnam"

The "Jornada de Girón" is an annual period of national mobilization commemorating the defeat in 1961 of the invading exile forces at the Bay of Pigs, or Playa Girón. During the thirty-day period, tens of thousands of city-dwellers are mobilized to go the countryside to work on agricultural projec Those already working in agriculture are expected to dedicate themselves to making some extra effort in support of the national mobilization. Only skeleton crews are left in Havana to man the bureaucratic apparatus of the state.

The mobilization has two purposes: firstly, it is a learning and formative experience for those who participate in confronting some of the hardships of rural life; and secondly, there is the contribution made to the general agricultural effort by this arrival of urban workers.

The encampment of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Relations is known as "Heroic Vietnam". While some cut cane, other members of the ministry, including the women, do the easier work of cleaning, weeding and fertilizing the fields by hand. Neither dress nor physical appearance, nor rhythms of work enable one to guess what job a person might have in the city during the rest of the year. Here all wear boots, rough olive or blue pants, long-sleeved denim shirts, and usually a peasant's broad-brimmed hat.

The Schools of Revolutionary Instruction (EIR)

The Schools of Revolutionary Instruction were founded in the latter half of 1960. From their founding to their termination in 1967, they had one fundamental purpose: "the ideological formation of revolutionaries, and then, by means of the revolutionaries, the ideological formation of the rest of the people." (Castro, 1961). Two key aspects of the operation of the schools remained unchanged from the beginning: firstly, ideological formation in the EIR

always meant training under the philosophical umbrella of Marxism-Leninism as that doctrine was understood by the Cuban leadership. Secondly, the schools were never "public" or open. By one method or another, a person was chosen or appointed to attend the EIR. Selection was in the hands of the leadership, and criteria for membership were intended to be those that would benefit the Revolution, not the individual. The need was not just for an expanded programme of ideological training, but for the education of Marxist-Leninists in a revolution going Marxist with neither a party to supply the cadres nor a rich indigenous Marxist tradition to draw on.

The schools began modestly. In January 1961, twelve provincial schools, all boarding schools, were opened with more than 700 students enrolled for three-month and six-month courses. The schools were plagued with many problems: the educational level of the students was very low - nominees had only to be able to read and write; the teachers were only slightly better prepared than the students - hundreds of teachers were only recent graduates of the schools themselves, and they had to teach what Castro has referred to as "the most complex science"; the materials from which one might teach Marxism-Leninism, especially to a poorly educated student-body were in very short supply - (examples of such texts were some of Castro's speeches). Finally, it was not clear as to whom the schools were for. Errors of "inadequate selection" plagued the EIR in their early stages. Nevertheless, many of the graduates were given impressive responsibilities in the developing political apparatus of the Revolution. They became instant leading cadres, examples of a career pattern that (as it subsequently became necessary to point out) could not be followed by later graduates of the schools.

The system expanded to include basic, provincial and, at its highest level, national schools. Basic schools were often tied to large factories, sugar centrals, people's farms, and administrative offices. They were either full-time or part-time boarding schools where the students spent eight hours during the afternoon and evening after working in the morning at their regular jobs. The course of study lasted from forty-five to sixty days.

In 1963, the lengths of the courses were extended: basic schools to five months, provincial schools to nine months, and the national schools to ten or eighteen months. The primary purpose of the expanded course schedule was to allow the schools to enter into what later came to be called the "political-technical cycle". 1963 was the "year of the great economic rethinking". Agricultural development was seen as the key to Cuba's immediate economic future, and increased productivity by means of technology was the key to agricultural development. This policy was reflected in the programmes of the EIR. The schools had to contribute to a "consciousness of the technical revolution". An introduction to Marxism-Leninism would henceforth form only part of the training experience. An understanding of Cuban economic realities, the elements of technology, and the application of this technology to the productive process would also be required.

However, in 1967, the endless debate about the problems and shortcomings of the EIR was ended. The entire EIR system was gradually phased out. By 1968, the last EIR had been closed. In addition to the problems mentioned earlier, Castro showed his dissatisfation with the notion that one can learn to act in a truly revolutionary fashion simply by studying Marxism-Leninism.

The media and the arts

The regime ran theatres, cinemas, television centres and musical activities and sent the Havana state orchestra around the country. The question of political commitment in the arts led to a famous discussion between Castro and selected intellectuals in 1961, the ultimate consequence of which was the establishment of a Writers' Union directed by government officials. The revolutionary government also reconstructed the old Council of Culture which became Communistically orientated. Sculpture, concerts, music, dancing and theatre were dominated by an insistence on a "revolutionary conscience".

Publishing houses were now under the government, even though there had been none of any substance before. The difference was that in 1959, it would have been possible to publish, at one's own

expense, a book attacking the regime in Cuba, whereas in 1961, it was not. The same held true of newspapers. Foreign newspapers and journals were no longer sold.

Both television and radio continued to serve as a perpetual means of projection for the government. Even when there was no occasion for public celebration, a record of one of Castro's speeches could be heard at one o'clock every day on the radio. In the streets revolutionary songs still blared from gramophones.

Thus the government plans and directs all activities in the cultural sphere so that they may be in accordance with the political culture of the state. Theatre is a medium for ideological training and political and cultural improvement. In a lacerating attack on the regime, Garcia writes:

> "Broadcasts may play a special role in taking the truth of the Revolution to the people. Constant jamming of outside broadcasts, in particular the medium-wave of 'Voice of America', ensures that the Cuban is carefully protected from other versions of the 'truth'."
>
> (Garcia, J.R.,(1965) p 44).

The Army

The army in Cuba may be seen as an educative institution. The government has increased military regimentation partly in an effort to maintain its power by marking out signs of dissent and suppressing them before they can spread. Conscription provides one of the most effective ways of keeping a check on the activities of Cuba's young men. In Cuba, it also provides the regime with a cheap and mobile labour force, involved in sugar and coffee harvests, and road-building, amongst other productive activities.

No men between the ages of 14 and 28 are allowed to emigrate. Sessions of political indoctrination would form part of the conscripts' duties in order to instill in the soldiers "devotion to the revolution and international proletarianism". "Layabouts of working class origin will be rehabilitated in the army" (Raul Castro). In fact, drafting into the army is often used as a punishment for those who continually fail examinations through lack of self-discipline and for those who "misbehave".

The society is the school, history the universities

On a more optimistic note: at a UNESCO conference in 1970, a report was presented entitled "The Educational Movement: Cuba, 1969-70, (International Conference on Public Education, in "School and Society", 1971). The report describes a situation in which there is a "birth of wide social motivations by which the people organize themselves and participate enthusiastically in the total educational experience which converts society into one large school with undreamed of resources provided by the audacity and creativity of the masses..... the method and content of a true education are always part of a social context" (p 383). Education is for Communism and in Communism and

> "in our search for correct roads to new education, we have availed ourselves of three important experiences, which, for us have been like three universities: the war of liberation, considered as the supreme cultural fact of the history of our country; the literacy épopée of 1961 which revealed to the youth the true dimensions of the misery and poverty we had inherited; and the ten-million ton sugar-cane harvest, which, in addition to being an economic fact, has profound political and social implications".

Deficiencies and dilemmas in Cuban education

The Cuban Revolution has been remarkably successful in creating a new social and economic order. In the educational sector, quantitatively speaking, there have been great gains. In primary school enrollment, Cuba has moved from 20th place in Latin America in 1950, to 5th place in 1960, (Paulston,R.G. 1971); in adult literacy from 12th to first place; and in the number of primary school teachers per 100 children of primary school age, from 23rd to 6th place. The primary school teacher-pupil ratio during this same period has dropped from over 41 to about 30. Qualitatively, however, there are still deficiencies.

Cuban education continues to suffer a number of deficiencies that severely limit the possibility of graduating youth who are both "red and expert". Internal efficiency of primary schooling is low, i.e. only about 40% of its students who begin grade 1 complete grade 6. Many teachers are poorly prepared - nearly one-half of the 17,000 primary teachers in 1968 were "maestros populares" with minimal training.

In order to confront the existing problems and to begin the process of formulating a new educational policy, the Ministry of Education convoked the First National Congress of Education and Culture in Havana, April 1971. Over 1800 delegates from the various teacher unions and educational organizations participated in the sessions. Also present was the vice-president of the Soviet national planning agency, and a large governmental delegation from Sweden, in Cuba to negotiate a technical assistance programme. The Congress originally had three specific objectives: to gather concrete examples of educational problems from all levels and types of instruction; to identify key factors influencing the work of educators; and to offer recommendations which would serve as a basis for educational policy in the years to come. The major problems discussed by the delegates may be summarized as follows:-

The demands of teaching the norms of socialist morality involve the introduction of greater discipline. Student and teacher absenteeism, dropping out of school, disrespect for social property and lack of correct study habits, reflect this serious problem. Work-study programmes must be planned better and combined with vocational guidance so as to avoid lop-sided specialization instead of integral development. Student participation in productive work contributes powerfully to ideological formation. Experience to date, however, must be analysed with great care.

Efforts to increase and improve teacher-training centres should be given first priority in plans to provide more and better teachers. Because teachers are "basically responsible for the ideological formation of the new generation, we must establish strict standards for educational workers". Moreover, teachers must be evaluated periodically on the basis of their conduct, aptitude, technical education and "political aspects".

Educational programmes must be subject to evaluation and modification. An innovative, experimental approach to instruction based on research evaluation is essential if the revolution in education is to move ahead efficiently and rapidly.

The Congress made a detailed analysis of environmental influences on education. Emphasis was placed on the urgent need to strengthen the role of parents in school councils, and to enlarge the contribution of political and mass organizations to parental education. Further conferences were scheduled.

It should be mentioned that Cuba's educational revolution has come at an enormous cost. In 1968 to 69, about one-fifth of Cuba's total productive capacity was devoted to formal schooling. S.Bowles, (1971), states that this figure is "unsurpassed among major countries of the world, rich or poor". However, the Russian debt is growing, (precise data are unavailable here), and as Barry Reckord puts it,(1971) Russia could not afford another revolution like Cuba's. However, the dependency on the United States has been broken. The formation of research institutes in virtually every major area of production and the expansion of scientific and technical studies at the highest level, are leading to Cuba's national sovereignty - at least foreign scientists, technicians, and other highly skilled workers play a less significant role now than they did prior to the Revolution. It must be stressed that, far from being a costly luxury, the returns to education, particularly at the primary school level, have made an important contribution to the forces of production.

The school system has played an important part in the breaking down of class structures and other forms of social inequality. There can be little doubt that the selection process in schools has been drastically altered. Many more Blacks, children of rural workers, and women now achieve higher levels of educational attainment. But, of course, vestiges of racial and class distinctions remain. These may be seen in the higher drop-out rates of rural children and their lower rates of school attendance. But these facts should not obscure the giant strides made towards a more egalitarian society.

In the classroom, while much has changed, much has also remained the same. The methods of instruction remain, on the whole, teacher-centred and authoritarian. Exams and grades still seem to be a central element in the motivation of students, thus maintaining a structure of rewards external to the process of learning itself, and analagous to wages in a capitalist labour market.

The decision to emphasize primary schooling and other basic education rather than higher education illustrates another dilemma. Although the development of Cuba's <u>own</u> technical, scientific and administrative capacities would have been better served by a more rapid expansion of higher education, the primacy of the egalitarian objective necessitated the decision to invest a large proportion of the nation's educational resources at the lowest levels of schooling.

While policies are not intended to lead to the establishment of a technocratic elite, other policies seem to run against this commitment. The need to fill high-level positions has posed the temptation to give special educational opportunities to especially gifted students. A secondary school for an intellectual elite has been established in Havana, and as of 1969, plans were under way to establish others in the remaining provinces. The students at this school were chosen primarily on the basis of their scholastic performance. Here, teaching and other resources are superior. Although the students seem well aware of their social obligations to share the skills and knowledge being imparted to them at the expense of the society, even in a socialist society, a school system which stratifies children at at early age on the basis of ability, is likely to produce a class structure and a sense of hierarchy in the consciousness of its students. The elitist elements built into this type of education, intensified by an almost romantic faith in the scientific expert, are clear. Early vocational grouping is also likely to conflict with the pursuit of a classless society, but these tendencies need not be decisive if they are countered in other areas of social policy.

The revolutionary government is seeking a solution to these educational dilemmas primarily outside the classroom: in the camps of the schools-to-the-country, in the voluntary work brigades, in the communities on the Isle of Youth, and in the experience of living in the revolutionary society itself. But this poses yet another problem: to produce the workers with the skills and competence necessary to make effective use of the new technologies, requires serious study as well as changes in values. One cannot totally dispense with teaching and learning the basic cognitive skills. And yet, by nearly everyone's admission, not much serious study goes on in the work camps or other non-classroom activities. Recognition of this problem is implicit in a speech by the Minister of Education, stressing the importance of individual (as opposed to collective) study, and emphasizing the academic aspects of student evaluation.

Garcia, a Chilean teacher married to a Cuban"refugee" who left Cuba in 1956, (Garcia, J.R., (1965)), bitterly attacks the Cuban regime in an interesting and rather refreshing little book, as many of those who write about Cuba seem to be undiscriminatingly pro-Cuban. Even

he admits that the regime can claim some real achievements: the literacy programme, rural education, the vast projects of the school-cities like that called "Camilo Cienfuegos" which will eventually house 20,000 pupils, grants and scholarships, vocational education, the education of peasant women, crèches, correspondence and evening courses.

> "All this is to the credit of the Cuban government. But there is another side to the picture. With the expansion of education has come a change in its nature as the regime has sought to exploit learning to perpetuate Communism in Cuba. A child goes to school to be moulded into a Marxist-Leninist pattern of unquestioning thought and obedience to the Revolution ..... a crop of people who will accept the lack of freedom, poverty, and the hardships of Communist Cuba". (p 15).

> "There is not even the cold comfort of official pretence of academic freedom. School directors must be convinced socialists ..... the Party must be the guiding force in the policies and activities of the education boards". (p 18).

Garcia mentions how, in the summer of 1963, nearly five hundred teachers resigned as a protest against increased regimentation in their schools.

> "The educational nature of the Cuban school course diminishes daily ..... Cuban education is a great missed opportunity. The enthusiasm is there; the need is certainly there. But education has been made to serve the political and economic expediency of the State rather than the true development of its youth". (p 21).

Some major questions arise with regard to the Cuban objectives in education: Firstly, it has been asked whether the Cuban government is justified in placing so much emphasis on economic goals as a major objective of educational policy? Secondly, is indoctrination a part, and a necessary part, of the revolutionary educational policy? Thirdly, what does the future hold?

With regard to the first question: At the outset of the Revolution in particular, the leadership placed great stress on the economic goals. Fidel still speaks less often about the new man than about mass education and the need for technical skills. Given the serious economic difficulties in which Cuba found herself, people and leaders alike have been understandably more concerned with bread-and-butter issues rather than with long-term hopes; living better today rather

than being better tomorrow. It now seems probable that in both the formal and parallel systems of education, a skill structure is being built that will enable Cuba to do more than just survive. Thus, the shift to technical and scientific education is a necessary, but not a sufficient objective for education. How the new economic capabilities are used depends upon the attitudes and values (the level of 'conciencia') of those who have learned the skills; and the level of 'conciencia' is largely determined by the degree of success attained in educating the "new man".

To quote S.Bowles, (1971) (p 199):

> "Can forms of work-organization and technology be devised which represent <u>both</u> an advance in the forces of production and a step towards social relations of production which enhance rather than inhibit personal liberation and self-development? Can educational forms and techniques be developed which will allow the effective transmission of the needed productive skills as well as the development of values and commitments consistent with the revolutionary ideology? The answer to both of these questions, I believe, is yes ..... The continuing search for new social relations of schooling - at once both productive and liberating - seems likely to bear fruit if it does not succumb to immediate pressures to gear the school system solely to meeting the manpower requirements of economic growth. The search for these new social relations of education is the challenge now facing Cuban educators in the attempt to create simultaneously what Ché termed 'the two pillars of socialist construction: the formation of the new human being and the development of the technology'. "

With regard to the second question, it cannot be denied that indoctrination is a part of the Cuban education system. I.A.Snook,(1972), has described the indoctrinated person as one who, being presented with good evidence to the contrary of his beliefs, will nevertheless refuse to modify these beliefs in accordance with the evidence. There is no doubt that Cubans are not free to criticize, or even to doubt official Cuban ideology. Education in Cuba does not attempt to develop the autonomous individual, an individual possessing critical judgement. Rather than educating the individual in 'modes of thought', Cuban education is filled with a particular content - Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Youth is, in general, the group most exposed to the revolutionary experience. They are seen as the hope of the future and are given special opportunities to participate in revolutionary activities. It would seem, moreover, that young people are especially available psychologically for being recruited into and affected by the revolutionary experience. They are encouraged by the regime to participate precisely at that stage of life when - as Erik Erikson has emphasized - they are searching for a sense of the self, a sense of identity that is relatively unambiguous, action-oriented, and ideological. Environmental exposure and psychological readiness come together in what Erikson calls the indoctrination experience. The adolescent is willing to accept the "lack of privacy" necessary for the indoctrination experience. This lack of individual privacy is one of the most striking features of Cuban life. To the young, the sense of self-importance is profoundly reinforced by participating in activities that are clearly of national importance.

R. Fagen, (1969), writes:

> "Owing to the closure of debate and self-examination, the channelling of energies into societal service, and the conformism encouraged by the attacks on egoismo, Cuban youth may not be growing up with highly developed critical skills - with regard to either themselves or the new social order".
>
> (p 157).

However, the Revolution gains its impetus from the inculcation of a revolutionary ideology in the minds of its followers. Perhaps the admirable innovations brought about in Cuba could not have succeeded as they have without this indoctrination. They cannot be seen in isolation from the Revolution. As Castro articulates: "Within the Revolution, everything; outside the Revolution, nothing". (Reckord, B., 1971).

Cuba's apparent over-concern with ideology arouses fears for the freedom of the individual, and images of a controlled, slogan-mouthing, automaton and militaristic society directly opposed to Western ideals of the "free world". It can only be hoped that Prime Minister Castro is sincere in his affirmation that "We can have no other concept of the development of the education of a people but that in which all

the potential faculties, all the potential intelligence of the people are developed to their highest degree": (quoted in International Conference on Public Education, 1971).

As to the future, it may be asked whether the new generation will be ready in the future to hand over the torch to fresh generations. Or will the present generation of youth leaders turn, with the passing of the years, into beings suspicious of new changes, the "conservative" target, therefore, for criticism or hatred by a new wave of "liberals" or "humanists"?

The latter eventuality is surely the more probable, as is suggested by a "hippie" cult and its repression in 1968, and by the high percentage of young people among criminals in the crime wave of 1968-9, and by the number of those who would clearly like to leave Cuba but cannot do so except illegally. Thomas writes, as always with great perception and sensitivity:

> "..... in the end, many people, perhaps most people usually come round to the view that private ease and entertainment are worth more than all the creeds in the world".
>
> (Thomas,H.,(1972) (p 1430).

CONCLUSION

From what has been elaborated in Chapters I and II, it will be seen that two broad concepts are being outlined here - concepts that contrast radically: that of the "educated man" and that of the"useful man".

Maslow's theory of motivation (1954), which describes a hierarchy of human needs, makes, it would seem, a similar distinction. As Dearden points out (1966) (p 16), Maslow differentiates between "deficit" (physiological) and "growth" (cultural) needs. One need succeeds another; as "lower" hungers are satisfied, "higher" hungers emerge, e.g. "self-actualization", to use Maslow's terminology.

If the worth of human life can be defined in terms of the satisfaction of needs, then it may be argued, and forcefully in the case of the underdeveloped countries, that pressing physiological needs must be catered to first. P.S.Wilson (1971) attacks Maslow on the well-founded grounds that needs presuppose values. Even the need for food presupposes that one values life. However, life generally does seem to be valued even in the direst circumstances, so we may accept as reasonably sound Maslow's emphasis on the primacy of physiological needs. According to Maslow, there are safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, need for self-actualization, desire to know and understand, and aesthetic needs. The order and number of the other needs may be challenged.

Conclusions regarding priorities in Third World education are difficult to draw. If it is not possible to satisfy all, or at least most of the needs mentioned above, bearing in mind the limited resources of the developing countries, which needs should be met first? We may say that basic needs for the physical and economic well-being of the community must be met initially. Later, the "mind", the "cultural needs" of the individual will be met. In other words, will the "education systems" of the underdeveloped

countries at first deliberately neglect the formation of the "educated man"? - because this is precisely what they will be doing. This will be catered to later? Perhaps not, one may argue. It takes educated men to value the goal of creating educated men. In Rand's "Anthem" (1946), the man who has proven himself to be of a high and original intelligence is chosen to be a Street Sweeper - only the mediocre may be Scholars as they present no threat to the State.

The crucial problem is whether or not "collectivized man", as the new Cuban man may be perceived to be, will be able to step outside of his "paradigm" to view matters from a new perspective of self-actualization through education rather than from a totally needs-based view of what the education system hopes to achieve. Says the hero in "Anthem"(pp 110 - 112):

> "Neither am I the means to any end others may wish to accomplish. I am not a tool for their use. I am not a servant of their needs. ..... I guard my treasures: my thought, my will, my freedom ..... I am neither foe nor friend to my brothers, but such as each of them shall deserve of me."
>
> The word 'We'....."must never be placed first within man's soul, else it becomes a monster, the root of all the evils on earth, the root of man's torture by men, and of an unspeakable lie..... It is the word by which the depraved steal the virtue of the good, by which the weak steal the might of the strong, by which the fools steal the wisdom of the sages".

We would not be justified in characterizing contemporary Western education as having attained P.S.Wilson's ideal of pupils having to work only at what is found intrinsically interesting. Perhaps this is as distant a dream for us as it is for the Third World. However, it <u>is</u> acknowledged as being a goal of worth. What is ominous is that, if it is not instilled as being of value in the opinions of the developing nations, it may never be desired or ...lued at a later stage. There may be no back-stepping: total-...tarian states carry their own momentum.

Collectivism, as portrayed in the Cuban case-study, has given the driving force to the Cuban Revolution, and those who comment on the Cuban scene most often bubble over with praise for the new

revolutionary man modelled in true Marxist-Leninist form. They may, however, look at this society of mass-oriented, obedient men, marching off to other continents to "spread the word of the Revolution", and protest weakly upon viewing the ultimate consequences of their philosophy: "But this is not what we meant!" (Ayn Rand, (1946)

Certainly, as was discussed earlier, Cuba had fewer problems than the average Third World state and, mainly in this way, is atypical of them. But Cuba shows certain signs of being the society described in "Anthem" where the word "I" no longer exists, and use of it is punishable by death. The basic essential for an indoctrinating society - lack of privacy - most certainly is a striking feature of Cuban life, and dissension necessitates "Rehabilitation".

To conclude: if it might be possible - and this seems unlikely - for underdeveloped countries to cope with material difficulties at first, yet never lose sight of the aura surrounding the concept of the educated man, of knowledge pursued through interest and for its own sake, of principles held through rational, critical enquiry - then perhaps the Ayn Rands, George Orwells and Aldous Huxleys of the world may not be proved all too justified in their pessimism.

Perhaps one may smile (perhaps not?), at the extreme, cynical view: Heberto Padilla's "Instructions for entering a new society":

> The first thing: you must be
> optimistic.
> The second: neat, restrained and obedient,
> (you should have passed all the tests in sports).
> And finally, walk
> like every member:
> one step ahead, and
> two or three backwards:
> but always applauding.
>
> (Quoted in B.Reckord, (1971) (p 48).

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