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GOALS FOR THE EDUCATION OF WHITE AMERICANS
IN THE CONTEXT OF RACISM

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

John Timothy Leonard, B.A., S.T.L.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

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Department of Education
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Studies in Communications. Dr. Charles Galloway

Studies in Racism. Professor A.D. Bourgeois

Studies in Educational Development. Dr. Ross Mooney

Studies in Curriculum. Dr. Paul Klohr
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GOALS FOR THE EDUCATION OF
WHITE AMERICANS IN THE
CONTEXT OF RACISM

By
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Racism is found to be such a virulent element of the political, economic, and educational institutions of white society that it endangers the survival of American culture. Racism is so pervasive, however, that most traditional American thought about educational goals either promotes or would unconsciously condone the continuance of racism.

The investigator does not affirm that education can cure racism, but by taking the thought of Bernard Lonergan, a Jesuit philosopher-theologian, he shows that thought about the goals of education can be framed in a new language, capable of yielding fresh insights on the purposes of education.

The investigator concludes that by leading students to a differentiation and integration of the dimensions of meaning within their lives, by enabling them to develop aesthetic meanings, by helping them achieve self-affirmation, and by enabling them to perceive the value of living and choosing in a manner coherent with their knowing, educators would be imparting to students a sound basis for the possible development of wisdom and moral courage. The investigator takes the position that wise and moral men
will deal with racism effectively and that if educators would set their sights on the four goals he has enunciated, the schools of white children might find themselves more able to facilitate the development of the required wisdom and morality.
INTRODUCTION

According to the Kerner Report\(^1\) the major underlying cause of the violent outbreaks in the black ghettos of the United States in the nineteen sixties was white racism. "White racism, the report says, is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture that has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II."\(^2\) At once, however, the commission leaves this theme to concentrate on the pathologies of the ghetto. It speaks of the disintegration of family life and social structure among black people and the high rate of unemployment. Rather than dealing with the causes of the problem the report indulges in what Lerone Bennett has called the white man's genius: "to give negro Americans the name of their problem, thereby focusing attention on symptoms (the negro and the negro community) instead of causes (the white man and the white community)."\(^3\)

It is apparent that the race problem in America exists on the level of two psychosocial pathologies: the perception of the white man that he is superior to the black man, and the perception of the black man that he is inferior to the white man.\(^4\) There can be no doubt that the black man must be healed from his pathological feelings

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\(^2\)Ibid.


of inferiority. This is essentially the black man's task in today's social crisis, and he is responding to it in many creative, if not altogether successful ways.\(^5\) It is just as true and increasingly more urgent, however, that the white man be freed from his pathological fantasies of superiority.\(^6\) For the white man's fantasies are at the core of the black man's problems. These fantasies created the problem and effectively maintain it; it is only through their banishment that liberation from a racist society is possible.\(^7\)

The purpose of this investigation is to develop a descriptive definition of the phenomenon of racism in America and to discuss the impact that this phenomenon has had on the investigator's viewing of American education. One could discuss racism in education from many points of view. Once could be concerned with administrative questions and manifest his concern through proposals for funding, for alternative forms of schooling, for mobilizing desegregation or community control, etc.... Or one could take the point of view of a curriculum developer and look into the many hidden ways that school curricula and textbooks encourage white students to feel superior to black students and black students to feel inferior to whites. Another way to look at racism in education would be to concentrate on teacher education: to help teachers come to more fruitful insights into the meaning of racism in themselves, and in society. Each of these approaches has its importance and each

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\(^5\)For background on these attempts, see the writings and speeches of Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad, W. E. B. DuBois, Albert Cleage, Roy Innis and Preston Wilcox.


\(^7\)Jean Paul Sartre, Anti-Semite and Jew, New York: Schocken Books, 1965. Sartre's argument is that the Anti-Semite created the Jew and it can be argued by analogy, as Fanon has done, that the white man created the negro.
needs to be taken, but to a large extent administrative, curricular and teacher-education approaches to the question of racism in American education, whether done by white or by black scholars have tended to deal with the education of black students.

This study intends, however, to be concerned with what seems to the investigator to be a more fundamental question: the goals of education, and specifically the goals of the education of white students. Racism is radically a white problem and the investigator is attempting to develop an alternative set of goals for the education of white students which, should they be attained, would aid white men and women to attain the wisdom and moral courage necessary to abolish the racist myth from their own minds and hearts and hopefully from American society as well.

How these goals might be attained is not at issue here. The question "how?" is one that does concern administrators, curriculum developers, and teacher-educators, but it nevertheless, seems useful to clarify one's goals before one sets out at trying to attain them. In fact, the investigator is aware that the goals he will develop here may prove to be unattainable in American society as it is presently structured. Even if they are discovered to be such, he believes it is worthwhile to have discussed them and raised them as possibilities to be considered.

Everything in this study is aimed at illuminating the goals of the education of white students. The first question which needs to be dealt with for this purpose is the context within which American education is presently taking place. So the investigator first studies racism as it seems to exist in the individuals and institutions of American society. His purpose in this part of the dissertation (Chapter 1) is not to prove the existence of racism, rather it is to describe the phenomenon of racism as it seems to exist in our country. To do this he examines racism in
America's political, economic and educational institutions; and he describes three different, yet complementary theories of the moral, psychological and cultural roots of racism. It is hoped that the description which emerges is both comprehensive and clear for its comprehensiveness will be an assurance that the investigator is dealing with a social reality and its clarity will be a basis for critical reflection.

Once he has developed a comprehensive and clear notion of the phenomenon of racism in American society the investigator will review the main lines of American thought on the goals of education. He will do this for two reasons, which should become apparent by the end of Chapter Two. First, many of the goals developed by Americans for their institutions of education, if not essentially racist, are integrally tied to the racist phenomenon described in Chapter One. Secondly, a student could achieve those goals which are not so apparently racist in nature and still remain a racist in his individual and social approach to life and be unaware of the discontinuity between his education and his behavior.

In the Third Chapter the investigator devotes himself to the explanation of the method of his study. He places this explanation between the first two and the last two chapters because the final chapters represent a slight shift in method and he attempts to differentiate and relate the two methods in this chapter.

Once he has established the meaning of racism and the radical incapacity of most of American thought on educational goals to deal with it, the investigator will devote the rest of his study to the development of an alternative way of looking at the goals of American education. The Fourth Chapter will consist in large part of a description of the thought of Bernard Lonergan, a Canadian Jesuit theologian. Lonergan has never addressed himself directly to the question of racism, but it is the investigator's
belief that Lonergan's thought on the dimensions of meaning, the nature of human understanding, the philosophy of education and what Lonergan calls "horizon development," and method in the human sciences can be applied to the question with a power and freshness that is quite illuminating. For this reason, a good part of the Fourth Chapter consists of the investigator's interpretation of Lonergan's thought as it seems to apply to racism and American education.

In the concluding chapter the investigator outlines the main ways in which it seems that Lonergan's thought offers a genuine alternative to contemporary American thought about the goals of education in the context of racism in American society. The investigator will then indicate the extent to which, if attained, these goals could establish a basis for the development of the wisdom and moral courage necessary for white students to deal effectively with the racism that envelops their lives.
CHAPTER 1

Racism: Its Institutional Power
Its Cultural Roots

The literature dealing with the question of racism in American society is quite varied. In this chapter the investigation shall attempt to glean a descriptive synthesis of racism as it is perceived by the most trenchant authors in the field. After analyzing the concept of race itself, he will proceed to describe racism in contemporary economic, political, and educational institutions, and attempt to point up the historical and psychological roots which seem to underlie the racist phenomenon in this country. The chapter will conclude with a descriptive definition of racism as it exists in American schools.

THE CONCEPT OF RACE

To begin with, there is no such thing as race -- at least in the sense that the word is ordinarily used in contemporary popular culture and quasi-scientific literature. The myth of race has been amply exposed by such writers as Ashley Montagu,\(^1\) Jacques Barzun,\(^2\) Gordon Allport,\(^3\)

\(^1\) Ashley Montagu, The Idea of Race, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.


and Oscar Handlin. Montagu has shown that there is not a shred of evidence to indicate a linkage between a man's color and/or bone structure and his behavior patterns. Barzun has shown that race is a nineteenth century sciento-superstition which has served mainly as a convenient rationalization for the white man's discrimination and genocidal behavior against men of darker skin. Gordon Allport has shown evidence that skin color is a result of less than 10% of an individual's genetic pool. Handlin and Gossett, as well as Montagu, however, have shown that the concept of race itself, as a scientific biological grouping is groundless. There is no verifiable way in which one can show that one so-called race is, in fact, differentiated from another. There is a greater range of different skin-colors, for instance, within the so-called negro race than there is between the negro and the mongoloid, or even between the negro and the caucasoid races. These studies have led the psychoanalyst Joel Kovel to exclaim quite succinctly, "the fact is, men are hued, not colored."  

Contemporary conceptual racism can be said to have its origins in the thought of Aristotle and the categorical type thinking which his philosophy tended to inspire. In fact, one contemporary cultural critic believes that the core of racism lies in man's tendency to "pseudo-specify" his fellow man.

If man must learn to face himself as he faces all others, we imply that so far in history he has made every effort not to see that mankind is one species. The term (pseudo-


species) denotes the fact that while man is obviously one species, he appears and continues on the scene split up into groups (from tribes to nations from castes to classes, from regions to ideologies) which provide their members with a firm sense of distinct and superior identity — and immortality. This demands, however, that each group must invent for itself a place and a movement in the very centre of the universe where and when an especially provident deity caused it to be created superior to all others, the mere mortals.

Carl Linnaeus lived in an age dominated by Aristotelian-categorical thinking. Linnaeus was a naturalist whose main concern was to make some kind of ordered sense out of the diversity he encountered in his study of plants, flowers, and trees. In 1735 Linnaeus published his *Systema Naturae*, a painstaking effort to put stones, plants, trees, insects, fish, birds, and land-born animals into the Aristotelian order of genera and species. In so doing Linnaeus supplied a mode of classification with which to arrange the data of nature in a generalizeable form. His importance in the development of racist thinking lies in the fact that the main task of the naturalists who followed him (especially Blumenthal) into the late nineteenth century was the classification of natural phenomena.

The immediate followers of Linnaeus who were interested in developing a science of man continued his line of thought in the categorization of nations. To be sure, ethnic categorization is as old as civilization itself but the attempt to scientize such political behavior is basic to the development of conceptual or "intellectual" racism in the nineteenth century.

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and twentieth centuries.

Oscar Handlin reports\(^{11}\) that Dr. Samuel G. Morton was mainly responsible for the translation of Linnaeus and Blumenthal onto the American scene. That men existed in categories called races became an assumption unquestioned by nineteenth century American naturalists.

The only problem, in the view of Morton, Josiah Nott, and others was to explain the origins of what they assumed to be the different races of men.

It was precisely at this point that the writings of Charles Darwin and Count Arthur de Gobineau combined to form an intellectual basis for the development of racist thought in America. After the Origin of the Species it was impossible for natural scientists to take the biblical accounts of the origins of man literally, and at the same time that this scepticism was developing, Gobineau published his Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races.\(^{12}\)

Gobineau ascribed to race the power of differentiating men in their physical beauty, cultural power, language, body structure, and even spiritual capacity.\(^{13}\) According to him, the white Aryans of India, Egypt, Greece and Rome had always displayed power, energy, and the ability to lead the inferior blood of the darker races. The inferior blood of these darker races, however, when mixed with the blood of pure Aryans always resulted in the degeneration of the pure white race. This doctrine fascinated Nietsche and dominated the political policies of Adolph Hitler. In the United States it found enthusiastic support from.

\(^{11}\) Oscar Handlin, ibid., P. 64.

\(^{12}\) Arthur Comte de Gobineau, Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races, Philadelphia, 1856.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., pp. 177 ff.
the friends and supporters of Samuel Morton and Josiah Nott. Nott pointed out that when one combines Gobineau's theory with the Darwinian doctrine of the survival of the fittest, one comes to know that the white strain deteriorates with "every drop of black blood infiltrated into it."15

Dr. Nott's statement, as well as his theorizing about the racial basis of cultural characteristics may seem quaintly out of date today, but this kind of intellectual racism has left its mark indelibly on the American consciousness and even on American public practice. As recently as 1952, when the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act was passed by the United States Congress -- and, indeed, it is still the law of the land -- the assumption was held that southern and eastern Europeans, not to mention Asiatics and Africans were less capable of "Americanization" than were northern (lighter skin-colored) Europeans.16 A brief look at the McCarran Act's quota system reveals the truth of this allegation. The McCarran Act's provisions can be directly related to two congressional studies done earlier in the century by Senator John Dillingham and Dr. Harry Laughlin.17

But one need not even look back that far in our nation's history to find this strain of conceptual racism. It subtly underlies the recommendations of the Kerner report that black schools to be more successful,  

14Josiah C. Nott, Collections on the Natural History of the Caucasian and Negro Races, Mobile, Alabama: 1944.

15ibid., P. 73.

16Oscar Handlin, ibid., P. 75.

17Oscar Handlin, ibid., P. 80 ff.
must become like white schools and the novelist William Styron's thesis that the fundamental drive behind Nat Turner's slave rebellion was Turner's supposed passion to get himself between a pair of white thighs.

Most blatantly, however, this conceptual racism has recently appeared in the geneticist Arthur Jensen's theory that blacks have lower I.Q.'s than whites because of genetic inferiority.

The concept of race, therefore, though proven to be a myth, has consistently affected intellectual thought in America, and still affects it today.

**INSTITUTIONAL RACISM**

Were race only a conceptual consideration, it would be more easily dealt with. But it infects institutional life in America as well.

For the purposes of this investigation let the word institution mean those habitual patterns of behavior whereby a society acts to fulfill its needs to equitably share goods and services, to provide for public order, and to pass along to its children the basic elements of its cultural heritage. In other words, this discussion will be limited to the economic, political and educational institutions of American life.

**ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS**

For all intents and purposes Black people are excluded from ownership of productive property in American society. The total number

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of Black-owned business in the United States amounts to less than 50,000. That is to say, approximately 1% of American businesses are owned by Blacks, who comprise 11% of the population.\(^{21}\)

More significant in terms of ownership of private enterprise, however, is the fact that the total assets of Black-owned banks, insurance companies, and federally assured savings and loan associations amount to a mere .12% of the total assets of financial institutions in this country.\(^{22}\)

Andrew Brimmer points out that the situation is getting worse for the potential black entrepreneur: between 1950 and 1960 the number of black business decreased by more than one-fifth.\(^{23}\) This, of course, is part of the general trend in American business to put the small independent firms out of business in favor of the large corporations. The relationship of this monopolistic trend, however, to the cultural and psychological roots of racism will be treated later in this chapter.

The situation is also worsening for the black worker, despite Gunner Myrdal's thesis that the employment situation among American Blacks is getting better.\(^{24}\)

In 1963 it was reported to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate, that "The lifetime earnings of non-white elementary school graduates is about 64% of the white total. Among college graduates, non-whites have only 47% of the white total. The fact of the matter is that the average non-white with four years of college can expect


\(^{23}\)Ibid., P. 295.

to earn less over a lifetime than the white who did not go beyond the 8th grade."  

That the employment situation for blacks has in fact worsened is clear from the following table: Unemployment

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<th>Non-White</th>
<th>Non-White as % of White</th>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>11.0</td>
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Currently, the rate of black unemployment among urban blacks is approximately 14%, and among black teenagers it is 37%.  

Moreover, the black median income is currently 58% of the white median income. Put in terms of constant 1965 dollars, the median non-white income for a family of four in 1947 was $2,174.00 lower than the median white income. By 1966 this gap had grown to $3,036.00.  

Since 1954 black unemployment has consistently remained above the 6% "recession" level and in the spring quarter of 1971, unemployment among urban blacks was 14% and among black teenagers 37%. At the same time that this drastic rise in unemployment was taking place, the administration of the Manpower Development Training Act announced that it was changing its emphasis from "training the unskilled to retraining..."
the previously skilled. In other words, M.D.T.A., beginning in 1971 is serving more whites and fewer blacks.

Nor have labor unions been any more cooperative in training blacks. In 1962, A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters wrote that black workers are discriminated against "in apprenticeship training, hiring policies, seniority lists, pay scales, and job assignments in many locals, especially the building trades."

Similarly, Herbert Hill of NAACP reports that out of a labor force of 10.5 million black workers, only 1.5 million are members of trade unions. In Columbus, Ohio today there are no black electricians in the union.

The underside of this already sordid picture of black unemployment is to be seen in the proliferation of black families receiving public assistance. In The Wasted Americans, Edgar May reports:

Nationally, the proportion of negroes receiving ADC is four times greater than the proportion of negroes in the total population. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimated about 44% of all ADC recipients are negroes. There are indications that negroes would be the majority of ADC recipients if it were not for restrictive relief policies in some southern states that help keep them off the roles. In the larger cities they are more often the majority than not. In at least ten cities negroes make up more than four-fifths of the ADC program. In Washington it is about 93%.


Unpublished Study by Economics Students at Columbus Technical Institute, March 1972.

The Black Man as Consumer

Since our investigation has shown that the black man cannot hope, generally, to own a profitable business in this society, and cannot expect to be but "half-as-gainfully-employed" as the white man, it is important for us to take a look at the black man as a consumer in this society.

In this context it must be known and taken for granted that the black man in America is subjected to the same mass-media, radio, television and print media as the white man. His needs and desires are manipulated in the same way as the needs and desires of all Americans.

Discriminatory housing patterns as well as poor means of transportation limit severely the ability of the urban black poor to shop from store to store. A series of surveys conducted by students at Ohio State University in the winter and spring quarters of 1971 indicate that ghetto residents in Columbus pay an average of 5 to 7% more for groceries than others do.36

Similarly, Paul Rand Dixon, Chairman of the FTC testified before the Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders that an item selling wholesale at $100.00 would retail on the average for $165.00 in a general merchandise store but for $250.00 in a low-income specialty store.37 David Caplovitz, in his excellent book The Poor Pay More has documented instance after instance of the truth of Mr. Dixon's allegation.38

36These reports are in the investigator's unpublished files.


The methods of extending credit in ghetto stores and loan associations compounds this exploitation of the black man as a consumer. In 1965, the investigator assisted at the funeral of a black woman who had borrowed $346.00 in 1936. At her death, thirty years later, she still owed the loan company $360.00. Black militants refer to this situation as "being on the plantation."

But it is in the area of housing that the black man as a consumer is most effectively and cruelly exploited. The Kerner Commission reported that, based on a study of Newark, New Jersey, "Non-whites were paying a definite 'color tax' of apparently well over 10% on housing. This condition prevails in most racial ghettos."[39]

Nor has the federal government itself acted responsibly in providing adequate housing for poor blacks. In the federally-funded Urban Renewal Project in Cincinnati, Ohio, for instance, hundreds of slum dwellings were destroyed in a very short time with hopelessly inadequate relocation. When the new projects of Parktown and Richmond Village were established, rents were found to be an average of 15% to 20% higher than in the old neighborhood.[40] Moreover, the Federal Housing Authority has consistently taken a racist attitude towards integrated housing. In 1934, the F.H.A.'s manual stated, "If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same society and race group."[41] Further, F.H.A. continues to maintain credit

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requirements which systematically discriminate against the poor in general and blacks in particular by demanding a minimum present income, good prospects for future income, and evidence of faithful repayment of past obligations.\textsuperscript{42} Such requirements are difficult enough for the poor white man, but the difficulty for the black man is compounded by the greater difficulty he has in establishing a good credit rating, and the insecurity of almost any black man's future.

In the private sector, racial discrimination in housing is a truism. In addition to the 10% color tax, thousands of black people are forced to live in substandard housing and those who could financially escape those living conditions are systematically discriminated against by the written and unwritten "codes of ethics" of local real estate boards. Open housing legislation has proven to be singularly ineffective against such discrimination, and though the Open Housing Law in Ohio was enacted in 1967, not a single realtor or landlord has been penalized for violation of the law.\textsuperscript{43}

\textbf{Capitalism and Domestic Colonialism}

It is in this context of systematic economic exploitation that one can view with better insight the growing body of literature by black scholars which describes the political and economic position of black people in America in terms of neo-colonialism.

A feeling that the White-Black relations in the United States are parallel to the relationships between a colonizing country and the colonized peoples has existed from the beginning of the republic. Thomas Jefferson, who theoretically opposed slavery (though, indeed he owned slaves) theorized in 1821 about alternatives to slavery, "Nothing is more certainly written

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., P. 28

\textsuperscript{43}Unpublished study of students at Ohio State University, Autumn, 1970.
in the book of fate, than that these people (negro slaves) are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government." Abraham Lincoln, likewise said, "I am not in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races -- that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters of jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people, and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the black and white races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality."45

These two men are quoted because both of them expressed a profound realization that whites would always dominate blacks, not only socially, but politically as well. In fact, both men favored sending blacks to a colony in Africa, where they would gradually earn their independence.46 In fact, Theodore Draper affirms that from the time of Jefferson to the time of Lincoln, "colonization" of the negro was the white man's favorite solution to the racial problem in America.47 In fact, the whole back-to-Africa strain of American history, from the founding of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the United States in 1816 to the Pan-Africanism of the Black Panther Party is nothing more than an affirmation on the part of many black and white Americans alike that the

44 Thomas Jefferson, Autobiography, quoted by Theodore Draper in The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism, New York:


46 Theodore Draper, ibid., pp. 5-6.

47 Theodore Draper, ibid., P. 7.
political, economic and social relations between white and black America can best be described as a special kind of colonialism.\textsuperscript{48}

J. H. O'Dell, Robert Allen, E. Franklin Frazier, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, and others have analyzed American race relations in terms of colonialism. These analyses are of some significance if one is to get hold of the theory of domestic neo-colonialism as it is being advanced and absorbed by an increasing number of Americans.

To grasp the theory it is important to realize that all of these writers assume that one should disregard the disposition of territory as an essential condition for the existence of colonialism. To all of them the mechanisms of colonial domination operate within the United States just as truly as they do, say between Portugal and Angola or Great Britain and Ghana.

Allen defines Colonialism in this way:

Broadly speaking, colonialism can be defined as the direct and over all subordination of one people nation or country to another with state power in the hands of the dominating power. Politically, colonialism means the direct administration of the subordinate group by persons drawn from the dominant power.\textsuperscript{49}

To be sure, colonialism in this rigid form is a dying political system in the twentieth century, but it still exists, and in the form of neo-colonialism it still dominates the political and economic relations between western Europe and Africa. In the case of Ghana, for instance, as soon as it became apparent that Kwame Nkrumah's government was preparing to rid his nation of the economic as well as the political domination of


Great Britain, a bloodless coup, formed by natives in alliance with Britain's aims, ousted the black leader. As a result, imports from Britain to Ghana are still controlled by the United Africa Company, a British-owned company making an annual profit which exceeds the tax revenues of Ghana itself, and which controls potential competition for British goods among Ghanaian manufacturers.\(^5\)

Allen quotes a study by Bob Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer in which the authors say:

> The colonial governments yield administrative powers to the natives only when vital British interests are reasonably secure. These natives must show themselves willing and able to serve as post-colonial sergeants-of-the-guard over British property: rubber in Malaya, land in Kenya, oil in Aden, bauxite in British Guiana. When no cooperative stratum has yet emerged 'independence' is delayed. Meanwhile, elements hostile to British interests are liquidated, shoved aside or coopted. The problem for the British in colonial Africa has been to shape a native ruling class strong enough to protect British interest, but still weak enough to be dominated.\(^5\)

\(^5\)Ibid., P. 15.

From what has been said, one can begin to understand the structure of neo-colonialism as it exists between the rich and the poor nations. Table Two outlines this along with the parallel structure of the relations between whites and blacks in the United States as these relations are described by O'Dell, Allen, E. Franklin Frazier, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, Ivan Illich, William Grier and Price Cobbs.  

52 J.H. O'Dell, ibid.
Robert Allen, ibid.
Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, New York: Grove Press, 1968.
### Neo-Colonialism

1) Economic domination by the corporations of the colonizing nation.

2) Establishment of an elite class among the "natives" who ally themselves with the interests of the colonizer.\(^5\)

3) Use of "natives" land, labor, and natural resources in the interest of the colonizer.\(^5\)

4) Use of armies to control incipient rebellion and protect colonizer's properties.\(^5\)

5) Use of religion to encourage submission.\(^5\)

6) Use of teachers and schools to disparage indigenous culture and teach the righteousness of the colonizer.\(^6\)

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### Domestic Neo-Colonialism

1) Economic domination by the corporations owned by white Americans.

2) Establishment of an elite class of black leaders chosen by whites to support their interests.\(^5\)

3) Estrangement of black man from his native land; exploitation of his labor in the interest of white corporations.\(^5\)

4) Use of police and/or army to control incipient rebellion and protect white-owned property.\(^5\)

5) Use of religion to encourage submission.\(^5\)

6) Use of prohibition of schooling followed by compulsory schooling in inferior schools to destroy vestiges of black culture and to proclaim that righteousness is white.\(^5\)

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\(^{5}\) Frantz Fanon, ibid. P. 39.

\(^{5}\) Franklin E. Frazier, ibid. P. 99.

\(^{5}\) Robert Allen, ibid. P. 16.

\(^{5}\) Ibid., P. 17.

\(^{5}\) Frantz Fanon, ibid. P. 47.


\(^{5}\) Frantz Fanon, ibid. P. 50.


\(^{5}\) Ivan Illich, ibid. P. 20.

\(^{5}\) Ivan Illich, ibid. P. 21.
In the views of these authors, then colonialism and capitalism are almost interchangeable terms, and to understand the exploitation of one is to understand the expansionism and exploitation of the other. Ivan Illich expresses this view when he writes, "Fundamentally, this (Watts, Latin America, Vietnam) is the same war fought on three fronts; it is a war to 'preserve the values of the west'."63

The Economics and Politics of Genocide

In the spring of 1969, Sydney Willhelm published an essay in Catalyst, a review of the State University of New York. Willhelm's argument carries the notion of economic exploitation of black people into the realm of political exploitation and the likelihood of the genocide of blacks by whites in America. The only ethnic group comparable to the American Negro, Willhelm argues, is the American Indian. The white man in America, in his view, behaves towards all other races based upon the principles of economic utility. Orientals, he said, have been able to survive within their enclaves because to a greater or less extent they have made themselves indispensable to the nation economically. Similarly, the American Indian was treated with respect and honor as an equal as long as he remained an economic necessity. As Indians became less and less necessary for the nation's economy they were killed or rounded up into reservations. It is Willhelm's thesis that as negroes in America become more and more economically obsolete, as indeed they are in terms of employment and ownership statistics already cited in this paper, so they will also be more and more forced to confine themselves to ghettos in central cities.

63Ibid., P. 24.
Those negroes who attempt to rebel against this growing confinement will be murdered.\textsuperscript{64} It is argued then, that the end result of America's racism is or will be the genocide of black people.

A majority of whites, when confronted with such argument are convinced it is nothing more than fanciful nonsense. Yet the argument is carried out with considerable force by Samuel Yette in \textit{The Choice}.\textsuperscript{65} Yette's position is that white America has one of three choices to make about the obsolete black people that live within its boundaries: liberate them; liquidate them; or pacify them. Up to this point, pacification programs such as the programs of the Ford Foundation, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Model Cities have predominated white man's policy towards the black man. More and more, however, the argument develops, black people are angered by the ineffectiveness of such programs, and the time is coming when they no longer will be pacified. When they display their unrest, black people are subjected by whites to militaristic and, in fact, genocidal retaliation. In 1968, after the unrest in Washington, D. C., following the death of Martin Luther King, The House Unamerican Activities Committee issued the following report to President Johnson:

\begin{quote}
Guerilla warfare, as envisioned by its proponents at this stage would have to have its base in the ghetto. This being the case, the ghetto would have to be sealed off from the rest of the city. Police, State Troopers, and the National Guard could adequately handle this chore and, if they needed help, the regular Army would be brought into service. Once the ghetto is sealed off, and depending upon the violence being perpetrated by the guerrillas, the following actions could be taken by the authorities:
\end{quote}


1) A curfew would be imposed in the enclosed isolated area. No one would be allowed out of or into the area after sundown.

2) During the night the authorities would not only patrol the boundary lines, but would also attempt to control the streets and, if necessary, send out foot patrols through the entire area. If the guerillas attempted to either break out of the area or to engage the authorities in open combat, they would be readily suppressed.

3) During a guerilla uprising most civil liberties would have to be suspended, search and seizure operations would be instituted during the daylight hours, and anyone found armed or without proper identification would immediately be arrested. Most of the people of the ghetto would not be involved in the guerilla operation, and under conditions of police and military control, some would help in ferreting out the guerillas. Their help would be invaluable.

4) If the guerillas were able to hold out for a period of time then the population of the ghetto would be classified through an office for the control and organization of the inhabitants. This office would distribute 'census cards' which would bear a photograph of the individual, the letter of the district in which he lives, his house and street number, and a letter designating his home city. This classification would aid the authorities in knowing the exact location of any suspect and who is in control of any given district. Under such a system, movement would be proscribed and the ability of the guerilla to move freely from place to place seriously curtailed.

5) The population within the ghetto would be exhorted to work with authorities and to report on guerillas and any suspicious activity they might note. The police agencies would be in a position to make immediate arrests, without warrants, under suspension of guarantees usually provided by the constitution.

6) Acts of overt violence by the guerillas would mean that they had declared a state of war within the country, and therefore would forfeit their rights as in wartime. The McCarran Act provides for various detention centers to be operated throughout the country and these might well be utilized for the temporary imprisonment of warring guerillas.

7) The very nature of the guerilla operation as presently envisioned by certain Communists and black nationalists would be impossible to sustain. According to the most knowledgeable guerilla war experts in this country, the revolutionaries
could be isolated and destroyed in a short period of time.66

The militaristic and genocidal intent of the H.U.A.C. in this statement speaks for itself. Yette's argument, however, develops in three stages: 1) all government programs organized ostensibly to help black people are nothing more than programs of pacification for whenever they approach the point of actual liberation of blacks, the government withdraws its support from them;67 2) black liberation is not considered by the United States Government as a desirable goal;68 3) the alternative, that is to say, genocide, has not been eschewed by the United States Government, and, in fact, has been practiced by the United States against the American Indian, against the Japanese-American in World War II, against the Vietnamese, and in certain specific instances against American Blacks.69

Points 1 and 2 of Yette's argument are most dramatically illustrated by the story of the ill-fated President's Council on Equal Opportunity, established by the Johnson Administration in 1965. In February, 1965 Johnson moved to end the bureaucratic shell-game which frustrated so many black groups when they came to Washington to seek redress of grievances. He aligned federal agencies in such a way that they were all to be coordinated by Vice President Humphrey who would ultimately be responsible to see to it that genuine redress was granted. The council was to enforce civil rights legislation by withdrawing funds from corporations and agencies of government who did not comply. On March 12, 1965 the Council recommended the use


67 Samuel Yette, Ibid., Part I, Chapters 1 and 2.

68 Ibid., Part I, Chapter 2 and Part II, Chapter 3.

69 Ibid., Part II and Part III.
of federal troops in support of Martin Luther King's march in Selma, Alabama. Then, in late September of the same year the board recommended that $90 million be withheld from the Chicago School Board under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act for de facto segregation. Johnson reversed this decision and a few days later, the President's Council on Equal Opportunity was dissolved after only eight months in existence.70

Yette develops the argument for point three from the basis of the United States steadfast refusal since 1948 to sign the United Nations Declaration Against Genocide through the economic considerations which have, as a matter of fact, kept us active in the Vietnamese conflict, through the conspiratorial behavior of Police Departments throughout the United States against black nationalist groups, specifically the Black Panthers.71

Educational Institutions

It is especially illuminating to understand the American Public School within the economic and political perspective which has just been described. If one accepts the conclusions of Allen, Illich, Willhelm and Yette, the schools in American ghettoes are seen as instruments of oppression and further exploitation, rather than institutions of education, and reform of such schools by the bureaucracy which presently runs them is seen as a virtual impossibility. This is not a new theme. It was advanced in 1935 by Carter G. Woodson in The Miseducation of the Negro,72 and was reiterated in more rigid sociological framework by Patricia Sexton in 1958.73 Less well

70 Ibid., PP. 67-68
71 Ibid., Part III Chapter 7
known, but perhaps more significant in terms of the present investigation is the work of Alice Miel and Edwin Kiester on "The Short-changed Children of Suburbia" which concentrates on the social attitudes generated among white children in the public school. In this section of the study we shall deal first with the miseducation of the negro, then of the white student.

"Miseducation of the Negro"

In general terms, Woodson complained in the nineteen thirties that the American Negro was being educated to serve a role of subservience in American society for no other reason than the color of his skin. In the nineteen fifties, Patricia Sexton complained that the social function of black schools was, in fact to keep black and poor children black and poor. In 1968, M. Lee Montgomery complained that 60% of the graduates of schools in black neighborhoods were functionally illiterate. In the context of domestic neo-colonialism, these concerns have led men like Leslie Campbell and other black nationalists to exclaim, "The Devil can never educate us."

Among the instruments of oppression in public schools, Sexton and others cite the use of I.Q. testing. That I.Q. tests are culture-bound is a truism among contemporary educators, yet they are still widely used in a process of naming which students are intelligent and which students

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76 Leslie Campbell, "The Devil Can Never Educate Us" in Ibid., P. 27.
are not. Since Martin Deutch has shown that black students across the socio-economic board score lower on I.Q. tests than white students it becomes apparent that I.Q. testing can easily be interpreted as a systematic way of keeping black students down. In fact, it has been found in St. Louis, Missouri that "a disproportionate percentage of students in track I (the highest track) have been white, and a similar disproportion in track III (lowest) have been negro." I.Q. testing and tracking have worked hand in hand in American schools to continue the miseducation of American blacks well into the last half of the twentieth century, and quite typically of a neo-colonialist system, demands for community control by black people of their own schools have been met with steadfast resistance -- especially by the teacher's unions. When one considers the growing lack of faith in the public schools on the part of black people, and the Coleman Report's findings that the degree of faith students have in the school's ability to help them form their own destiny as the main ingredient in successful schooling such resistance of community control appears to be at best unconscionable.

"Miseducation of the White Student"

Lloyd Marcus, Kenneth Stampp, Winthrop Jordan, and Irving Sloan


have studied the negro in American history textbooks and he is for all practical purposes non-existent. This non-existence, or invisibility of the black man in the textbooks of American schools is paralleled by an isolation of white students from blacks in a thoroughly segregated school system. More than anything else, the studies of Alice Miel have shown that the middle class white students of American suburban schools are unaware of the existence of people and cultures different from themselves within their own country including blacks. Louis Knowles argues quite cogently that such deletions are not so significant in themselves as they are in the ethnocentric superiority that they implicitly teach to white students.

**Summary**

In this first part of the chapter the investigator has attempted to review the major trends in the literature concerning racism in economic, political and educational institutions. The frame of reference he has taken is that these institutions are profoundly interconnected and that the economic and political institutions dominate the function and practice of the educational institutions. He has assumed the insights of C. Wright Mills that power dominates the relations between groups in American institutional life, and that it is an over-simplification to deal with these realities as if they could all be understood under the terms of interpersonal relations and

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82 Alice Miel and Edwin Kiester, Ibid., pp. 15-22.

83 Knowles and Prewitt, Ibid., pp. 54-55.
interpersonal communications. To assume this is not to disregard problems of interpersonal relations and communications. It is merely to assume that such problems exist within the framework of the power relations that exist between whites as a group and blacks as a group in America today.

Before attempting a descriptive synthesis of the phenomenon of racism in American society, however, he considers it necessary to consider the historical and cultural context of racism in America since it underlies these institutional realities and support the phenomenon of individual race prejudice.

CHAPTER I PART II

It has been the genius of the white man in America, says Lerone Bennet to name his problem the "Negro Problem." The intent of this part of the chapter is to show that the problem of race in the United States today is, indeed a white problem which can be solved at base only by white people.

Violence, slavery, and economic as well as political exploitation have existed in most societies since recorded history began. But there is no evidence in the western world that consciousness of skin color was directly related to this until the eighth or ninth centuries. The defensiveness of the European World, however, against the threat of Moorish invasion set up a predisposition in men of the west to mistrust and fear men of darker skin. Coupled with the doctrine of Christianity, and the salvation of all

men through their God and their Christ, white men tended to assume their superiority, culturally and religiously.

The biblical symbolism is of some significance here; not in itself so much as in its ease of symbolic transfer. In John's gospel God is light, and sin is darkness. The correlation between darkness and sin throughout the Bible, in fact is quite strong, and the symbolic transfer to racist philosophy is blatantly apparent in the interpretation of the Hamite legend.

"The first child born after the flood," wrote George Best in 1577, "should inherit and possess all the dominions of the earth. Ham used company with his wife and craftily went about to disinherit the offspring of his other two brethren. As a consequence of this disobedience, God commanded a son should be born whose name was Chus, who not only himself but all his posterity after him should remain black and loathsome so it might remain a spectacle of disobedience to all the world. And of this black and cursed Chus came all these black Moors which are in Africa."®7 Best went on to insist, "The cause of the Ethiopians blackness is the curse and natural infection of the blood."®8 It is apparent that by the seventeenth century many Englishmen associated blackness of skin with punishment, curse, and natural infection.®9

Though there is literary evidence (such as Best's work) of racist feelings of white men towards blacks throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is a difficult task to sort out how widespread and how deep these feelings were among white Americans and Englishmen. Two

®7 Barry Schwartz and Robert Disch, White Racism, Its History, Pathology and Practice, Best's and similar discourses are quoted in the Introduction to this book, PP. 1-66.

®8 ibid. P. 21.

®9 ibid. P. 8 ff.
American scholars, however, Winthrop D. Jordan\textsuperscript{90} and Joel Kovel\textsuperscript{91} have addressed themselves to this task with considerable care and insight.

Jordan's first concern was to show elements in English culture which predisposed them to a racist attitude. He did this for two reasons: first, the strongest single influence on the developing American culture was the culture of England, and second, the acknowledged cycle of "blaming the victim" as a moving force in white racism is not sufficient in itself to explain the phenomenon, for one must get to the predispositions which underlied the rationalization needed to enslave black people for a more comprehensive explanation.\textsuperscript{92}

From the writings of many 16th century authors, Jordan shows that Englishmen were startled by their sudden close contact with black men, that the blackness of their skin both attracted and repelled them, that they were repelled by the negro's nakedness and linked blackness of skin quite spontaneously to sexual libertarianism. Jordan shows that the \textit{Oxford English Dictionary} -- even before the sixteenth century, defined blackness as "deeply stained with dirt, soiled, dirty, foul, having dark or deadly purposes, malignant, pertaining to or involving death, deadly, baneful, disastrous sinister, dirty foul, iniquitous, atrocious, horrible, wicked, indicating disgrace, censure, liability to punishment, etc."\textsuperscript{93}

Even more significantly, Jordan indicates the attempt on the part of Englishmen to define themselves in terms of the black man, "everything


\textsuperscript{92}Winthrop Jordan, \textit{Ibid.}, P. 4.

\textsuperscript{93}\textit{Ibid.}, P. 7 and all of Chapter 1.
white will have its black, and every sweet its sour," wrote Thomas Percy in the Elizabethan age.94 Elizabethans perceived white as the color of perfect human beauty — especially female beauty — which they contrasted with its opposite darkness. Meanwhile, their Puritan contemporaries were busily contrasting their moral purity to the ape-like libidinousness of the uncultured, heathen, and cursed black.95

Kovel links this moral puritanism to racism in his discussion of the white man's fantasies of dirt and filth. To appreciate the insightfulness of Kovel's psychoanalytic approach, however, it is necessary to consider his distinction between the domineering and the aversive racist. The domineering racist is the man who explicitly and blatantly hates and oppresses black men. He is represented historically by the slavedriver, and today by the Klansman or the member of the White Citizens' Council. The aversive racist, on the other hand, though no less a racist is more like the classic puritan: he hides his racism from himself and could not bear to be directly and immediately involved in an act of oppression of a black man. His racism is shown more in acts of paternalism, and historically is represented by men like Abraham Lincoln. The dissolving of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity was an act of aversive racism, and aversive racism is the most common form of racism in contemporary society.

Kovel says that the aversive racist is dominated by his fantasies of filth, which he profoundly wants to avoid. In the psychoanalytic construct, filth fantasies are based on a man's desire to avoid contact with his own feces. The horror he feels at the sight or thought of human excrement is transferred to other objects, such as rats, dirt, or in the case of the racist, black men. The white

94Ibid., Page 7.
95Ibid., P. 42
concrete freeway, built over the rat-infested homes of black people, carrying somewhat overweight, air-conditioned white men to clean, pure suburbia and discussions on how to clean up the welfare mess is an apt and graphic image of what Kovel means by aversive racism.\(^{96}\)

The other side of this avoidance of filth, however, in Kovel's terms is the aggrandizement of self through some abstraction, that is, through something other than the real self. This self-aggrandizing abstraction is property. "The west is extraordinary," says Kovel, "in that it has held for centuries that the 'summum bonum' of life on earth is the expansion of the self through the acquisition of property."\(^{97}\)

This remarkable interplay within the culture and personalities of western man, therefore, between the drive to deny filth in oneself and project it onto the black man, and the drive to aggrandize self through the abstraction of acquiring property is seen by both Jordan, the historian, and Kovel, the psychoanalyst, as the core of cultural and personal racism in America. It underlied the motivations and rationalizations necessary for the development of the slave trade\(^{98}\) and continues to be the main psychological support for the most efficient form of racism yet developed: that of the aversive, northern, liberal capitalist.\(^{99}\)

Though he did not describe it with anything near clinical precision, Herman Melville describes the unconscious, mysterious and destructive power of whiteness in *Moby Dick* in his chapter on "The Whiteness of the Whale." To Melville, whiteness is at once a sign of beauty and horror, of all color and colorlessness,

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\(^{96}\) Joel Kovel, Ibid., P. 83.

\(^{97}\) Joel Kovel, Ibid., P. 17.

\(^{98}\) Winthrop Jordan, Ibid., Chapter 2, P. 44 ff.

\(^{99}\) Joel Kovel, Ibid., pp. 206-207.
of conflict between the visible and the invisible worlds in which men live.

In a startling passage, Melville says:

When we proceed further and consider that the mystical cosmetic which produces everyone of her hues, the great principle of light, forever remains white or colorless in itself, and if operating without medium on matter, would touch all objects, even tulips and roses, with its own blank tinge — pondering all this, the palsied universe lies before us a leper; and like wilful travellers in Lapland, who refuse to wear colored and coloring glasses on their eyes, so the wretched infidel gazes himself blind at the monumental white shroud that wraps all the prospect around him. And of all these things the Albino whale was the symbol. Wonder ye then at the fiery hunt?  

According to Melville the man wrapped in whiteness covers everything in his world of perceptions with his own blankness — he lives in the world of abstraction and in his fiery pursuit of that abstraction he will not even notice he is oppressing and harming other men.

What then is it that happens to men and a culture when the men in that culture name themselves white over against others whom they name black, or, indeed yellow? To convince the aversive racist that he is in all truth not white but more pink or somewhat tawney — to convince him that skin color is largely a socially influenced perception to the extent that the Japanese of the seventeenth century considered themselves white and the Dutch traders grey is often a very difficult task because he assumes and is wholeheartedly persuaded of the myth that he is white. Kovel and Melville both answer this question with profound insight. According to Melville he blinds himself to the real world in which he is living and quite unconsciously perpetrates evil. According to Kovel belief in the myth of whiteness reduces both the racist and the object of his racism to a vague abstraction: the humanity and erotic vital-


ity of both reduced to the status of semi-life.102

Leading from this core of the pursuit of abstraction on the one hand and the abhorrence of filth on the other, with its resultant deadening effect on the world of nature is another closely associated element in the personal and cultural heritage of the white man: his objectifying scientific and technological mentality. Alfred North Whitehead has stated that this mentality makes nature "a dull affair, soundless, scentless, colourless; merely the hurrying of material, endlessly, meaninglessly."103 Profit is not the only abstraction that white men have been pursuing in their avoidance of filth -- but scientific knowledge and technological power as well.

Lewis Mumford has amply outlined the development of this scientific-technological mind-set, and so has Jacques Ellul.104 According to Mumford, the Copernican world view ushered a new religion into the western world. In the old religion of the medieval synthesis, man was the center of the universe -- man watched over by a provident God whose providence was mysterious and unmanipulatable. In the new religion of the Copernican synthesis, according to Mumford, the sun became the center of power about which the rest of the universe moved with regular predictability. These movements could be studied and measured; mystery could be unmasked.105

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102 Joel Kovel, Ibid., P. 232 ff.
104 Lewis Mumford, The Pentagon of Power, Columbia University Press, N.Y., 1970 -- and,

105 Lewis Mumford, Ibid., Chapters 2 and 3.
The discovery of sun-power in the center of a smooth functioning machine-like universe so fascinated the white man’s mind that it became translated into political theory and practice with the development of nationalism and colonialism. The "progress" which issued from these political developments has undergirded most of contemporary management theory according to which men are valued not so much because they possess human dignity, as because they function efficiently to produce bigger profits. Thus, if a machine is more efficient, it literally replaces a man. It goes without saying that the bland, machine-like man replaces the creative man who is always "throwing monkey-wrenches into the works." The white man who is committed to this new religion, then, values technological progress over human dignity for the purpose of profit and justifies it on the grounds that it is "scientific."

Nor should this justification seem surprising, for the scientific pursuit of "objectivity" which originated in the efforts of Galileo implies that the real world is outside of man, and that unlike man, who is quite fallible, the real world can be trusted. This split between "subject" and "object" became quite pronounced by the time of DesCartes and remains to our own day as the prevailing mind-set of the scientific community. All that is required of technology (or "Human Engineering," for that matter) is that it "produce" or "work," then one can justify it on the grounds of objective science and not be overly concerned about its effects on man. This mind-set reaches its logical conclusions when men study other men as part of the world "out there."

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106 Ibid., Chapter 4.
107 Jacques Ellul, Ibid., P. 191.
108 Lewis Mumford, Ibid., Chapter 4.
as if they had no freedom, no dignity. Dr. B. F. Skinner's approach, which outwardly may seem so concrete and so practical is the ultimate step in the intellectual abstractionism which permits some men to rationalize their controlling of other men. This intellectual abstractionism is not racism, in toto, but it is the other side of that coin which would avoid all filth, all mess.

Racism as Passion

Jean-Paul Sartre has studied racism from a perspective that is different yet quite complementary to the work of Kovel and Jordan. "Anti-Semitism is a free and total choice of oneself," says Sartre, "comprehensive attitude that one adopts, not only towards Jews, but towards men in general, toward history and society; it is at one and the same time a passion and a conception of the world." What Sartre says about the anti-Semite is applicable to what American investigators have named racism. It is not rational, nor can it simply be understood as a man's feelings about black people -- it is a total mind-set through which a man defines his being, and the core of this mind-set is decision. According to Sartre, a man is a racist because he chooses to be one. Sartre is amazingly close to Melville in his analysis:

The Manichcaean anti-Semite puts his emphasis on destruction. What he sees is not a conflict of interests, but the damage which an evil poser causes society. Therefore, good consists in the destruction of evil. Underneath the bitterness of the anti-Semite

109 B. F. Skinner, Beyond Freedom and Dignity.
110 Joel Kovel, Ibid., P. 110 ff.
112 Ibid., P. 17.
is concealed the optimistic belief that harmony will be reestablished of itself, once evil is eliminated. His task, therefore, is purely negative: there is no question of building a new society, but only of purifying the one that exists.  

Caught up in the dualism of Good vs. Evil, Sartre describes the anti-Semite in terms which aptly sum up the investigator's description of racism in this chapter: "A destroyer in function, a sadist with a pure heart, the anti-Semite is, in the very depths of his heart, a criminal. What he wishes, what he prepares is the death of the Jew." The aversive racist does not question his purity of heart, in fact, in Sartre's analysis he does not look at himself at all, but lives through his negation of the other.

Sartre, moreover describes the connection between the anti-Semite and social reality with simple clarity. There is no such thing as a definition of a Jew, he says, in fact, the anti-Semite Christian makes the Jew by his personal and social policies, "We must ask not, what is a Jew, but what have you made of the Jews." It has been shown in this paper that there is no verifiable set of characteristics that make up what the white man calls "negro," and all one need do is recall the elaborate machinations that early Americans went through to determine who was and who was not a negro to understand that in all truth the white man has made the "nigger."

Descriptive Synthesis

The descriptive synthesis or definition of racism in America which the investigator now presents cannot be considered as proven or verified in the scientific sense. It consists of a bringing together in one brief paragraph

113 Ibid., P. 43.
114 Ibid., P. 49
115 Ibid., P. 69
the major elements contained in the writings of the most important writers in the field to promote a better understanding of what racism seems to be in American society today. The investigator affirms this description to be a truthful statement of fact, yet his affirmation is provisional. That is to say, he believes it to reflect the facts as they are in this country, yet he remains open to further insights which may illuminate new elements or more adequate relationships between the elements of his description.

Racism in America exists on two levels, the psycho-cultural and the institutional. Rooted in the choice of white Americans to define and aggrandize themselves through the attainment of three key abstractions: wealth, scientific knowledge, and technological advancement; and the obverse willingness to directly exploit or apathetically ignore men whom they perceive as filthy, specifically men whom they have named "negroes," racism creates the idea of race and uses this idea as the chief rationalization to justify its pursuits. Racism created and maintains a "race" of "negroes" in America through institutional arrangements which systematically deprive black people of ownership, of employment, of earnings, of decent housing, and basic human dignity. These institutional arrangements force black people to remain in such a state of inferiority and dependence that the relationship between racists and blacks in America can best be described in terms of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. Contained within this relationship lies hidden the possibility and indeed the willingness to commit genocide. These darker, more hidden aspects of racism are part of the motivational force of American advancement in economics, science, and technology to the extent that every American institution -- including educational institutions which miseducate whites and subeducate blacks -- is, in part constituted to maintain black inferiority, black dependence, and, if necessary, the death of black people.
CHAPTER 2

Americans' Goals for Education
- Past and Present

In this chapter, the investigator will look at Carl Rogers, Paul Goodman, John Dewey, Harold Taylor, and several other educational writers. He does not pretend to have superior knowledge of these men, nor does he intend to affirm that they say only what he says they say. His purpose is to describe his perception of how they fit into a pattern of American thought on education. The investigator values what each of these men has said, yet his mode of inquiry has led him to grasp what he perceives as vulnerabilities in their thought when that thought is viewed from the context of racism in America today.

Americans have looked from colonial days to their schools to solve cultural, social, and political problems. In this chapter, the investigator will look at what seem to be the goals of American educational institutions within the context of this history and within the context of his review of the cultural phenomenon of racism.

According to Daniel Boorstin\(^1\) the American colonists established schools and placed the responsibility of teaching their young upon the schoolmaster in order to preserve civilization in the savage wilderness of their new settlements. In a sense, one could say American schools from the outset were established to preserve white values in a world belonging primarily to red men. The

\(^1\)Daniel Boorstin, The Americans, the Colonial Experience, P. 103.
adults were busy clearing the land and establishing their farms; there was little time to care for the cultural development of their children, and so, in 1647 the colony of Massachusetts adopted a law requiring each town to provide a school and a schoolmaster for its children. Boorstin notes that by the time of Benjamin Franklin, the Philadelphia Academy was established to build "undifferentiated men" who would be prepared for the unexpected. This meant that because of the unsteady state of the colonies, young men had to be prepared to enter any business, calling or profession. Further, after the revolution, Americans developed a political purpose for their schools: the creation of an enlightened electorate. Henry Perkinson aptly sums up these early functions of the American school, "For over 200 years (1647-1850) The Americans had looked to their schools and schoolmasters to solve their social, economic, and political problems . . . first to preserve civilization, then to prepare for the unexpected, and finally to guarantee good government." Similarly, after the Civil War there was a strong movement among liberal white northerners to establish schools throughout the south based on the conviction that the war between the states had been the result of poor education in southern schools. These new schools would hopefully restore the union and insure against any civil war in the future.

But for our purposes perhaps the most notable example of this Ameri-
can penchant for attempting to find solutions to social problems through schooling is related to the migrations of masses of people from the American and the European countryside to the cities of the United States. In the fifty years from 1860 to 1910 America had become an urban society. In 1860 the urban population made up only 19.8% of the total population; by 1910 it was 45.7%. This migration brought millions of people accustomed to the intimate daily contacts and meaningful work patterns of Agrarian culture into the impersonal and unintegrated work patterns of the big city. It also brought hordes of children into confined areas — children unaccustomed to the ways of the city, often not even speaking the language of the people around them. Many of these children worked, thus depressing the demand for labor and the wages of all urban workers. Once again the schools were called upon to bring culture and civilization to these youngsters and to keep them off the labor market as well. Compulsory education laws were enacted in New York, Maryland and several other larger states in the 1870's so that the number of children between the ages of five and eighteen enrolled in school rose from 6 1/2 million in 1870 to 15 1/2 million in 1880. Before this time, compulsory schooling was relatively unknown.

Another goal for the schools at that time which has persevered to our own day as perhaps the main goal of schooling was the idea that schools could provide equal economic opportunity for all Americans. It had already become clear by the late nineteenth century that American economics were to

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7 Forest C. Ensign, Compulsory School Attendance and Child Labor, Iowa City: Athens Press, 1921, p. 27 ff.
be dominated by the captains of industry, and the myth that the young man who struck out on his own in search of fortune could rise to the top fairly broadly understood as a myth in spite of Horatio Alger. Young Americans, therefore, were encouraged to go to school, get a good education, and prepare for a good job in American industry.®

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, the major trends which dominate contemporary American thought about the goals of education were already established. Some Americans have felt that the purpose of education was to pass on cultural heritage, others have thought it should teach children how to become good citizens of a democracy, to create a new and better society, still others have insisted that school should prepare the individual to cope with whatever life may demand of him, and finally, many have said that in our urban, technological society the function of education is to teach children what they need to know to get a job and rise to a better economic situation.

One new element in this mix, however, which is strongly emphasized by Patricia Sexton is the influence of the university on the goals of contemporary public schools. Colleges and universities have influenced school curricula since the days of the Carnegie Units, to be sure, but today, more than ever, the pressure to go to college for the purpose of getting a good job dominates the thinking of parents, teachers, and school administrators to the extent that one of the goals of education as seen by most Americans is the kind of academic achievement that will prepare a student to do well on college entrance examinations.® In another work, Sexton has shown that the end

®Henry Perkinson, ibid. p. 156.

result of this job-selection function of American schools has been that schools, in fact, perform the function of naming who in American society shall be poor, who shall be middle-class, and who shall be wealthy.\textsuperscript{10}

In accord with the historical review he has just made, the investigator will group contemporary thought about the goals of education in America into the following categories: 1) Education should pass on culture, 2) Education should prepare individuals to deal with a changing world, 3) Education should prepare children to become reformers of society, 4) Education should prepare children to become good citizens in a democracy, and 5) Education should equip students with the abilities they need to achieve economic success.

1. **Education Should Pass on Culture**

This has been most popularly held by Robert Hutchins\textsuperscript{11} and Mortimer Adler.\textsuperscript{12} Fundamentally, this point of view holds that the continuity of culture can only be maintained by introducing each generation of students to the roots of that culture. Classicists as they are, Hutchins and Adler insist that the goal of education is the development of rationality in students.

Arthur Bestor extended this notion to something somewhat similar to what has more recently become known as "process education." Bestor states that education should lead students to an understanding of principles and the ability to handle and apply complex ideas, as well as to correlate data and effectively communicate one's knowledge.\textsuperscript{13} Bestor, therefore, rejects

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11}Robert Hutchins, *Education for Freedom*, Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1943.
  \item \textsuperscript{12}Mortimer J. Adler, and M. Mayer, *The Revolution in Education*, University of Chicago Press, 1958.
\end{itemize}
any notion that the object of education should be citizenship or training for economic success. Schools, he says, should not get into the business of helping students adjust to life. Nor should they attempt to form the "whole child." Bestor differs from today's "process educators" mainly in this wholesale rejection of the need for schools to develop interpersonal skills in students.

2. **Education Should Prepare Individuals to Deal with a Changing World.**

Since this point of view is more widely held today and perhaps more widely publicized than the others, the investigator will not attempt to review the vast literature which represents it, rather he shall attempt to develop the main lines of the thought of these men by summarizing the thought of three major representative publicists of this view: Carl Rogers, Paul Goodman and Charles Silberman. He chooses Rogers for he is most representative of education for the "whole man." He chooses Goodman for he is most representative of the traditionally western intellectual approach, and he chooses Silberman because he is one of the few writers to describe this viewpoint within the context of public schools.

**Carl Rogers**

To Carl Rogers the goal of contemporary education is the development of the fully functioning person.\(^\text{15}\)

In Roger's terms the first characteristic of the fully functioning person is that he is open to all his experience. By this he means that the fully functioning person attends to and accepts all his experiencing -- he

\(^{15}\text{Carl Rogers, Freedom to Learn, Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1969, p. 156.}\)
trusts his feelings and his perceptions as authentic parts of the universe.

The second characteristic would be what Rogers calls living in an existential fashion. This quality grows out of openness to experience and involves a living in the present moment without the imposition of any pre-conceived order on one's behavior. Trusting one's own organism, the fully-functioning person would be characterized by adaptability and flexibility in his day-to-day living.

This organismic trusting would lead to the third characteristic of the fully-functioning person: using his own existential experiencing as the guide to behavior. In Rogers' own terms:

He is able to experience all of his feelings and is afraid of none of his feelings; he is his own sifter of evidence, but is open to evidence from all sources; he is completely engaged in the process of being and becoming himself, and thus discovers that he is soundly and realistically social; he lives completely in this moment, but learns that this is the soundest living for all time. He is a fully functioning organism, and because of the awareness of himself which flows freely in and through his experiences, he is a fully functioning person.  

Several authors have come close to Rogers in their writings about education and its goals. They all differ from the classicists in their emphasis on the importance of feeling in human living. The emphasis of each, however, are quite complementary to the writings of Rogers. Maslow, for instance, emphasizes the form which rises out of organismic trusting, Borton emphasizes the self-reflective process of handling, organizing, understanding and applying the data of experience.  

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16 ibid. p. 160.


uity in students' experiencing.19 Leonard, on the other hand, emphasizes the potential of human ecstasy in the whole process of organismic development.20

Paul Goodman

Though it could be argued that Paul Goodman seeks revolution in society through education, the investigator groups him with Rogers and Silberman because of Goodman's belief that any change in society will emerge organically out of significant changes in education rather than out of any ordered plan to change society through schooling.21

Goodman does not speak of goals for public schools. In fact, he takes the position that students could achieve their educational goals today outside of school better than they could in school.22

The primary goal of education in his thinking is to help students achieve a humane way of living in a society inordinately oriented towards technological advancement and economic growth.23 Secondly, he sees mastery of the arts and sciences as integral goals, the achievement of which would lead to such humane living. Further, Goodman sees the enhancement of one's chosen career as part of the goals of education.

A fourth goal for Goodman would be to lead students to an awareness of the social and cultural context of his chosen career and an awareness of the relationship between this vocation and that context.

22ibid., p. 23.
Fifthly, Goodman sees the final goal of education to be the achievement of that kind of freedom necessary to be independent of and to relate creatively to the prevailing ideologies of the culture.

In many respects Goodman is similar to the classical views of Hutchins, Adler and Bestor, but he differs from them mainly in that his broadly based humanism makes him less concerned than they about "education for democracy." He differs from Rogers in his radical traditionalism and emphasis on form, discipline, and scholarship.

Charles Silberman

According to Silberman the central problem in all institutions of education, including elementary and high schools, as well as teacher's colleges, is mindlessness. In Silberman's view, teachers, administrators and professors of education are not persistent in their attention to the purpose and scope of education. If educators knew what they were about in the context of American institutional history, and contemporary discoveries of psychology and sociology, education would be in far less trouble than it seems to be in today.

According to Silberman, then, the goals for education are a crucial issue and he does not see them in terms of A, B, C, etc., rather he sees them as emerging developmentally out of the psyches of purposeful and mindful teachers.

Silberman's own purposes, however, can be discerned from his emphasis in the book Crisis in the Classroom, and the investigator believes it is right to say that according to Silberman there are three main goals to American education: to help students achieve a sense of joy in learning; to help them develop aesthetic valuing and aesthetic expression; and to help them dis-
cover and choose a moral way of living.\textsuperscript{24}

Silberman differs from Goodman in that he believes the radical changes necessary to achieve these goals in public schools is possible.\textsuperscript{25} He differs from Rogers in his insistence on form, discipline and an objective ordering of values. In a sense, one could say Silberman is in a position of compromise between Rogers and Goodman and, in a sense is more hopeful than either because of his insistence that mindful purposefullness on the part of all of us can help schools achieve their goals.

3. **Education Should Prepare Children to Become Reformers of Society.**

John Dewey is the foremost contemporary thinker to promote the idea that the goal of education is to change society. Dewey tended to see society in terms of its problems. To him, industrialization had altered the individual's relationship to his fellow men to such an extent that modern man was confronted with a whole new set of problems which had to be solved in new, yet undiscovered ways. The goals of education, in his thinking, was mainly to provide students with the instruments necessary to find the ways to solve the problems.

Society should endeavor, Dewey said, to shape the experience of the young so that instead of reproducing current habits, better habits shall be formed, and thus the future adult society be an improvement on their own . . . . we are doubtless far from realizing the potential efficacy of education as a constructive agency of improving society, from realizing that it represents, not only a development of children and youth, but also of the future society of which they will be the constituents.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{25}ibid.
Dewey was concerned that students learn the method of intelligence first in application to an understanding of the values and forces at work in their society.

Secondly, Dewey was concerned with the development in students of the kind of critical intelligence necessary not only for an understanding of, but also for a solution to the problems of society.

Thirdly, Dewey saw education as a moral enterprise: a process leading to value judgments and moral decision-making.

Finally, the goal for education which Dewey seemed to see as underlying all the rest was to lead students to a sense of continuity between their own experience, the method of intelligence, and the subject matter upon which this method is applied.  

Othaniel Smith, in Fundamentals of Curriculum Development argues that the goals of education should be to develop in students the ability to manage and control human and social development in a controlled way. "As a people," says Smith, "we have much knowledge of and techniques for social engineering. The question is: can we learn to use it rapidly enough to control the social machine before it either enslaves us or destroys us?"

Smith carries his view to the extent that education becomes, for him, a way of making public policy.

Though Smith confines himself fairly much to national goals, Harold

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Taylor -- who also sees the goals of education as moral and political -- discusses the goals of education in international terms. To Taylor, the goal of education is "to bring a sense of humane purpose and international unity into a fragmented collection of separate units of power and interest." Both Smith and Taylor see consensus, or, at least humane regard for differences of opinion as part of the goals of education.

Though he hardly could be termed an educator in the sense that Dewey, Smith and Taylor are, Admiral Hyman Rickover also perceived the goal of education in terms of reforming society. At the time of Sputnik, Rickover influenced many Americans with his outspoken conviction that education's main purpose was to keep our country ahead of other countries in scientific and technological achievement. Rickover saw what he termed inferior achievement along scientific and technological lines in American schools, and in his view, a change in this situation would change the society of American peoples.

In a similar vein, many black educators, and advocates of civil rights see the schools as the means to achieve change in the situation between blacks and whites in our society.

The President's Commission for the Observance of Human Rights, for example, in 1968 determined three major goals for education in the United States:

1. to effect attitudinal changes;
2. to bring about structural and institutional changes;
3. to bring about changes designed to improve the quality of education.

High on the list of priorities of the Commission was the achievement

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of integration of student populations as a means to the end of institutional and attitudinal change. Much of the contemporary judicial and legislative concern for busing can be traced to the recommendations of this commission.

On the other hand, black community school advocates, like Preston Wilcox, Nathan Wright, Leslie Campbell and Rhody McCoy, tend to see the goals of education in terms of developing a community and ethnic consciousness within their communities.

Wilcox, for instance, has outlined eight major goals of education: 1) to build black competence and black self-concept, 2) to develop operational unity and models of collective action, 3) to liberate the enslaved souls of black people, 4) to produce a winning attitude among black people in the fact of overwhelming odds, 5) to bring blacks to an awareness that struggle is in itself educational, 6) to engage black people in the realization that they should live for those things for which they are willing to die, 7) to construct models for constructive collective action, and 8) to build an authentic sense of black nationhood. These goals, which Wilcox groups under the rubric of "education for black humanism" are echoed by Wright, Campbell, McCoy and others who, in general, see the purpose of black education as the survival of black people in America.

4. Education Should Prepare Children to Become Good Citizens in a Democracy.

Though he has eschewed at times any discussion about the goals of


34 See:
Nathan Wright, "Our Schools"
Rhody McCoy, "Why Have and Ocean-Hill Brownsville?"
Leslie Campbell, "The Black Teacher and Black Power."

American education, James Conant is perhaps the leading writer in contemporary America to espouse the position that the purpose of American schooling should be to develop the kind of citizenry that will maintain the democratic way of life. Robert Hutchins espouses the same position, but because of his classical approach to this question the investigator has grouped him in a different category.

Conant views the goals of education as a subcategory of our national goals, "Schools should be thought of," he says, "as an instrument of national policy." The nationalism of Conant's approach can be underscored by his uncritical acceptance of the righteousness of the American way, "This nation," he says, "unlike most others, has not evolved from a state founded on a military conquest" -- a statement with which the American Indian would have found it difficult to agree.

Primarily, Conant sees the goals of the schools in America in terms of providing equality of opportunity for all Americans -- a view which he first stated in Education in a Divided World, and later reaffirmed in Slums and Suburbs.

Secondly, he sees a goal of American schools to be to provide a citizenry that will continue the form of government based on free elections and free expression of opinion.

Thirdly, he sees the schools as vehicles to preserve America's highly competitive economic system with its wide divergence of pecuniary rewards.


36 ibid., p. 43.

Fourthly, he sees the public school as a bulwark of social mobility and fluidity among the American people.

Finally, he sees the ultimate goal of education in America as the promotion of "our own beliefs in democracy and freedom."  

5. **Education Should Provide Students with the Abilities they Need to Achieve Economic Success.**

The investigator has placed this category last among the five because it is not widely espoused among educational writers, yet it is perhaps the dominant goal of education in the mind of most contemporary Americans. In two separate works, Patricia Sexton has shown how widespread this expectation of American education is among the citizens of this country, and also how poorly the system lives up to this expectation.  

The popularity of levies and state issues for vocational education, as well as the proliferation of advertisements encouraging American youth not to drop out of school lest they fail economically are confirmations of Sexton's findings.

The investigator will offer his critique of these representative points of view to a later chapter. His main purpose in this chapter has been to report his view of them and merely to hint at the notion that rather than offering a help in the solution of the problem of racism in white Americans, these approaches have grown out of a racist culture and unless they are subjected to a critical analysis each in its own way is likely to further racism, rather than offset it.

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CHAPTER 3

On Method

In a critical study one must clarify and, to some extent, justify the method of one’s study. The method of the first two chapters, was to review American scholarship in the fields of cultural criticism and educational goals and to tie the insights of the one to the history of the other. The validity of the investigator’s interpretation of men like Hutchins, Dewey, Goodman, and Rogers depends, in part, upon the validity of the theories of Jordan, Kovel, and Sartre. In part, it also depends on the investigator’s acumen in understanding these men and on his perspicacity in elaborating on the relationship between them. As far as justification of this method is concerned, the investigator can only appeal to the thought of C. Wright Mills on intellectual craftsmanship.¹

According to Mills, the intellectual craftsman accepts no division between his life and his work. His work is but one form of his life which he lives in an underlying spirit of continuity. This underlying continuity makes the conscious planning and of a study relatively meaningless for the plan flows out of the developing inquiry of the investigator. By writing, by teaching, by reading and thinking consistently and deeply in a certain area, the investigator develops his own ability to distinguish between the significant and the insignificant questions to be pursued, he develops an alertness in his personal observations and in his reading which provides a unique insightful-

ness to his inquiry. He learns to draw on the important writers who have written in the area of his inquiry and to synthesize their separate modes into a creative pattern which constitutes his own contribution to the field. Further, Mills states that the intellectual craftsman stimulates his creative imagination by designing empirical studies in the field of his inquiry even though these studies may never be completed.

This investigator has attempted to follow Mill's method. Since 1963 he has attempted to focus a variety of styles of thought and practical living (from theology to economics, from the enforcement of housing codes to school desegregation) on the question of racism in America. He has pursued this theme in his personal social contacts, in his thinking, reading, teaching and in his occupational choices. His sensitivity to racism in his white brothers is quite sharp (for a white man) - some would say, too sharp. Moreover he has attempted to bring the insights of a variety of sociologists, psychologists, philosophers and cultural critics into a creative focus on the nature of racism in American society and American schools. As to the design of empirical studies, he has directed students into modes of inquiry into the concrete racism in American institutional life for the past three years at Ohio State University and Columbus Technical Institute, most of which has lead him to a profound awareness of the limits of man's knowledge about man. In his method he has attempted to affirm only those claims which seem to be warranted by the evidence that has come to his attention.

This, briefly, is the method the investigator has attempted to follow throughout the dissertation but it is especially applicable to the first two chapters.

As to the chapters which follow, the question of method is somewhat different and somewhat more complex. The investigator must clarify and justi-
fy a method which is fundamentally philosophical. He finds that most American
scholars are impatient with philosophy and he knows the basis of this impatience.
He is convinced that if his perception of the source of this impatience is laid
bare he will have satisfactorily clarified and justified his philosophic mode.

The impatience of American scholars with philosophy seems largely to
be a reaction to the problem of philosophic differences. Finding himself in
a maze of philosophic counterpositions, the American scholar tends to judge
the whole enterprise useless if not wasteful. He tends to dismiss all philo­sophic thought out of hand as "just philosophy." If he is a philosopher, more
often than not, the American scholar will be forced by this prevailing antagon­
ism to retreat into the safe but grim world of linguistic analysis.

This problem of philosophic differences, the investigator believes,
can be explained in terms of the development of consciousness within philos­ophers themselves. Radically, philosophy can be defined as the development
of the philosopher's empirical intellectual, rational, and moral self-conscious­ness. Philosophy is the love of wisdom and wisdom resides in men, not in a
method apart from men.

It is in this that philosophy differs from science, for science is
fundamentally based on a method that is constant and which exists quite inde­pendently of the individual scientists who use it. The main safeguard of
science is this independence and constancy of method. Through adhering to this
basic method, the scientist can focus his attention on any number of variables
or sets of variables with a clarity that would be unavailable to him apart
from this method. The method of science enables scientists to check each
other's procedures and conclusions, and perhaps most importantly, it enables
scientists to build on the work of other scientists. Individual scientists
do not need to discover the safeguard of method, scientists can accept as
given the discoveries of other scientists and develop or modify those discoveries by discoveries of their own.

With the philosopher, however, things are quite different. The philosopher cannot appeal to the discoveries of others as evidence to build new philosophy. The evidence of philosophy is within the philosopher. The philosopher must come to know what he knows through painstaking personal inquiry. The physicist, for example, does not need to rediscover by experiment that force is equal to mass times acceleration, he can take that for granted in any development or modification he may wish to make in the field of Newtonian mechanics. The philosopher, however, when confronted with the age-old question, "what is truth?" must discover his own answer to that question, he cannot take Plato's or Aristotle's or Decartes' notion of truth as given.

Since philosophical conclusions are reached through the evidence within the mind of the philosopher it is clear that different philosophies develop because different philosophers perceive different evidences within themselves. These differences are directly related to the development of consciousness within the individual philosophers. If a philosopher, for instance, takes the view that only "bodies" are real, he is thinking and judging within the level of sense-consciousness, that is to say he is conscious of reality only in its relationship to his senses. He is either unwilling or unable to affirm that correlations among data are real. Dewey, for instance, held that whenever one speaks of a world of science that is not related to what men can experience or use in practical living he is merely carrying on a subjective activity, he is merely talking, he cannot be knowing. In this sense, it seems that Dewey acknowledged only the world in its relationship to man's senses and was opera-

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ting only on the level of sense consciousness.

But to deny intelligibility to the world in which men live - intelligibility, for its own sake and in its own right - is to refuse to reflect on one's own intellectual consciousness. It is to say, for instance, that when one understands that a circle is a locus of a co-planar points each equidistant from the center, one does not really understand anything at all unless from this understanding one is moved to develop a wheel or a gear or something that will have a sensible effect. But it is apparent that when one builds a wheel, his building is of a different order of consciousness than his understanding that a circle is a locus of co-planar points each equidistant from the center.

The problem involved here is that men like Dewey, James and B.F. Skinner understand, know, and are completely at home in the empirical world but do not seem to permit themselves to be converted to the world of intellectual understanding. In the investigator's view, this refusal constitutes an incomplete development of self awareness and of human consciousness and it forms the basis of all purely materialistic or empirical philosophies.

Similarly, Kant affirmed that knowledge is merely organizing experience. He affirmed the intellectual level of consciousness but denied that one can know the real or the truth. Kant was so aware of the demand for evidence that he denied the capacity of man to know and thus denied the affirming, knowing, or what has been called the rational consciousness of man. This, too, is an incomplete development of the many-levelled consciousness of man, and it is a counterposition commonly held by linguistic analysts today in their establishment of verification as the sole criterion of truth. For Kant, the requirement of sufficient evidence was an insurmountable barrier to conversion to the rational level of consciousness.

But the experience of all men seems to contradict the exclusively sensate knowledge of Dewey and the narrowly idealistic intellectualism of Kant.
All men can see, feel, hear, taste and touch and upon reflection they can understand the nature of feeling, hearing, tasting and touching. But human consciousness goes beyond sensing and understanding. Not only do men sense and understand their sensing - they also know that they understand. Not only can Tom look across the street and see a woman, but he can understand what a woman is and know, indeed that that is a woman standing across the street.

Now, on the level of philosophy, philosophical systems tend to follow one of three lines: empirical, intellectual, or rational and philosophical differences can be explained mainly on the basis of to what extent the individual philosopher attends to each of these three levels of his own consciousness.

Those systems which concentrate primarily - or, as sometimes is the case exclusively, - on man's senses tend to limit man's knowledge to the notion of his "taking a look." They are the materialists, the empiricists, the positivists, and the pragmatists. Their tradition has been represented by men from Lucretius and Celsus to Dewey and Skinner, and for all their brilliance and the contributions they have made to the advance of man's knowledge, it appears that they have steadfastly resisted to "take a look" at the act of human understanding. Contemporary students of perception, for instance, take a very careful look at man's looking, hearing, feeling, grasping, but rarely - if ever - do they reflect upon the act of understanding. Intent upon the phenomenon of insight or understanding. They see, understand and affirm truth but do not report any reflection on the process of their own understanding and affirmation. A comprehensive philosophical view does not deny these men's perceptions, insights and affirmations, it merely calls upon them to reflect upon all the levels of their own consciousness.

It is at this point that one can understand the difficulty of the
problem of philosophic differences. It is not a problem of constant method, but a problem of the levels of human consciousness, a problem of decision, a problem of conversion. To the empiricist and the pragmatist, the world of understanding for the sake of understanding is either useless or meaningless and the concept of truth is irrelevant to life.

Once one affirms the world of intellect and reason, however, one's world changes. No longer are there any irrelevancies, and the only meaningless concept is the concept of meaninglessness. In the world of total philosophical discourse, man can distinguish between genuine positions and the source modern man's despair of philosophy: the counter-positions.

Counter-positions essentially consist in views which are based upon a limited view of human consciousness. Human consciousness flows in many different patterns, that is, it flows in the pattern of sensitive experience, in the pattern of aesthetic experience, in the practical pattern of common sense, in the intellectual pattern of insight and understanding, in the rational pattern of knowing and the constitutive pattern of deciding and counter-positions are essentially views which involve the limiting of one's horizon to only one or other of these patterns.

Positions, on the other hand, are philosophic, intellectual or practical views that are in harmony with all the levels of human consciousness.

This is a radical epistemological problem which the investigator cannot unravel in a brief chapter on philosophical method, but some historical perspective may be illuminating. The Galilean distinction between primary qualities (in things) and secondary qualities (in man's subjective consciousness) established the notion in the western world that knowledge essentially consists in the confrontation of subject and object. This fundamental dualism between subject and object was carried further by DesCartes who identified the real with the material world. Hume affirmed that all qualities are merely in
the subject and that custom and habit provide the only basis for what men call knowledge and order. Kant provided the basis of most contemporary epistemological thought when he developed the view that to know is to organize one's experience, not to affirm what is true. Perceptual psychologists affirm essentially the same view when they say that knowledge is nothing more or less than the projection of one's own percepts. Pragmatists, similarly, base their thought on Kantian epistemology for the value of knowing to the pragmatist is totally external to knowing - knowing to the pragmatist is valuable in as much as it is instrumental to meaningful activity.

Essentially, in the investigator's view, the Kantian, the Cartesian, the perceptual psychologist and the pragmatist are unable to overcome the subject-object dualism because they cannot or will not affirm the full dimensions of human consciousness, human experience, and human meaning.

The method of the investigator in the following two chapters of this dissertation is his own - essentially linked to his perception of evidence within his own consciousness. He affirms that man can sense, that man can understand and man can affirm the truth. He differs from the representatives of the dualist tradition in that he affirms a dynamic interaction between the mind and reality. He affirms that when one enters into discourse about man one must attend to all the experiences of human consciousness and that one of those experiences is knowing the real, knowing the true, knowing being. Further, he affirms that the ultimate criterion for the affirmation of truth is not the verification of an object "out there" but the apprehension that there are no conditions present to inhibit one's affirmation. It is the apprehension of an "unconditioned" that necessitates one's affirmation to truth. When Tom sees the woman across the street and knows that there are no conditions upon his affirmation of her being there, he affirms that that is a woman. If he
is a wise man, Tom may know that he may be seeing a female impersonator or that his vision may be playing tricks on him, but there are virtually no conditions withholding his affirmation: "I see a woman across the street." Absolutely unconditioned affirmations never occur but virtually unconditioned affirmations occur frequently in science, as for instance, when Einstein affirmed that $E=MC^2$.

It is the investigator’s conviction that once one opens himself to the comprehensive philosophical mode he has a basis for understanding the origins of philosophic differences, for appreciating the contributions of all philosophic schools and for recognizing the limitations of each.

The method that the investigator employs throughout the rest of this dissertation, therefore, is based on two pivotal positions: 1) the evidence for his affirmations is primarily internal, and 2) he attempts to attain a comprehensive philosophical viewpoint by insisting that when one is studying man, one must continually attend to all the levels of human experience and human consciousness.
CHAPTER 4

Alternative Goals For American Education: A Lonerganian Analysis

Because men do not develop intellectually or, if they do, because they become involved in counter-positions, they cannot be dealt with on the basis of intelligence and reason; but this makes it all the easier to deal with them on the sensitive level, to inspire their imaginations, to whip up their emotions, to lead them to action. Power in its highest form is power over men, and the successful maker of myths has that power within his reach and grasp. But, clearly, if an adequate metaphysics can do something to overcome philosophic misinterpretations of the notion of myth, it needs to be extended into a philosophy of education and the education has to be made effective before there can be exorcized the risk of adventurers climbing to power through sagacious myth-making.¹

This is a theoretical chapter. The investigator will take the principles of the thought of Bernard Lonergan and attempt to follow his imperative to develop a philosophy of education. Hopefully, this will illuminate the question of goals for the education of white Americans in the context of racism and offer a view of educational goals in general that differs significantly from the five stances mentioned in the previous chapter. Though dealing with racism in white students is the investigator's primary concern, he believes that the principles he elucidates in this chapter are capable of being developed into a broader theory applicable to many of the questions confronting contemporary education.

Bernard Lonergan is one of the least publicized major thinkers of contemporary society. A Canadian Jesuit, Lonergan's early education consisted mainly of Latin, Greek and mathematics. As a young scholar he devoted over ten years to the study of medieval thought and the context within which St. Thomas Aquinas taught and wrote. The fruit of this work is mainly represented in two major works: one a study of the development of the speculative thought of St. Thomas and the other: "The Concept of the Verbum in the writings of St. Thomas." 

From the late forties to the late fifties Lonergan devoted his scholarship to the study of contemporary thought in its relationship to classical and medieval thought. In Insight, A Study of Human Understanding, Lonergan published the fruit of his scholarship in a painstakingly disciplined and thorough account of the modes of mathematical, scientific common sense, and philosophic thought and the underlying complementarity of those modes. For the past twelve years Lonergan has devoted himself mainly to the question of method in theology. This study, which, in reality has been Lonergan's major lifetime concern, brings together his early concern with medievalism and his interest in the modes of human understanding and applies them to the development of human consciousness and human meaning in the study of theology. Lonergan considers theology the ultimate study in the realm of human understanding and human living.

One could appropriately question the investigator's heavy reliance upon a scholastic philosopher - theologian in a study on racism in contemporary America. His justification consists in this: 1) The approaches of thinkers


more in the mainstream of American educational thought are so strongly interrelated with the racism in American society that it could be of some importance to consider the thought of a man who has been able, because of the way he has conducted his scholarly career, to concern himself intensely with the broad historical context within which western man has developed his contemporary modes of thought; 2) partly because he has been able to remove himself from his intellectual mainstream, Lonergan has been able to consider the question of the so-called "science of man" from a perspective that does not limit itself to the empirical mode which tends to isolate man as one variable amidst the myriad variables of a determinist view of man; 3) Because of his generalist perspective, Lonergan has been able to liberate himself from the problem-solving bias of American thought which tends to develop counterpositions in place of genuine positions. Because of this, the investigator is convinced that Lonergan has been able to undercut the superficial arguments which distract men's minds from the truth when it concerns such issues as racism in American education.

Any philosophical view of education is based on one's conception of man. Lonergan lies somewhat in the rationalist Thomist-Aristotelian tradition, illuminated by the questioning of Immanuel Kant and the insights of Hegel, Freud, and Ernst Cassirer. He sees man as a compound in tension of two opposed yet complementary principles: the principle of spontaneity, and the principle of intelligence. The principle of spontaneity is the sensory-affective part of

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Lonergan draws his insights into man as conscious subject largely from his reading of Kant. His adherence to dialectic as the principle of human and social development, as well as the underlying method of metaphysics he draws from Hegel. His development of the principles of spontaneity and intelligence, while fundamentally Aristotelian, is similar to Freud's life instinct and death instinct. From Cassirer he takes his insights into symbolics and the world of meaning.
man which responds to his sensory and inter-subjective needs. It is the basis of the biological, empirical, aesthetic and in part, interpersonal patterns of man's experience. The principle of intelligence, on the other hand, is the part of man that questions, supposes, understands, reflects, affirms and decides. The tension between these two principles is seen by Lonergan as dialectical and developmental rather than dualist. Man needs spontaneity as well as intelligence and the fusion of these two principles takes place in the world of meaning. In a sense, then, Lonergan accepts Cassirer's definition of man as a symbolic animal whose world is constituted as specifically human by the fact that it is experienced as meaningful.

Lonergan writes of several dimensions of meaning ranging from purely spontaneous intersubjective meaning to that kind of meaning which is constituted by man's conscious decisions. These dimensions of meaning may be summarized in this way:

1. **Intersubjective (spontaneous) meaning**, which is almost synonymous with what educators have come to name non-verbal meaning.

2. **Incarnate Meaning** is based on the notion that a man's activities are symbolic of the meaning of his life. This is very close the Adlerian notion that all human behavior is purposeful and revelative of that purpose.

3. **Symbolic Meaning** is an image of a real or imaginary object that evokes or is evoked by a feeling. It is very similar to what other commentators have referred to as affective or expressive meaning.

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4. **Aesthetic Meaning** is the conscious objectification of internal experience. It differs from symbolic meaning in that it is self-conscious and controlled by the form, medium, and technique of the artist who, indeed, may be a sculptor, a conversationalist, or a lover.

5. **Common Sense Meaning** is that meaning of words or phrases which relates abstract and general ideas or concepts to the concrete experience of the speaker or the listener. The language of common sense speaks to the moment and is, of its nature, nongeneralizable. It is employed by popularizers and journalists to render the world of science and/or philosophy imaginable and perhaps understandable to the man of common sense.

6. **Technical Meaning** is the precise meaning which is communicative of the relationships of variables to each other. It is contained in the language of mathematical symbols, scientific formulations and philosophical discourse. The relationship between common sense meaning and technical meaning is of some significance to Lonergan's philosophy and may be described in this way: The scientist is confronted with a concrete, common-sense question which he formulates technically as a question not of relationships of variables to himself (i.e. as naively perceived) but as a relationship among the variables themselves. He states the question, his hypothesis, his insights and his affirmations in terms of the interrelatedness of the variables in the symbolic system of his discipline (e.g. $E=mc^2$). Then some of his colleagues attempt to report his findings to interested laymen. The original question and the final report are expressed in terms of common sense meaning, the intervening scientific formulations, on the other hand, are expressed in terms of technical meaning.

7. **Constitutive Meaning** is that meaning which is brought about by the conscious decision of men. This is the meaning of ethical or unethical choice. To dig a strip mine, for instance, is an act of constitutive meaning.
in that men decide that land should be exploited in this way and that decision constitutes a real difference in the nature of the land itself as well as the meaning of that land to other men.\(^{10}\)

All seven of these dimensions of meaning are, no doubt, involved in the process of education, but not necessarily as goals of the process.

Intersubjective and incarnate meaning are the concern of educators in as much as they must be attentive to non-verbal behaviors and the psychological well-being of their students, but these two dimensions of meaning seem inappropriate as goals for education and better adapted to the goals of family life and, if need be, psychotherapy.

The transformation of symbolic meaning into aesthetic meaning would seem to fall within the province of education as well as the development of common sense, technical, and constitutive meanings. Each of these aspects of the goals of education will be treated in the careful development of cognitive structure, the relationship of myth to metaphysics, and the basic horizon of ethics which follows.

**Cognitive Structure**

Every man asks questions and having asked them supposes what the answers may be. To formulate the supposition he must understand the elements of both the question and the anticipated answer as well as the relationships among these elements. Then, if the man is possessed of an inquiring intelligence, he will set about to discover whether or not his anticipated answer is true. He will consider the possible alternatives to his supposition and if all the conditions holding back his affirmation are negated, he

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\(^{10}\) This development of Lonergan's theory of meaning is the investigator's adaptation of three different treatments of it, as contained in *Insight*, Chapters 6, 7, and 10; Lonergan's article "Dimensions of Meaning" in *Collection, Papers By Bernard Lonergan*, New York: Herder and Herder, 1967, and Chapter 9 of David Tracy's book, *The Achievement of Bernard Lonergan*. 
will unconditionally affirm the truth of his supposition. In fact, if he is
certain he has considered all the relevant alternatives and found them all to
be lacking, his unconditional affirmation can be considered a reasonable
necessity — he cannot but affirm the truth he has acquired.

In the process just described, Lonergan discerns three levels of human
consciousness: the empirical, the intellectual, and the reasonable.

On the empirical level of consciousness man perceives with his senses
the empirical data around him: he sees colors, feels textures, hears sounds,
etc.

On the intellectual level of consciousness he raises questions about
the empirical data both as to their relationships to each other and their
relationships to himself. His understanding of those elements, those
questions and those relationships are also part of this intellectual con-
sciousness. Inasmuch as those relationships pertain to himself, the in-
tellectual consciousness is to be considered a matter of common-sense meaning.
Inasmuch as the data are considered in their relationships to each other,
the understanding of them is to be considered an act of scientific or tech-
nical meaning.

On the reasonable level of consciousness, the man considers whether
or not the considerations of intellectual consciousness are, in fact, verified.
If they are, he affirms them, if they are not he withhold his affirmation.
In most instances, however, the tests to which he puts his question do not
necessitate unconditional affirmation. It is at this point that Lonergan's
conception of the virtually unconditioned assumes importance. The inquirer's
affirmation is considered to be virtually unconditioned when he is aware of
the conditions under which he makes his affirmation, and is still willing to
take the responsibility for his affirmation. This is a genuine affirmation,
yet it is not so final that it cannot be changed in the light of further and
ter data.11

In brief, Lonergan's analysis of cognitive structure involves three
levels of human consciousness: the empirical, or the level of experience; the
intellectual, or the level of understanding; the reasonable, or the level of
reflection and affirmation.12

Critical Interiority

Once one has understood Lonergan's analysis of cognitive structure, he is
prepared to deal with his conception of self-affirmation and what may be called
critical interiority. This conception is the unique point of Lonerganian
analysis and perhaps his most important contribution to a philosophy of educa-
tion. Self-affirmation means that the knower looks at himself, understands
himself, and affirms that he is a knower. His affirmation is a virtually
unconditioned in that the knower first asks the question, "Am I a knower?"
He then looks at and understands that he is a self characterized by acts of
sensing, understanding and affirming. He is able to differentiate and
integrate those three levels of his knowing and knowing this ability to differ-
entiate and integrate fulfills the conditions necessary for him to make a
virtually unconditioned affirmation that he himself is a knower.13

This self-affirmation is the core of critical interiority and the basis of
the further development of human wisdom.

11This notion Lonergan derived from John Henry Newman's concept of
willing intellectual assent based on the evidence of converging probabilities.
It is explained in full in Insight, Chapter 10, and described by David Tracy,
Ibid., pages 128-312.

12Bernard Lonergan, Insight, Chapter 10.

13David Tracy, Ibid., pp. 134-136.
Self-affirmation enables the knower to be critical in his cognitive acts: to differentiate aesthetic from symbolic meaning and technical from common sense meaning; putting him in contact with the being in himself, it enables him to be in contact with the being in his environment. It brings him to the possibility of attaining true meaning both in himself and in the world around him; and contained in the possibility of true meaning is liberation from myth.

**Myth, Mystery, and Metaphysics**

Myth is an ambiguous word. Often, especially in ordinary conversation, it is used as a synonym for "fiction" or "Illusion". Contemporary ethnologists and historians of religion, however, use the term in a different way. (14)

According to Eliade a myth in an archaic civilization is a narration of sacred history; it relates to an event that took place in primordial times, the fabled times of "the beginnings". By its narrations, myth supplies models for human behavior and meaning and value to human life. In archaic societies, the more a man knows the myths, the more they provide him with an explanation of the world and his own mode of being in the world. Moreover, by recollecting the myths, by re-enacting them, man is able to repeat what the gods, the heroes, or the ancestors did "from the beginning:" To know the myths, then, was to know the secret of the origin of things and how to make them reappear when they disappear.

A correlative of myth, then, is magic. In Timor, Eliade recounts, when a rice field sprouts, someone who knows the mythical traditions concerning rice goes to the spot and spends the night there in a plantation hut reciting the Legends that explain how man came to possess rice. Reciting this origin-myth compels the rice to come up as vigorous and thick as it did when it appeared

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for the first time. The officiant does not remind it of how it was created
in order to instruct it, rather he magically compels it to go back to the
beginning, that is, to repeat its exemplary creation.15

The reason for this brief digression into myth is that myth is a sym-

dolic system aimed at providing meaning for men, and its contemporary correlative

is ideology. Racism is fundamentally a myth or ideology. Modern man
does not consider himself a creature of the interventions of supernatural
beings, but as a creature of history, and ideologies are built upon recita-
tions and interpretations of that history. Will and Ariel Durant, for in-
stance have written an imposing ten volume work pretentiously titled The
Story of Civilization nine volumes of which scarcely mention non-white cul-
tures, and none of which devotes any time at all to the cultures of Africa.16
This is racist-myth-ideology. Presumably it was written to aid white men to
preserve the continuity of their culture in a manner not too unlike the priest
of Timor reciting the myth of the origins of race.

A correlative function of myth, compellingly described by Joseph Campbell
in The Hero with a Thousand Faces is to help men to define themselves in terms
of the hero of the myth, as Christians often define themselves as being "one in
Christ."17 In the second part of chapter two the investigator touched upon some
of these racist myths in American society: the Horatio Alger myths which tell
men to define themselves in terms of economic gain; the myth which makes hued
men define themselves as white over against black; and the technological myth
which teaches that manhood consists in the efficient manipulation of other men.

15Mircea Eliade, Ibid., Chapter 1.

16Will and Ariel Durant, The Story of Civilization, New York: Simon and

17Joseph Campbell, Ibid.
In terms of Lonergan's development of the dimensions of meaning, myth is an expression of symbolic meaning, that is to say, it is not self-conscious nor in any way a creation of critical intelligence. The believer in the Horatio Alger myth cannot realize that profit is merely symbolic; the hued white racist has no awareness that his "whiteness" is his own creation; the human engineer is uncritical in his conception of the dignity of the men he manipulates. Radically, then, the belief in the myths which are fundamental to racism in American society is based on the inability and/or unwillingness of racists to differentiate and integrate the dimensions of meaning and the acts of cognitive structure. It is the absence of critical interiority.

The interiority which arises from self-affirmation, on the other hand, grows through a critical attendance to one's activities of experiencing, understanding, and affirming to a habitual sensitivity to the varied dimensions of meaning. 18

When the self-affirming critical inquirer arrives at this sensitivity to the dimensions of meaning he is enabled to leave the level of merely symbolic meaning and through conscious aesthetic expression he is enabled to represent what Lonergan calls mystery. 19

Lonergan's introduction of a category such as mystery seems unavoidable. Myth and its contemporary counterpart ideology are so widespread that they must be accounted for in any theory of man. The reason for this is that at every step in his common sense dealings and his technical inquiries man is confronted with a "known unknown" and/or what Goethe called an "unknowable." Uncritical and mythical men account for these phenomena through their symbolic recitations of myth. The critical man acknowledges mystery and symbolizes it consciously

18 David Tracy, Ibid., P. 206 ff.
19 Bernard Lonergan, Ibid., pp. 531-549.
in an act of aesthetic meaning. At this moment aesthetic meaning takes the place of symbolic meaning and religion takes the place of myth.20 Such symbolization is essential, in Lonergan’s view, if the content of the critical man’s self-affirmation is to become effective in his concrete living, for it is only through such aesthetic expression that the dynamism of his decisions can be embodied in images that release feeling and emotion and flow into fully human deeds.21

From the point of view of racism, the category of mystery is even more beneficial in that it forces the scientific, control-minded white man to acknowledge that he, himself, and his fellow men are very largely mysteries — ultimately unknowable and uncontrollable.

Even more importantly, however, the liberation from myth that comes from self-affirmation is the ground upon which man can know being and the limits of his knowledge of being. It is the ground of a genuine metaphysics, and as the metaphysics increases, myth and ideology recede and the human dynamism of mystery is enhanced. In simpler, common-sense terms: "the more a man knows the more he knows that he does not know."

The Possibility of Ethics and Effective Freedom

The potential of this theory cannot be fully grasped until one comes to a realization that there is a fundamental continuity underlying all the dimensions of meaning. When one affirms oneself, and through that affirmation begins to know the being of the universe around him he is confronted with the question of what is to be done about what he affirms. The critical man is willing to affirm


21Lonergan, Ibid., P. 546 ff.
whatever is shown to be unconditioned — his horizon is in that sense unlimited. An unlimited metaphysical horizon, however, is the ground of an unlimited ethical horizon: anything is to be questioned, understood, and perhaps affirmed, and whatever the implications of one's affirmations may be, there is an ethical imperative to act in accord with those affirmations. Not to do so is to risk losing the basic continuity underlying the meaning of all one's conscious activity and thus distorting, if not damming up the process of human development.\footnote{Ibid., P. 594 ff.}

Constitutive meaning, then, develops out of the other dimensions of human meaning and contributes to their further development, and the more those dimensions are continuous with each other the more wide-ranging are the possibilities of human existence.

In Lonergan's terms, therefore, freedom is quite different from "doing your own thing," quite different, even from good citizenship. It is nothing less than doing what one knows is in accord with being in oneself and in the world. To be free, is in a word, to do the truth, and to be conscious that one is doing precisely that.

Bias

As ideal and as beautiful as this might sound, there is always the possibility of bias to destroy in man the continuity of his meaning. In Lonergan's thought, myth and bias are the main enemies of authentic life and true meaning. As we have seen, myth is based on the absence in a man of self-affirmation and critical, differentiated interiority. Bias, on the other hand, can exist in a self-affirming man of quite differentiated intelligence — nonetheless, it undermines the truthful development of common sense meaning.

The core of bias is that it is not disinterested it is self-seeking and
by that very fact must reject many of the questions raised by disinterested intelli-
gence. Bias is, then, intelligent, but dooms the biased subject to a dis-
torted and incomplete development of intelligence.

For instance, the anti-semitic that Sartre has described has chosen to de-
fine himself in relationship to the Jew whom he deems inferior. This bias makes
him unable to attend to the question "what precisely is a Jew?" or "why is it
that this particular Jew is generous and loving?" He might be quite intelligent
in all other respects, but this bias keeps him from dealing meaningfully with the
Jew in his common-sense day-to-day activities.

Disinterested intelligence raises questions, understands, reflects, affirms,
raises further questions, gains greater insights which coalesce into theories,
and theories develop into higher viewpoints. If given a chance the higher view-
points can coalesce and develop into a world view which is as true as broad and
as deep as being itself. Myth renders such a development impossible and bias
renders it incomplete.

Over a period of years, in fact, bias in the individual or bias in a
group become the principle of decline, rather than development in that society
or in that individual. For as the principle of development in intelligence is
its disinterested willingness to raise questions, so the principle of develop-
ment in the social order can be considered a disinterested willingness to con-
sider all fresh insights, to distinguish them from mere bright ideas, to put
the genuine insights into operation, to develop from these operations courses of
action which lead to new situations which develop fresher insights, etc.23

This cycle of development in the social order is similar to the cycle of develop-
ment in the individual and it is reversed by bias. It must be assumed that
genuinely practical insights can be carried out if one is willing to work out

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23 Ibid., P. 223.
the necessary procedures, but biased individuals and biased groups demand that the genuine insights be divided into those that will "work" and those that will not "work." The decision of which courses of action to follow or not to follow is left, when bias rules, to that individual or group which has the most power or speaks the loudest. Thus, the powerful in society emerge into decision-making bodies and as the disinterested willingness to consider fresh insights wanes, classes and castes develop to stratify and weaken the social structure. Rather than a coherent development of practical ideas such a society is built upon mere fragments of genuinely practical insights — insights which, in any case cannot apply to the people in general because there are no more "people in general" but merely groups involved in a power struggle, defining themselves by their mutual opposition. Genuinely practical insights, no matter how brilliant and salutary are developed within the mutually opposed groups and are almost always perceived as a position to be countered with a counter-position. Every counter-position invites its reversal by the other side and the most impressive products of such a Manichean social order are vacuous and inept bureaucracies reinforcing the social and political alienation of the masses of people.

The political, economic and educational racism described in chapter two along with its psychocultural roots indicates that American society is in the grips of such a decline of social structure. The practical insights of the black community are rejected by the white power structure, and the counter-positions of both blacks and whites invite their own reversal. The governmental bureaucracies established to deal with these problems are vacuous and inept, and as counter-position ensues counter-position on the public forum the masses of American men and women become more and more alienated and apathetic.

24 Ibid., P. 224.
This kind of group bias, however, often is the source of some correctives in society, for often ideas which are rejected at one time because they appear to be nothing more than counter-positions are accepted later and made operative when the heat of controversy has died down. There is a deeper, broader kind of bias, however, which contributes to cultural decline which Lonergan calls general bias.

General bias is the bias inherent in common sense. Common sense meaning is, as we have said, practical, concrete, day-to-day. Of necessity it is engaged in doing, in performing — that is its province. But the more it acts responsibly day-to-day, the less common sense is capable of stopping and taking a longer view. Common sense essentially has no view of history, and it must exclude many timely and fruitful insights in order to get things done. When men of common sense fail to attend to the continuity of the dimensions of meaning — especially when they are inattentive to technical and constitutive meaning, that is to say when they refuse to ask the further questions which will aid them in understanding the kind of society they are building, their actions become less and less comprehensive; less and less intelligible. There is a natural tendency for societies to decline and this natural tendency is accounted for mainly by the general bias of common sense which almost inevitably produces social and cultural absurdity. Unlike the group bias which generates counter-positions and sometimes offers correctives for society, general bias excludes correctives for it disregards the technical dimension of meaning.

It is for this reason that common-sense meaning must not be left to itself. In Lonergan's terms it needs the corrective of genuine culture.\textsuperscript{25} By culture, Lonergan means a sensitivity to the continuity of all the dimensions of meaning. The function of culture in a society which is always apt to decline is

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., P. 232 ff.
to make operative the timely and fruitful insights which the general bias of
common sense would exclude. It does not waste time by engaging in the excit­
ing interplay of counter-positions. It does not directly oppose the myth-ma­kers. With its fundamental humor it plays the part of the court-jester and
punctures all myths and all counter-positions by satirizing their basic absurd­
ity; by utilizing aesthetic, technical and constitutive meanings it points out
the historical errors of the thoroughly common-sense approach and turns men's
minds to the limitless potential of the human spirit. In a word, by becoming
impractical, the function of culture is to become eminently practical.26

Racism, when viewed in Lonergan's categories can be considered the expres­
sion of both group and general bias as well as an expression of myth. From
his perspective, therefore, it cannot be dealt with head-on by any counter-posi­
tion or counter-movement. Rather, from the Lonerganian perspective, racism is
to be dealt with on the level of developing genuine culture, which can be nothing
less than the sense of continuity among intersubjective, incarnate, symbolic,
aesthetic, common-sense, technical and constitutive meaning.

Wisdom and Moral Courage

At this point, we are ready to consider the question of goals for educa­
tion from what the investigator will name a "Lonerganian perspective."

Ultimately, education should help a man develop wisdom and moral courage.
It should help him come to true judgments based upon which he can "do the
truth." The wise man sees the world of men as a whole. Knowing how to differ­
entiate and integrate the elements of his knowledge he can arrive at true judg­
ments for he knows the difference between the relevant and irrelevant questions
and he is critically aware of his grasp or lack of grasp of the virtually un-

26Ibid., P. 241. cf. also Joseph Pieper, Leisure, The Basis of Culture,
conditioned.

The morally courageous man is the one who has developed continuity between what he knows and what he does. Effective freedom is a habit, a way of life for the man of moral courage.

But no school, no teacher, no parent, no politician can make men wise or morally courageous. Men must do this themselves. But the goal of education must be to build the foundation upon which man can develop both wisdom and moral courage. The investigator will now attempt to outline this foundation as an alternative set of goals for the education of white Americans.

Goals for Education

1) The first goal of education should be to enable students to differentiate and integrate the dimensions of meaning within their own lives. In the context of what we have just studied this would indeed be a high and difficult achievement. It would be the beginning, however, of the critical interiority necessary for the development of wisdom. In the context of racism, it would enable a man to reflect intelligently on the question: "What is race?" In the light of that question he would be able to distinguish its technical anthropological aspects from its common-sense political and moral import. Moreover, he would be able aesthetically to express the beauty of blackness and constitutively to choose courses of action which would enhance the meaning of blackness in the recesses of his own mind and in the mind of white society in general.

2) Secondly, education should enable the student to develop aesthetic meanings. There is a dual liberation in aesthetic experience which cuts through much of what this investigator has shown to underlie racism. First, aesthetic experience liberates a man's meaning from the merely symbolic dimen-
sion. The symbolic dimension underlies myth-ideology but when it is liberated by the form and discipline of genuine aesthetic meaning, it is raised to the realm of mystery. To move into the realm of mystery is to acknowledge that one does not know and to release images of the "known unknown" is to fulfill the need that myth expresses yet to avoid its pitfalls. Secondly, aesthetic experience liberates man from the over-intellectualism which is central to the objectification of man which has developed out of the subject-object dualism so central to western thought and racist rationalization. The man who acknowledges aesthetically the mystery of man and the universe is not likely to feel compelled to predict and control the behavior of his fellow men and, as we have seen, that compulsion to predict and control men is close to the core of racism.

3) The third goal for education would be to help students achieve self-affirmation. Because he is conscious of the dimensions of meaning within his own being the self-affirming subject is not easy prey to myth and ideology. Moreover, he is enabled to understand the nature of human understanding and to discriminate truth from opinion. This discriminating ability enables him to resist the rumors and reject the falsehoods which advance the cause of racism.

4) The fourth goal of education from a Lonerganian perspective would be to help students see the desirability of continuity among the dimensions of meaning in their lives, in a word, to help them want coherence between what they know and what they do: to help them desire effective freedom. A man who is attempting to achieve such harmony and such freedom senses the underlying dynamic of his human spirit to "do the truth" and the more his choices flow from his insights, the more his insights are enriched and the more free he becomes. This dynamically developing freedom would
underlie the later development of the wisdom and moral courage necessary to offset racism. Moreover, coherence among all the dimension of meaning is essential to the development of genuine culture - that culture which laughs, which delights, which does art, observes, understands, reflects and accepts responsibility for the mode and rhythm of its development. It is only such a culture which can resist the myths and counter-positions which serve to advance racism in America. Such a culture exposes the myths, disregards the counter-positions and develops positions and courses of action which overcome racism, not by opposing it, but by "doing the truth."
CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

At the end of this study, which has gone in three apparently different directions, it is incumbent upon the investigator to integrate these directions and show how they are connected in his own continuing inquiry into the education of white Americans. In no way does the investigator view this as a completed study "out there." Rather he views it as a significant stage in the development of his own critical inferiority, and wisdom. From this stage, or, if you will, "platform" he will be enabled to enter into deeper dialogue with scholars who have considered the same issues, with teachers who are confronted with them daily and with white students who have not as yet been able to attain a realization of the significant impact of racism upon their lives. Through such continued inquiry he hopes to be able to clarify his position and develop its relationship to the fields of curriculum, educational administration, and teacher education.

The investigator has developed a descriptive definition of racism in America (Chapter One); he has reported the stage of his own inquiry into American thought on the goals of education (Chapter Two); and he has introduced the salient features of a thinker who is not in the mainstream of American educational thought as these features seem to illuminate the question of educational goals for white Americans (Chapter 4).

The First Chapter

The first chapter is significant to the study for four reasons.
First, the manner of its development highlighted the context within which American schools exist today. This contextual approach enabled the study to assume a frame of reference which, in a sense, is larger than the problem itself. The risk involved here, of course, is that the frame of reference may have remained so far above the problem that it may not have seemed to touch it at all. The investigator is aware that his approach has, at times, been considerably abstract, yet from his point of view the perspective he has gained is worth that price. For instance, he is convinced that the perspective he has taken can enable a man to see that to be pro-busing is as absurd as to be anti-busing and it enables him to view busing in its relationship to the larger context of political, economic, and cultural racism. This retiring from the practical for the sake of better practice is to the investigator an important mode of scholarship.

Secondly, the investigator's position is that the first chapter's treatment of the historical, psychological and cultural roots of racism was important to the study because he assumes that the furtherance of racism is rooted in the dynamic interplay of man and culture and that any reversal of racism must be rooted in the same place.

Thirdly, the investigator developed the first chapter in the manner that he did to indicate the pervasiveness of racism and its imperceptibility to most white men. This he perceives is a crucial aspect of the problem because men can root out evils more readily when they have insight into their nature than they can without such insight.

Fourthly, the first chapter was important to the investigation because it emphasized the dramatic urgency of the problem of racism not only for the survival of domestic tranquility but for the very survival of human beings, black and white, in America today. That racism is dangerous to black people
is apparent, but abstract to the white reader; that it is dangerous to himself and his own humanity is more urgently needed to be known.

The Second Chapter

The second chapter was based on the investigator's perception that the thought of most main-stream American educational philosophers has been so immersed in a racist culture that their views tend at worst to confirm and further racism and at best to permit its almost imperceptible continuance.

The classicist view of Hutchins, Adler and Bestor is correct in its insistence on rigor and intellectual discipline. But its weakness is in its reinforcement of precisely those elements in western tradition which have provided most of the rationalizations underlying racism. The thought of Linnaeus and Gobineau was formed in the categories of Aristotle; the spirit of racism's most efficient tool, monopoly capitalism, draws its vitality from the calculating rationality spawned by the classicism these men promote. Further, when one analyzes the curricular proposals of these men, as for instance, the Great Books proposals of Hutchins and Adler, one is confronted with the racist myth that we must reproduce the essence of white thought and white activity in the twentieth century.

The insistence of Carl Rogers on interiority places him very close to Lonerganian analysis, yet the open-endedness of "organismic trusting" can easily leave a man prey to aversive racism on the basis of trusting his feelings. In fact, Roger's aversion of superimposed form, though suitable for psychotherapy, does not seem to meet the intellectual demands which seem necessary for full educational development. In fact, the fully functioning person, as described

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by Rogers, is self-affirming in a radically uncritical manner, leaving him especially vulnerable to myth and ideology. If Rogers were to insist more clearly on trusting all the levels of human consciousness he would be closer to the view taken by the investigator.

Goodman, on the other hand, does make the appropriate intellectual demands upon education, but seems to miss the point of developing interiority in students. When one looks at the youth who have followed Goodman's leadership -- such as Students for a Democratic Society and other activist groups one can see that they tend to be prey to ideology and the group bias which underlies counterpositions that inevitably invite their own reversal. In the investigator's view this can be traced to Goodman's not attending to critical interiority.

Silberman's insistence on mindful purposefulness is right and fundamental to sound educational development, but he also remains vague and unspecific when it comes to the question of interiority. Further, Silberman's study, like all studies within the Carnegie tradition, is so locked into democratic ideology that it never reaches the level of awareness necessary to question democracy as an ideology. It assumes the democratic ideology as the metaphysical basis for education.

The power of the views of Goodman, Rogers and Silberman lies in the realistic limits they place on the role of school in society. None of these men fall into the trap of seeing education as the "solver of America's problems" or the "distributor of America's wealth."

It does not seem that the same can be said for Dewey, Smith, Taylor, Wilcox, or Conant. Each of these men puts a burden on schools which seems inappropriate to the concept of education in itself. When one grants social
and political purpose to education, he removes from it its freedom to be thoroughly intellectual. In the terms of Lonerganian analysis the views of all these men relegate the role of education to common-sense meaning with all with all its attendant biases. Moreover, Conant, in his emphasis on the American way, and Wilcox, in his emphasis on Black Nationalism leave education wide open to the proclamation of myths and ideologies. Wilcox, it must be admitted, may at this point in time be taking the only avenue open to him, but in the spirit of critical intelligence the avenue of the black nationalism must be seen as the avenue of myth and ideology with all its attendant risks.

The view that education should be a means of national defense or a means of economic success must be faulted on the same basis. Both approaches reduce the man receiving the education to a status less than human. Rickover makes the man a cog in the military industrial complex. The popular American makes him a mere earner of income. Both views promote the development of myth, ideology, and group bias.

**The Fourth Chapter**

The chapter on Bernard Lonergan was developed as supportive of an alternative view of the goals of American education. The investigator has found the wide-ranging approach of Lonergan to be insightful as a way of looking at many of the problems in American society and American education. Lonergan seems of value at least for providing a new language to use for looking at old problems.

In this investigation, the investigator related Lonergan's insights to the historical, cultural and psychological roots of racism as described in Chapter One by Jordan, Kovel and Sartre.
The unique value of the goals for education as stated in Chapter Four is that they are critical yet interior, intellectual yet open to mystery, practical yet broadly human.

They are critical in the intellectual demands that they put on students and teachers -- yet this critical aspect extends to the moment of self-affirmation. This quality satisfies both demands for intellectual rigor and interiority. It is intellectual in its insistence on developing primarily a self-reflective method of intelligence, and it is critically interior in that self-affirmation in Lonergan's terms is clearly definable. To affirm oneself in the sense of Bernard Lonergan is to know critically that one is a knower and to differentiate and integrate one's processes of sensing, feeling, imagining, questioning, understanding, supposing, reflecting, affirming, choosing, etc. . . .

The affirmation of this investigator is that this critical interiority, once attained, can liberate a man from any compulsion to define himself in terms of myth of ideology. Moreover, when this critical interiority extends to a differentiation and integration of the dimensions of meaning, it can liberate a man from the individual and group bias which underlies self-defeating indulgence in counter-positions. It also can liberate a man from the general bias of common sense which would destroy all intellectualism.

That this kind of intellectualism remains open to mystery as well as aesthetic expression of mystery is no accident. To avoid myth is one thing, but to deny the human need fulfilled by mythical and ideological symbolic expressions can liberate a man from any demand that he should or even can answer all questions and control all eventualities. It thus has the power to release him from the rationalism and anality which seems so central to the phenomenon of racism.
The broad humanity of the Lonerganian approach stems from its being based on the dimensions of meaning. By allowing for each of these dimensions, it does not permit any of them to dominate the others.

**Summary**

The conclusion of this investigation, then, can be summarized in this way. The investigator affirms that racism is such a virulent element of the economic, political and educational institutions of white society that it endangers the survival of American culture and the very lives of black people. The phenomenon is so pervasive, so unconsciously present in the culture, however, that most traditional American thought about the goals of education either promotes it or would unconsciously condone the continuance of racism among white students. The investigator does not affirm that education can cure racism, but by taking the thought of a radical Thomistic philosopher-theologian whose mind has been forged in an atmosphere quite removed from the mainstream of American educational philosophy, he has shown that thought about the goals of education can be framed in a new language capable of yielding fresh insights (specifically, those centered on the notion of critical interiority) on the question of the purpose of education. The investigator has concluded that by leading students to a differentiation and integration of the dimensions of meaning within their lives, by enabling them to develop aesthetic meanings, by helping them achieve self-affirmation, and by helping them to perceive the value of living and choosing in a manner coherent with their knowing, educators would be imparting to students a sound basis for the possible development of wisdom and moral courage.

The investigator takes the position that wise and moral men will deal
with racism effectively and that if educators would set their sights on the
four goals he has enunciated, the schools of white children might find them­selves more able to facilitate the development of the required wisdom and
morality. At times, one's ethical decisions must be based on common sense,
that is on what is practical. At times the limits of one's awareness of what
indeed is practical must be expanded by being integrated with inquiring in­
telligence. At still other times the limits of intelligence must be acknow­
ledged by the aesthetic symbolization of mystery. The core of this construct
is that each of these dimensions of meaning illuminates, enlivens, or liberates
the others to the extent that it makes the development of a broad and critical
humanity possible. A white man can be liberated from the racism in his soul
when he has achieved such a broad and critical humanity.
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