

The bourgeois class poses itself as an organism in continuous movement, capable of absorbing the entire society, assimilating it to its own cultural and economic level. The entire function of the state has been transformed: the state has become an educator.

--Antonio Gramsci

Education and the Reproduction
of
Capitalist Ideology: Manitoba, 1945-1960
by
Robert W. Milan

A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Master of Education in the Faculty of Education, Department of Educational Administration and Foundations, University of Manitoba.

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ROBERT WILLIAM MILAN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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II

INTRODUCTION

In the broadest sense, this dissertation will examine the educational system in Manitoba during the period following World War II up to the major changes that began to occur in the early 1960's. The focus will be in such a way that the process of reproducing capitalism and capitalist ideology is elaborated. Underpinning this approach will be the analytical framework of *Marxism*.

The first chapter will deal almost exclusively with the Marxist foundations of education, state, and the generalities of the reproduction of capitalist ideology. Accompanying this will be the relevant extensions of Marxist thought, particularly the work of Antonio Gramsci. This in essence will serve as a theoretical and philosophical framework and the point of departure for an investigation of the educational process in the period under study.

Chapter two will analyze the social, political, and economic characteristics of Manitoba within a national and international setting. The emphasis will be the growing dominance of the United States as a leading world power and its effect on Manitoba in general and education specifically.

Chapter three will stress the relationships between

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Manitoba's economic base and education. It will focus on such problems as the economy; provincial politics; rural-urban inequalities in education; the relationship between the curriculum and the social structure; traditionalism and progressivism.

Chapter four deals with the specificities of ideological reproduction. It draws heavily on the taxonomization of Marx's world view developed by John McMurtry. It critically examines how the bourgeoisie used the ideology of the monarchy and capitalist democracy in education to secure the subordination of the working strata.

Chapter five will examine religion as a special case of ideology and how it functioned as a supportive component of capitalism. Issues focussed on include; the Manitoba Schools Question; Catholic doctrine or the 'theory of permeation'; Protestantism; Catholic and Protestant anti-communism. These are all set within an educational framework.

Chapter six will examine the dual character of bourgeois hegemony by considering the effect of the Cold War on education. It includes an analysis of Gramsci's hegemony made by Perry Anderson relevant to an understanding of bourgeois rule during this period. Some issues discussed are the police subversive squads; R.C.M.P. in the schools; 'Red' schools in Winnipeg; the attempted purge of 'Reds' from the Inkster Home

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and School Association.

The thesis is essentially thematic in character and historical in content. Each chapter represents a different facet of bourgeois rule and education. The essence of the dissertation is to explore the nature and peculiarities of bourgeois dominance, secured through ideology and functioning within the educational sector.

Chapter 1

THE MARXIST FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

At some point it is necessary to explain the nature of Marxism. This is clearly an impossible task to do in a few pages. Nevertheless it is important to develop the relevance of Marxism to educational work and hence something has to be said about Marxism itself.¹

Marxism is not a fully worked-out theory, nor is it a set of rigid rules or formulae with predictive powers. It is essentially a way of looking at human development in order that mankind can better understand the world and hence change it.²

The philosophy upon which Marxism is built is the materialist conception of history or historical materialism. This was first published in 1847 in Marx's famous Poverty of Philosophy:

M. Proudhon the economist understands very well that men make cloth, line, or silk materials in definite relations of production. But what he has not understood is that these definite social relations are just as much produced by men as linen, flax, etc. Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change...³

By 1850, his theory of historical materialism was complete and appeared in the preface to his Critique of Political Economy:

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, *on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general.* 4

The importance of this quotation cannot be overestimated. Marx clearly asserted that the productive relations determine the whole social organization. Hence, social change must be seen, as rooted "not in men's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange."⁵ The fact that economic structures give rise to legal and political structures is somewhat central to this thesis and will be dealt with at length elsewhere. Suffice it to say at this point, that the intellectual history of man, in the Marxist sense, can be explained through historical materialism. Hence the "history of education" (in the broadest sense) is also a product of changes in the productive forces and social relations of production.

Arising directly from a consideration of the social relations of production, particularly under capitalism, is the concept of social class. In very simple terms, Marx saw class as a special form of the division of labour in society.⁶ He

considered the division of labour and private property identical expressions.⁷ Marx showed that society became divided into classes only with the appearance of private ownership of the means of production. One section of society, comprising a minority (bourgeoisie) controls the means of production and is thereby able to exploit the other section of society which is deprived (proletariat) of the means of production.⁸

It should be noted here, however, that the idea of class is not a simple clear-cut case of bourgeoisie and proletariat as might be deduced from an examination of 19th century Europe. The class composition of all societies changes and varies according to changes in the productive forces and social relations of production. Thus, the class composition of mid-20th century Canada was quite different from the class composition of 19th century Europe. Yet the litmus test for determining the basic class arrangements in society still remains the relationship of groups to the means of production.⁹ Nevertheless, certain groups or individuals *subjectively* interpret their position in the class structure irregardless of their objective position within it. Marx developed this point in his Poverty of Philosophy:

Economic conditions first transformed the mass of people of the country into workers. The combination of capital has created for this mass a common situation, common interests. This mass

is thus already a class against capital, but not yet for itself. In the struggle...this mass becomes united and constitutes itself as a class for itself.¹⁰

Closely associated with the idea of "class" is the concept of class struggle or conflict. In belonging to the epoch of advanced capitalism, the period under study was characterized by the existence of private property relations. This is the root determinant of capitalist class conflict, the basis of the antagonism between those few who exploit and those many who are exploited. The intensity of this conflict is determined by the extent and development of class consciousness.¹¹ The idea that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles",¹² is a central concept to Marxism as well as to this thesis. "Modern bourgeois society", wrote Marx and Engels, "has not done away with class antagonisms but has established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle..."¹³ Furthermore, "society is splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes facing one another."¹⁴ The two hostile camps still exist but tend to be obscured and blurred by the mediation of the state. This obscurantism and the rise of the state will be discussed later in the chapter.

Marx's ideas regarding class struggle or conflict were derived from Hegelian dialectics.¹⁵ Dialectics, both Hegelian and Marxist, are complex philosophical systems and a detailed

account of how they function is beyond the scope of this paper. However complex though, some points must be elaborated no matter what the risk of omission or fractionation.

Hegel's end point, the idea of the state, became the departing point for Marx's dialectics. Witness Marx's statement:

My dialectic method is not only different from the Hegelian but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life process of the human brain, that is, the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the idea' he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos* of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the idea'. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought.¹⁶

As the above statement reveals, Hegel was an idealist and for whom "the thoughts within his brain were not the more or less abstract pictures of actual things and processes, but conversely, things and their evolution were only the realised picture of 'the idea' existing somewhere from eternity before the world was."¹⁷ Marx, using Hegelian dialectics, developed a materialist conception as can be seen from his argument in Capital, Volume I (see note 17).

What Marx and Engels called the dialectical method would be the practice of the scientific method in sociology, which consists of seeing society as a living organism in a constant state of development and change, the "study of which requires

* In the philosophy of Plato, the creative spirit, the creator of the world.

an objective analysis of the relations of production that constitutes the given social formation and an investigation of its laws of functioning and development."¹⁸ The class struggle or conflict as the basis of history and development was discovered by Marx through the application of dialectical materialism to the study of society. It follows that because of the dialectical laws governing the material basis, society will be governed by these same laws. Hence education, as a social process, must move and change in accordance with the general dialectic¹⁹ and specifically in accordance with the class struggle.

The canons of Marxism presented to this point have prepared the terrain for a discussion of the concept of base and superstructure and its value in analyzing the process of education. As noted earlier, a definite superstructure rises from the economic base. It is often this particular aspect of Marxism that is misconstrued as being overly mechanical and deterministic. It must be remembered, however, that Marxist materialism denies that man is a passive product of his environment and education, or that he is changed passively as the result of new modes of education. Marxism established a new relationship between environment and education on the one hand and man on the other. Perhaps Marx explained this best in his Theses on Feuerbach:

The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and

changed upbringing, forgets that it is men who change circumstances and that it is essential to educate the educator himself...The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as a revolutionary practise.²⁰

Proof of the dialectic of social development is found in one of Marx's most famous passages on modern history which is that "philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point however is to change it."²¹

Marxism asserts that man's ideas and consciousness are interwoven with material activity and material relations. Even culture, as expressed in language, politics, laws, morals, and religion, is the result of the material interrelationships of human society. It is not the abstract but the real active man "conditioned" (not determined) by definite material productive forces who produces ideas. "Consciousness cannot be anything else but conscious existence, and the existence of men is their real life process."²²

In interpreting history, Marxism does not look for a categorical idea in each historical period; it does not explain experience as the outcome of an idea (Hegelian dialectics). On the contrary, it explains the formation of ideas as a product of material activity or practise.²³ Changes in education are not affected by mere criticism of the educational ideas under attack but correspond to and are conditioned by the changes in the economic base. An example of this for the period under

study in Canada, and indeed Manitoba, was the 'progressivism' versus 'traditionalism' debate. This debate reflected the changes that were occurring in Canada up to the mid 20th century. "Progressivism" reflected the modern urbanized, industrialized, capitalist formation while "traditionalism" corresponded to a static agrarian undeveloped capitalist formation. The President of the Manitoba Federation of Home and School put it succinctly: "The educational system of the machine age has been hampered by outmoded rules of an agricultural age."²⁴

It is true that people do deal with ideas, but these are only in a sense convenient translations of that basic activity or production that people carry on to subsist and which makes history. A fundamental proposition (indeed the beginning proposition) of Marxism is that "men must be in a position to live, in order to be enabled to make history."²⁵

In the German Ideology Marx outlined in dialectical fashion the relationship between education and the economic base. Primitive education was not systematic but motivated by attempts to gain the material means for living.²⁶ Education was interwoven with every phase of human activity in primitive man's struggle with the forces of nature. Marx distinguished primitive education from modern education as being *social* rather than *political*.²⁷ Since private property did not exist, there were no socially opposed classes and no

social strife. There was no need to protect the sanctity of private property, hence no need for the political state.²⁸ Education was apolitical. Education in primitive society was an apolitical, conscious, purposeful process based on the desire to subsist, a materialistic *élan vital*.

With the appearance of private property, concentration, and appropriation of the means of production, a break occurred in the simple social relationships. To justify economic oppression, a politico-religious superstructure arose to aid the ruling class.²⁹ Every political change following an economic change had its effect on education. The very nature of education began to be directly dependent on the economic and hence political conditions of each historic period. Education, seen as a political process, is a central theme of this thesis.

Education, then, came to depend not only on political conditions but on the ideology of the ruling class.³⁰ Marx expressed it the following way:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production; so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore the ideas of its dominance.³¹

The preceeding quotation from the German Ideology summarizes the relationship between the economic base and its corresponding superstructure. Chapter three will examine the particulars of the Manitoba 'base' and its relationships to the superstructure. Chapters four and five will analyze the specificities of the ideological component and its function in reproducing the base. It is now necessary to graft onto the concept of base and superstructure the meaning and nature of the state and civil society and to ascertain the character and function of education within that schema.

The State, Civil Society, and Education

The Marxist conception of the class dominated state is directly related to the rise of private property. Its essence was best described by Engels:

The state is, therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without; just as little is it 'the reality of the ethical idea', 'the image and reality of reason' as Hegel maintains. Rather it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in sterile struggle, a power *seemingly* standing above society became necessary for the purpose of moderating the conflict, of keeping it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arisen out of society, but placing itself above it, and increasingly alienating itself from it, is the state.³² [My italics.]

"The state arises", added Lenin, "when and insofar as class antagonisms objectively *cannot* be reconciled . . . the state could neither have arisen nor maintained itself had it been possible to reconcile class."³³ Thus the state functions under capitalism to subjugate the exploited class by protecting the appropriation of wealth by the propertied class. As Marx and Engels put it in the Communist Manifesto, "the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."³⁴ In one form or another the embodiment of this idea of the state reappears again and again in the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and more recently Gramsci.³⁵

The state itself is more than just "government". In the Marxist sense, the "ruling class" of capitalist society is that class which owns and controls the means of production and which is able to use the state as its instrument for the domination of society. But what is "the state"? "The state", says Miliband, "is not a thing. What the state stands for is a number of particular institutions which, together, constitute its reality, and which interact as parts of what may be called the state system."³⁶ A Marxist definition of the state, particularly related to advanced capitalist society, must take into account not only its function but its class essence. Göran Therborn provides this dissertation with such a definition:

The state...[O]perates simultaneously as an expression of class *domination* (that is, as a particular form of the class division of labour in society) and as the *execution* of the supreme rule-making, rule-applying, rule-adjudicating, rule-enforcing and rule-defending tasks of society. The two aspects constitute an intrinsic unity: execution of these tasks is class domination, and class political domination is the execution of these tasks.³⁷

Although Marx arrived at certain conclusions with respect to the state, he developed no systematic study nor theory. The main weakness in the Marxist analysis is that it does not take into account the remarkable resiliency and resourcefulness of the dominant class in society (particularly the Western advanced capitalist countries) to manage the class struggle so effectively without the continuous use of coercion. It is precisely this question that Gramsci dealt with and his elaborations on the circuitry of the superstructure are vital to educators. Gramsci, however, did not 'correct' Marx. Rather he refined and advanced the Marxist concept to better explain the apparent longevity of capitalism in the Western democracies.

The Gramscian foundations appear to arise out of The German Ideology:³⁸

The form of intercourse determined by the existing productive forces at all previous historical stages, and in its turn determining these, is *civil society*...Civil society embraces the whole material intercourse of individuals within a definite stage of the development of productive forces. It embraces the whole commercial and industrial life of a given stage and, insofar, trans-

cends the state and the nation, though, on the other hand again, it must assert itself in its foreign relations as nationality, and inwardly must organize itself as State. The term 'civil society' (bürgerliche Gesellschaft) emerged in the eighteenth century, when property relationships had already extricated themselves from the ancient and medieval communal society. Civil society as such only develops with the bourgeoisie; the social organization evolving directly out of production and commerce, which in all ages forms the basis of the State and of the rest of the idealistic superstructure, has, however, always been designated by the same name.³⁹

It is evident from this insight that the locus of education is circumscribed by the concept of "civil society" under the rubric of the state. The details of the meaning and relationship between the state and civil society will be investigated in chapter six. Suffice it to say here that state and civil society reflect the coercive and consensual aspects of bourgeois hegemony.

Gramsci pivoted his elaborations with respect to the state on the foundation of the intellectuals.⁴⁰ Commencing, he asked, "Are intellectuals an autonomous and independent social group, or does every social group have its own specialized category of intellectuals?"⁴¹ His answer was crucial; "Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but

also in the social and political fields."⁴²

From this point of view, Gramsci considered intellectuals those who exercise technical or directive capacities within society (including teachers).⁴³ Thus industrial managers and foremen are specialists in organizing industry for the capitalists or ruling class. Society also needs people of larger broader or more political vision, in short, directors who will organize society in general to create the most favourable conditions for the expansion of the class whose whose interests they serve.⁴⁴

Besides this "vertical" distinction of intellectual types, Gramsci also made an "horizontal" distinction between traditional and organic intellectuals. The traditional group is the totality of creative artists and learned persons in society, those who are actually thought of as intellectuals.⁴⁵ Their outstanding characteristic is a feeling that they represent an "historical continuity uninterrupted by even the most radical and complicated changes of social and political systems."⁴⁶ This attachment to the past has important political consequences and Gramsci leaned heavily on Marx to expose the "idealism" of these intellectuals:

Since these various categories of traditional intellectuals experience, through an 'esprit de corps' their uninterrupted historical continuity and their special qualification, they thus put themselves forward as autonomous and independent of the dominant group. This self assessment is not without consequences in the ideological and political field, consequences

of wide-ranging import. The whole of idealist philosophy can easily be connected with this position assumed by the social complex of intellectuals and can be defined as the expression of that social utopia by which the intellectuals think of themselves as 'independent', autonomous, endowed with a character of their own, etc.⁴⁷

The significance of this quotation will become sharper later in this thesis when the question of religion and education is examined, for the clergy are a prime example of traditional intellectuals. The actual degree of co-ordination between traditional intellectuals and the ruling class is somewhat mute in the Gramscian schema. But he does assert that the "relationship between the intellectuals and the world of production is not as direct as it is with the fundamental social groups^{*} but is in varying degrees, "mediated" by the whole fabric of society and by the complex of superstructures of which the intellectuals are precisely the functionaries."⁴⁸

The organic intellectual, on the other hand is more directly related to the economic structure of his particular society. The organic intellectual gives his class homogeneity and an awareness of its own function in the economic field.

In Gramsci's words:

One of the most important characteristics of any group that is developing towards dominance is its struggle to assimilate and to conquer 'ideologically' the traditional intellectuals, but this assimila-

^{*}Fundamental social groups mean bourgeoisie and proletariat.

tion and conquest is made quicker and more efficacious the more the group in question succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its own organic intellectuals.⁴⁹

Keeping in mind that intellectuals are "functionaries", Gramsci then linked them to the primary function of the state, that is, class domination by virtue of supreme adjudicative power. The intellectuals are the dominant group's "deputies exercising the subaltern function of social *hegemony* and political government."⁵⁰ It is through the state that intellectuals perform this function and derive their power. The organic quality of this power is the expression of the most important of Gramsci's concepts, that of *ideological hegemony*.⁵¹

The tenets of hegemony go a long way in explaining how capitalism, in the advanced Western democracies, has maintained its hold and retained its support. The hegemony of a political class meant for Gramsci that that class had succeeded in persuading the other classes of society to accept its own moral, political, and cultural values. If the ruling class is successful in this, coercion will not have to be employed.

The 'normal' exercise of hegemony, in the area which has become classical, that of the parliamentary regime, is characterized by the combination of force and consensus which vary in their balance with each other, without force exceeding consensus too much. Thus it tries to achieve that force should appear to be supported by the agreement of

the majority, [*sic*] expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion -- newspapers and associations...Midway between consensus and force stands corruption or fraud which is characteristic of certain situations in which the exercise of hegemony is difficult, making the use of force too dangerous.⁵²

Implicit in this process is the fact that the ruling class (bourgeoisie in capitalist society) takes into account to some extent the interests of the subaltern classes though never altering the fundamental economic arrangement.⁵³ The seemingly spontaneous consent given by the masses has its origins in the "prestige" which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.⁵⁴ The apparatus of "state coercive" power exists in order legally to enforce discipline on those groups who do not consent. This apparatus is "constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction, where spontaneous consent has failed."⁵⁵ But the centre of gravity of the hegemonic process is ideological. It asserts itself mainly in civil society, the idealistic superstructure. It is through this ensemble of relationships that the dominant class, mediated through the intellectuals and functioning under the aegis of the state, is able to maintain its power. Specifically then:

[Hegemony] is a whole body of practises and expectations; our assignments of energy, our ordinary understanding of man and his world. It is a set of mean-

ings and values which as they are experienced as practises appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes *a sense of reality** for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced as a reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives. But this is not, except in the operation of a moment of abstract analysis, in any sense a static system.⁵⁶
[My italics.]

In the Marxist-Gramscian sense, then, every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship and "occurs not only within the nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and world wide field, between complexes of national and continental civilization."⁵⁷ Educational institutions are agencies of transmission of an effective dominant culture but they are fixed in the totality of a much wider social training including the family, and the practical definitions and organization of work. These forces are combined in a continual making and remaking of the effective dominant culture. It should be stressed that hegemony is not simply something that "just happens". It is in very large part the result of a permanent and pervasive *effort*, conducted through a multitude of agencies and *deliberately intended* to create what Miliband refers to as a "national supra party consensus based on higher order solidarity."⁵⁸ Witness the speech of the President of the International Peace Garden to the 1949

Manitoba School Trustees Convention:

...in these days we face a new crisis, a crisis growing out of a completely disorganized world in many parts of which standards of living are critically reduced, in which new ideologies are being established in which freedom and justice are often sacrificed at the altar of power and greed. The significance of these new concepts can be only fully understood if we bring to them the full weight of a well informed public opinion. *The responsibility for creating this rests largely on our public institutions, our schools and colleges, our churches, our Chambers of Commerce, our Service Clubs, etc., and all public bodies* that are concerned with creating in the minds of our citizens the capacity for sound thinking.*⁵⁹ [My italics.]

It is quite clear from the above excerpt that this representative of the dominant ideology recognized the importance of the process of hegemony.

In understanding hegemonic relationships it is important to point out that Gramsci maintained there are two requirements for ideological hegemony. It is not merely that our economic order "creates" categories and superstructures of feelings which saturate our everyday lives, but that there must be a group of intellectuals who make the ideological forms seem neutral.⁶⁰ Consequently an examination of the content and categories of thinking used by "intellectuals" such as educators will be one of the prime foci of this thesis.

Ideology and Education

A familiar objection to Marxist reasoning runs like this: "Marxism is fonder of dismissing all rival theories as mere *class ideologies* than facing up to the implications of its own theory, that it can be nothing more than a class ideology itself, contrary to its claims of being scientific."⁶¹ The response to this is beyond the scope of this study. In any case, the answer *alone* to this critique would not satisfy the critical mind for the process of *arriving at* this answer would be sought. For the purposes of this dissertation Marxism *will not* be considered an ideology. This will be more clearly explained in chapter four. As Engels pointed out, "ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, it is true, but with false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown..."⁶² The German Ideology explained in general how the ruling class, in establishing its hegemony, separates its ideas from itself, presenting them as eternal truths.⁶³ These truths are embodied in persons as "self-consciousness", the persons being the "ideologists" who are understood as the manufacturers of history.⁶⁴ Implicit in what Marx was saying is that functionally, ideology historically has served as a form of false consciousness which distorts one's picture of social reality and serves the interests of the dominant class in society. Ideological hegemony is a detailed expression of this process

and the whole concept can be referred to as legitimation. Positioning this notion within Gramsci's schema sees the basic assumptions of a social arrangement leading to an ideological sanctification of "right principles". Part of this process is accomplished through an ideological mechanism that Raymond Williams calls the "selective tradition".⁶⁵ Within the terms of an effective dominant culture, there exists "the tradition", that which is passed off as "the significant past".

For instance, bourgeois ideologists continually avoided the question of violence when discussing the establishment and maintenance of the British Empire. Besides content, the selectivity is the point; the way in which, from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded. Some of these practices are diluted or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture.⁶⁶ This ideological mechanism is an important form of legitimation, and will be developed to a considerable extent in this thesis, particularly with respect to history and civics in the curriculum.

To avoid confusion with regard to this writer's approach to ideology, a definition is in order. Ideology can be considered an intellectual structure and its associated set of social practices, which in fact serves the interest of one

class, or some primary social group, while putting itself forward as serving the interests of the whole of society.⁶⁷ An ideological theory (such as liberal democracy) seems to wittingly or unwittingly support certain crucial practices which gives one class power over another. The falseness (false consciousness) of the theory enters principally in the partial, narrowed perspective that it affords, in its way of representing the facts such that there is at best only partial representation of actual social relations or anything like an understanding of the way our material conditions of life affect our theories. The facts are not represented as a whole,⁶⁸ but are either left unconnected or are represented in a way that serves the interests of the ruling class. Under capitalism, ideology gives people an illusory sense of community, a mystified way of seeing their own social relations.⁶⁹ In a dialectical sense, however, this process of ideological illusion (alienation) weakens the dominant class by perpetuating a system ultimately contrary to their interests. This distortion or illusion need not be a deliberate apology for any system or class interest. More realistically the ideologist sees himself not as furthering or sustaining some special interest, but as a servant of the truth, providing some intellectual structure. No more exemplary of this was the notion of the British Empire presented to the school community in Manitoba during the period under study. Throughout the forties and fifties the Empire and the Royal family were

systematically presented in the most righteous and sanctimonious manner reaching a distorted frenzy at the time of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Observe a school trustee who spoke on behalf of the monarchy:

Surely we are a favoured people. Amidst all the vicissitudes of world turmoil, the British Commonwealth stands proudly firm in leadership and inspiration for integrity and good government inspired and exemplified by our Royal Family. The Empire represents all that is best in human associations.⁷⁰

Certainly this trustee ("intellectual") believed what he was saying, and so did many others. It requires only an introductory course in world history and/or colonialism to discover that Great Britain methodically enslaved and exploited millions of people in the name of "the best in human associations"! The exposure of this type of ideological brigandage will be emphasized throughout the thesis.

The most helpful way of thinking through the complexities of ideology is found in the concept of hegemony. The idea that ideological saturation permeates our lived experience enables one to see how people can utilize frameworks which both assist them in organizing their world and enable them to believe they are neutral participants in the neutral institutions of schooling. The teachers' "Code of Professional Practice" illustrates such an ideological framework. Article 3 states that "a teacher keeps his teaching as objective as possible in discussing with his class controversial

matters, whether political, religious or racial."⁷¹ As noted earlier there must be a group of intellectuals who make the ideological forms seem neutral. The educator, in the act of striving to appear neutral (that is presenting himself "above" the class struggle), is in fact functioning on behalf of the dominant class and the capitalist system since politics, race, and religion are all products, ultimately, of class struggle. In addition, by dissociating himself from a process that would bring the system into question, he legitimizes it. Educational institutions act as agents of cultural and ideological hegemony. This creates people who see no alternative to the economic, political, and social arrangement that now exists. This makes the concepts of hegemony and ideology critical elements in the political and analytic foundations forwarded in this thesis.

Political Socialization

(Production of False Consciousness)

What should be evident at this point is that the term "political socialization" appears to be a misnomer since this paper has defined learning in general as political, *as the development of consciousness*. Hence, to take Easton's definition of political socialization, "those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior",⁷² implies that one shy away from

ideological content and concentrate on the notion of process and activity. The fact is that much of the process, with respect to Western political systems, is intended to foster acceptance of the Capitalist order and its values. Along with this goes the persistent attempt to cultivate a rejection of alternatives. What is involved here is very largely a process of massive indoctrination.⁷³ As Miliband argues, "for indoctrination to occur it is not necessary that there should be monopolistic control and the prohibition of opposition: it is only necessary that ideological competition should be so unequal as to give a crushing advantage to one side against the other."⁷⁴ Therefore, given the Marxian-Gramscian analysis developed to this point, political socialization is best seen from the point of view of legitimation or functional bias. Pike and Zureik express it the following way:

...political systems tend to perpetuate their culture and structures through time, and they do this mainly by the means of the socializing influence of the primary and secondary structures through which the young of the society pass in the process of socialization.⁷⁵

Certainly this dissertation will fall occasionally under the captivity of the above idea. This tight functional conception, however, does not take into account those processes that create counter-norms and threaten capitalist institutions. In this author's view it is necessary to reach for Marxist dialectics to understand movement and change in society.

And again, within a dialectical framework, hegemony becomes the useful dynamic to comprehend the variations and changes that have occurred more recently within the capitalist epoch. Counter-norms and threats to capitalism, through the process of hegemony, have been transformed and incorporated into the dominant meanings and symbols of society. An outstanding example of this in the Western democracies is the rise of social democracy and its ability to absorb and transform revolutionary orientations into forms that assist the smooth functioning of capitalism.⁷⁶

From the point of view of legitimation, political socialization can be seen as a process of "re-defining meanings and practices in society in accordance with a dominant cultural matrix."⁷⁷ When the concept of hegemony (with its emphasis on civil society) is welded on to the earlier Marxist theory of base and superstructure, a better view of political socialization is uncovered. In the words of Raymond Williams:

the processes of education; the processes of a much wider social training within institutions like the family; the practical definitions and organization of work; the *selective tradition* at an intellectual and theoretical level: all these forces are involved in a continual making and remaking of an effective dominant culture, and on them, as experienced, as built into our living, its reality depends. If what we learn were merely an imposed ideology, or if it were only the isolable meanings and practices of the ruling class, or of a section of the ruling class, which

gets imposed on others, occupying merely the top of our minds, it would be -- and one would be glad -- a very much easier thing to overthrow.⁷⁸

Arising directly out of this motif is the question of "agencies of socialization". For the purposes of this dissertation, the agencies of socialization will be seen as legitimators holding the cultural hegemonic apparatus together. Generally speaking, the theoreticians of political socialization see the primary agents of socialization as the family, peer groups, schooling, and the mass media.⁷⁹ There is general agreement that the family is the prime social-cultural agency for the transmission of political ideas or ideology.⁸⁰ From its very origins, Marx and Engels were able to see how dialectically the family contained "within itself, in *miniature*, all the antagonisms which later develop on a wide scale within society and the state."⁸¹ Of course, the latest development of the family in Western democracies has taken place in the epoch of capitalism. Hence Engels saw the man representing the bourgeoisie, and his wife the proletariat.⁸² In other words, the primary struggle, the class struggle, is manifested within the family through a male dominance paradigm.⁸³

Although the other agencies of political socialization, peer groups, schooling, and the mass media, are considered secondary, they are related hegemonically to the family. Most important for this thesis is schooling and the mass media.

which however are tendencies to reinforce and condition the production of consciousness in the family.⁸⁴ Schooling and the mass media are in turn related to tertiary agencies such as Service Clubs. Religion permeates unevenly all the agencies and on the other hand it is legitimated by these same agencies. Although the agencies for the production of ideology and its dissemination are separated for analytical purposes they function as an organic whole through the hegemonic matrix. This dissertation will reflect this to some degree by showing that the dominant ideology permeates all these agencies constituting a multifaceted mutual reinforcement. The educational process is the central process and consequently the school system will form the centre of gravity for examining the reproduction of capitalist ideology.

Summary

This chapter has developed the broad philosophical framework that will be employed when examining the period 1945 to 1960 in Manitoba. The cardinal points are:

1. Historical materialism requires a study of the productive forces and the social relations of production of every epoch. Arising from the economic base of capitalist productive forces and social relations of production is a class structure where one class dominates over others by virtue of its ownership and control of the means of production or pri-

vate property. Membership in any class is objectively determined by one's relationship to the means of production, however, subjective determination leads many groups in society to position themselves in different places on the class terrain.

2. Society is in a constant state of motion and change due to the antagonisms created by the social relations of production, that is, the class struggle. The economic base of societies organized around private property gives rise to a superstructure. The superstructure interacts at the same time with the economic base (mutual conditioning). The ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class. Education, therefore, in the informal or broad sense, and the formal organized sense, propagates the ideas of the ruling class.

3. The state is the ensemble of relationships of the superstructure which results in the management of the class struggle. In so doing, the interests of the dominating exploiting class are protected. Hence the state is not neutral, but attempts to appear that way. Consequently education is not neutral.

4. The intellectuals, both organic and traditional are the deputies of the state. They function on behalf of the dominant class, operating structurally and ideologically to preserve and gain support for the existing economic, political, and social arrangement.

Hegemony is the ideological, structural, and organiza-

tional mechanism by which the intellectuals are able to saturate the subaltern classes with the ideological forms of the dominant class. These forms result in creating support for the dominant class without the continuous use of overt coercion. As will be shown later, it is the fusion of force and consent. *Education* is the centre of gravity of hegemony.

5. Ideology attempts to separate the ruling ideas from the ruling class and the economic base, hence presenting them as eternal truths, and obscuring reality. The intellectuals mediate this process. Part of this is accomplished through idealism and categories of ideology. Education functions under this rubric.

6. Political socialization is another term for the development of false consciousness. It is best viewed as legitimation. The analytical categories known as agents of socialization serve as useful tools in explaining the hegemonic transmission of the dominant ideology.

It will be necessary throughout this thesis to draw upon the theory laid down in this first chapter as well as to develop some of it more thoroughly. At all times the formal educational process will be the centre of gravity but occasional forays into other areas will be necessary to draw certain conclusions.

Notes

¹The writer is acutely aware of the problem regarding the distortion of Marxism. Fragmenting, compartmentalizing, and selective quoting often leads to distortion. There appears to be no way out.

²Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach (XI)", The Marx-Engels Reader, ed. Robert C. Tucker. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), p.145.

³Karl Marx, "Poverty of Philosophy", Reader in Marxist Philosophy, ed. Howard Selsam and Harry Martel. (New York: International Publishers, 1963), p.188.

⁴Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy", Marx-Engels Reader, p.4.

⁵Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", Marx-Engels Reader, p.701.

⁶Marx, "The German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, pp.159-60.

⁷Ibid.

⁸The best treatise of this remains "Capital, Volume I", Marx-Engels Reader, pp.295-438.

⁹The whole notion of class was not discovered by Marx. As Marx himself noted, "no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me, bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes." Marx, "Marx to J. Wedemeyer in New York", Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), p.669.

For a good analysis of 20th century Canadian class structure, see John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975).

¹⁰Marx, "The Coming Upheaval (Poverty of Philosophy)", Marx-Engels Reader, p.218. For a good treatment of "subjectivism" see Frank Cunningham, Understanding Marxism. (Toronto: Progress Books, 1978), pp.46-7.

¹⁹Dialectical materialism considers that matter is always in motion, that motion is the mode of existence of matter, so that there can be no more matter without motion than motion without matter. Motion does not have to be impressed upon matter by some outside force, but above all, it is necessary to look for the inner impulses of development, the self-motion, inherent in all processes.

Dialectical materialism considers that, in the manifold processes taking place in the universe, things come into being, change and pass out of being, not as separate individual units, but in essential relation and interconnection, so that they cannot be understood each separately and by itself but only in their relation and interconnection. See Maurice Cornforth, Materialism and the Dialectical Method. (New York: International Publishers, 1971); Reader in Marxist Philosophy, pp.94-137.

²⁰Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach III", Marx-Engels Reader, p.144.

²¹Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach XI", Marx-Engels Reader, p.145.

²²Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, p.154.

²³This idea is exemplified in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte". "Men make history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past." Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", Marx-Engels Reader, p.595.

²⁴Winnipeg Tribune, 27 March 1948. The "progressivism vs traditionalism debate surfaced over and over again in the media, on school boards, at Home and School Associations, and at Teachers' Conventions.

²⁵Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, pp.155-6.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷This paper will conform to the Marxist notion that modern education is a *political process*. The roots of this approach are elaborated in The German Ideology.

²⁸Ibid., pp.157-8.

²⁹Ibid., pp.160-1.

³⁰Ibid., p.172.

³¹Ibid., pp.172-3.

³²Engels, "The Origin of Family, Private Property, and State", Marx-Engels Reader, p.752.

³³Lenin, "The State and Revolution", Lenin: Selected Works, ed. Progress Publishers. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971), p.267.

³⁴Marx and Engels, "Communist Manifesto", Marx-Engels Reader, p.267.

³⁵Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) was co-founder of the Italian Communist Party. In 1928 he was arrested and put into prison. At his trial, the official prosecutor ended his peroration with this demand to the judge: "We must stop this brain from working for twenty years." Gramsci died in prison. See Antonio Gramsci, Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, trans and ed. Quinton Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. (New York: International Publishers, 1971), pp.xvii-xcvi.

³⁶Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p.49.

³⁷Göran Therborn, What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules? (London: New Left Books, 1978), p.47.

³⁸Although The German Ideology is reproduced in Tucker's Marx-Engels Reader, for the complete text see Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Collected Works, Volume 5. (New York: International Publishers, 1976), pp.28-539.

³⁹Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, p.163.

⁴⁰Gramsci, "On Intellectuals", Prison Notebooks, pp.6-23.

⁴¹Ibid., p.5.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., p.9.

⁴⁴Ibid., p.5.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp.6-7.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp.7-8.

⁴⁸Ibid., p.12.

⁴⁹Ibid., p.10. This exceptional passage is dense with implication. Gramsci was not only describing the nature of the capitalist state of affairs but was implying in a *revolutionary sense* that the traditional intellectuals must be won over by the working class (as was Gramsci) in the process of developing its own organic intellectuals.

⁵⁰Ibid., p.12.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Antonio Gramsci, Quaderni del Carcere, ed. Einaudi. (Torino: Einaudi, 1967), p.1638. Cited in James Joll, Gramsci. (Glasgow: Fontana, 1977), p.99. More precisely, "hegemony is an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religions, and political practises and all social relations, particularly in their moral and intellectual connotations." Gwynn Williams, "Gramsci's Concept of Egemonia", Journal of the History of Ideas, XXI, 4 (Oct-Dec, 1960): 586-99. Cited in John Cammett, The Origins of Italian Communism. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967).

⁵³Gramsci, "The Modern Prince", Prison Notebooks, p.161.

⁵⁴Gramsci, "Intellectuals", Prison Notebooks, p.12.

⁵⁵Ibid., p.12.

⁵⁶Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory", Schooling and Capitalism, eds. Roger Dale, Geoff Esland and Madelaine Macdonald. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p.205.

⁵⁷Gramsci, "The Study of Philosophy", Prison Notebooks, p.350.

⁵⁸Miliband, State in Capitalist Society, p.181.

⁵⁹Manitoba School Trustee, 4 (March 1949): 1.

⁶⁰Gramsci, "The Moderates and the Intellectuals", Prison Notebooks, pp.102-4. See also Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, pp.174-5.

⁶¹D. Goldstick, "Is Marxism an Ideology", Communist Viewpoint, 9 (March-April, 1977): 37.

⁶²Engels, "Letter to Conrad Schmidt", Selected Works, p.690. See also The German Ideology.

⁶³Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, p.175.

⁶⁴Ibid. Also see Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy", Selected Works, pp.615-18.

⁶⁵Williams, "Base and Superstructure", Schooling and Capitalism, p.205.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Kai Nielson, "The Role of Radical Philosophers in Canada", Socialist Studies 1 (May, 1979): 1.

⁶⁸See Lenin, "Once Again on the Trade Unions", Reader in Marxist Philosophy, p.116. "Dialectical logic...In the first place to really know an object we must embrace, study, all its sides, all connections and 'mediations'. We shall never achieve this completely, but the demand for all-sidedness is a safeguard against mistakes and rigidity." Ibid.

⁶⁹Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, p.175.

⁷⁰The Manitoba School Trustee, 9 (June, 1953): 1.

⁷¹The Manitoba Teachers' Society, Handbook. (Winnipeg: Man. Teachers' Society, 1977-8), p.7.

⁷²David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969), p.7.

⁷³Miliband, State in Capitalist Society, p.182.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Elia Zureik and Robert M. Pike, Socialization and Values in Canadian Society. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p.38.

⁷⁶Witness the history of social democracy in Manitoba, particularly its movement from the Regina Manifesto in 1933 to its moderate "Schreyerism" of today. Eurocommunism (left wing social democracy) is another example of a revolutionary movement being "hegemonized" or transformed into a non-threatening orientation.

⁷⁷Ibid., p.49.

⁷⁸Williams, "Base and Superstructure", Schooling and Capitalism, p.205.

⁷⁹See Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System; Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1969); Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); Dean Jaros, Socialization to Politics. (London: Thomas Nelson, 1973).

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Engels, "Origin of Family, Private Property and State", Marx-Engels Reader, p.737.

⁸²Ibid., p.744.

⁸³It should be noted here that this is a generalized feature of capitalist society and in no means describes the specific relationships in every family. However, separation and divorce, appear to be the result of this antagonism.

⁸⁴Jack Dennis, Socialization to Politics. (New York: John Wiley, 1973), p.365.

Chapter 2

MANITOBA AND THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY - AN OVERVIEW

The economic, political, and social development of Manitoba was inextricably linked to the world situation as a whole. "Every relationship of hegemony" wrote Gramsci, "occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international field, between complexes of national and international civilizations."¹ Further to this, and pivotal to this brief overview is that "it is on the level of ideologies that men become conscious of conflicts in the world of economy."² Within this context, the most significant ensemble of events governing the period under examination was the defeat of fascism, the rise of the Soviet Union to world power status, and the emergence of the United States as the leading imperialist power. The implications and consequences of these events generally governed the entire spectrum of affairs throughout the world.

The years that immediately followed the Second World War brought an upsurge that affected almost every aspect of Canadian national life. By the year 1947, Canada had achieved its highest level of production in history.³ Between 1946 and 1950 in Winnipeg alone some two hundred new industries

sprung up.⁴ Economic growth was paralleled by a striking increase in Canada's population. The figures rose from 11.5 million in 1941 to 16.5 million in 1957.⁵ In Manitoba, the population rose from 730,000 in 1941 to 920,000 by 1961.⁶ The increase was due to a combination of natural increase and a new wave of immigration. Manitoba's peak post-war baby boom occurred in 1947 when a record setting 20,316 births took place, translating into a birth rate of 27.4 per thousand.⁷ Between 1945 and 1950 a total of 30,000 immigrants came to Manitoba.⁸ Accompanying the sharp increase in population was a wholesale population shift from rural areas to urban areas, one of the primary ingredients in the maturation of capitalism. In the period 1941 to 1951 Manitoba's urban population rose by 20 percent while the rural population declined by 9.4 percent.⁹

The war baby boom occurred as a result of unprecedented economic growth in Canada's economy rooted in the establishment of full employment and natural optimism created by the war situation and the defeat of fascism.¹⁰ The immediate post-war period demonstrated in a striking way the material possibility for higher standards of comfort, education, and security.¹¹ But while prosperity seemed to abound, by the year 1947 the ever present contradictions within Canada's capitalist structure began to accelerate.

Canadian monopolies extracted surplus value to such an

extent that Canadian business commenting on the record profits said that "it may kill the goose that laid the golden egg."¹² During 1947 the consumer price index rose twenty points and encompassed such increases as food, 75 percent, and clothing, 50 percent.¹³ Wage increases did not keep up with soaring prices. The combined totals of all wage increases gained equalled an average of 10 percent.¹⁴ This led to an intensification of the class struggle. Some of the particulars of this class struggle will be put aside for the moment in order to examine world events and their concentric impact on Canada.

The period 1945 to 1950 saw the unmistakable and formal subordination of Canada to United States imperialism. The United States had emerged from World War II as the leading imperialist power. This was coupled with the fact that the British Empire was disintegrating and clearly Great Britain no longer 'ruled the waves'. Canada stood on what Creighton calls a "forked road"¹⁵ with respect to its future course. The United States appeared on the brink of a victory concerning the Anglo-American rivalry that existed in Canada since the end of World War I.¹⁶ While much evidence¹⁷ points to the fact that American dominance of Canada was inevitable, it can also be argued that in the crucial period following the War, an independent course for Canadian monopoly capitalism was a possibility.¹⁸ In any case, this complex and un-

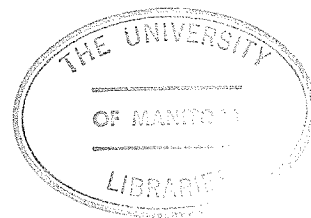
resolved debate over 'how' Canada came to be dominated by the United States is peripheral to this overview. What is important, however, was that Canada carried out certain policies and decisions after World War II that strongly aligned it with United States imperialism. It produced adverse conditions for workers, farmers, and students, particularly as a result of our subservience to United States foreign policy. The British influence remained in Canada, but only as an ideological tool for the maintenance and solidification of bourgeois rule.

In November 1947, the Abbott Plan¹⁹ was announced in the House of Commons, four weeks after it had been in operation. Its immediate aim was to reduce the living standards of the Canadian working class²⁰ through its restriction of United State's goods and the imposition of special excise taxes. Its long term goal, however, signalled our indisputable subordination to United States imperialism's specifications for remaking the world economy.²¹ This in turn sharpened the class struggle, for a recession was brought on by the austerity components of the plan. The long term effects were of most consequence. Behind the Abbott Plan stood American imperialism whose major political objective during the post-war period was to contain communism. It was the essence of the "Truman Doctrine".²² This soon expanded into a 'foreign aid program' articulated by the American Secretary of State, George C. Marshall in June, 1948. The Marshall

Plan was ostensibly designed on the surface to help reconstruct war ravaged Europe. The Plan, however, was in reality designed to re-establish capitalism in Europe, even where the forces of capitalism were in a minority. The Truman Doctrine was its ideological component.²³ With respect to the Marshall Plan, the editor of the National Education Journal made the following statement in the Manitoba School Journal:

Marshall Plan aid is one of the brightest chapters in the history of our country. [U.S.] It has enabled European countries to make in a few years a recovery from war which otherwise would have taken much longer. Thus we are building bulwarks against communism which thrives on hunger, confusion, and despair.²⁴

The aim of United States imperialism during the post-war period was to form a western bloc of nations against the U.S.S.R.²⁵ The Abbott Plan was the 'little brother' or viniculum to the Marshall Plan. Ideologically the overriding factor governing the entire period was the Truman Doctrine or anti-communism. The success of imperialism during the period under examination was aided by the bourgeoisie creating fear of a nuclear attack from the U.S.S.R.²⁶ This set the stage for unprecedented expenditures on armaments leaving little for health, housing, and education. For instance, the northern radar network, part of the King-Truman Arctic Pact of 1947 cost \$1.5 billion,²⁷ with the bulk of the expense financed by working class tax dollars.²⁸



Of particular concern for Manitoba, was the impact the Marshall Plan had on the production and sale of wheat. Free trade in wheat by Canada was restricted by the United States due to our participation in the Marshall Plan.²⁹ It led to restricted markets (no wheat could be sold to socialist countries), low prices, and unsold surpluses.³⁰ It had the effect of exacerbating the historical cost-price squeeze and accelerating the epochal migration from rural to urban centres at the expense of farmers. The dearth of funds for education in post-war Manitoba can be traced to United States imperialism. "School financing in Manitoba" maintained the Special Select Committee on Education, "indicates very clearly that when rural income is high, school finances are buoyant and teachers salaries are immediately increased."³¹ The Canadian farmer fared poorly throughout the period under examination and received little relief until Canada began selling wheat to China and the U.S.S.R. (forbidden throughout the period).

Other aspects of the Abbott Plan³² contributed to the prevention of growth of Canada's manufacturing sector which the immediate post-war period suggested was possible. It confirmed and strengthened the reality of Canadians as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'. Douglas Abbott himself admitted that his plan was designed to cut down manufacturing in Canada:

If we cut down the consumption of refrigerators and other articles which contain metal, we can sell the metal in its original form for dollars in the United States or anywhere else. That is one way whereby we can get United States exchange. Instead of using labour in Canada to convert the metal into things our own people consume, we shall sell the raw materials.³³

While there was considerable growth in Manitoba, as mentioned previously, it was mainly in light industry (including services)³⁴ designed to augment and support the spectacular growth in mining, hydro-electric power, road and railway construction.³⁵ Ironically much of the northern development in Manitoba was stimulated by the King-Truman Arctic Pact and the strategic importance of Churchill as a B-36 base.³⁶ It was the realities of American imperialism that was shaping Manitoba during this period.

All these events conditioned the class struggle and determined its character. The demand for expanded wheat markets and an end to the cost-price squeeze produced the "Great Farm Non-Delivery Strike".³⁷ While essentially an Alberta-Saskatchewan strike, it received support from the less militant Manitoba Farmers Union in addition to some American support.³⁸

While the Truman Doctrine stifled the growth of working class consciousness, it could not halt completely a process dating back to the origins of capitalism. In Manitoba from 1945 to 1955, 119,627 man-days were lost due to strikes

and lockouts while from 1929 to 1939 there were 79,703 man-days lost.³⁹ While these figures are subject to further analysis, they point out in general that labour unrest accompanied the advantages the bourgeoisie were accumulating for themselves. Most of the disputes involved wage demands but in the most productive and advanced areas, such as steel, there were demands for a shortening of the work week.⁴⁰ Three conflicts concerned the displacement of workers by technological advance and the drive to intensify the extraction of surplus value. For instance, on November 8, 1945, Compositors (typesetters) went on strike against the Winnipeg Free Press protesting their demise in the wake of new advances in typesetting.⁴¹ The dispute was never settled and the typesetters were cast adrift to fend for themselves; a classic example of the human misery caused by the inability of capitalism to manage the scientific and technological revolution.

There was rising class consciousness among teachers for it was during this period that school trustees were attempting to break the right of teachers to organize. Addressing 250 delegates at the annual two-day general meeting of the Manitoba Teacher's Society, General Secretary, T. McMaster said:

It is regrettable that so many teachers have recently become, or will shortly become victims of petty jealousies, unjust attacks and cold blooded reprisals. These people are being dismissed solely and simply because of their interest in the work of your society.⁴²

No doubt McMaster's comments were close to the truth given the following quotation which was part of a lead editorial in the Manitoba School Trustee:

Shall teachers form unions and affiliate with labour organizations? The answer is emphatically NO - if teachers value the future of their profession and country.* Teaching is a profession and of all the professions holds the highest obligation to impartiality and universal service. Its faith is in truth and goodwill rather than force. Teachers' unions are born of desperation and thrive on catastrophe.⁴³

Generally speaking, education in Manitoba was in profound crisis. The positive and expectant mood⁴⁴ of Manitobans immediately following the war faced a system incapable of satisfying their optimism.⁴⁵ At its heart were hundreds of ill-equipped one-room school houses staffed by ill-trained young teachers and administered by thousands of trustees who essentially formed a reactionary bloc in the service of the bourgeoisie. Teacher salaries were low⁴⁶ and they varied widely from province to province reflecting the unevenness in the growth of capitalism. For instance, in Manitoba the average salary for a teacher in 1951 was \$1976 while in Ontario it was \$2632, (in the United States, excepting the south, it was \$3337).⁴⁷

The educational system reflected the class nature of Canadian society. In Manitoba, 1941, only 42 percent of the

* It was characteristic of cold war ideology during this period to associate 'unionism' with being unpatriotic. It was part of the ideological arsenal designed to weaken the labour movement.

adult population had completed up to eight years of schooling and this only fell to 39 percent by 1951.⁴⁸ Between 1941 and 1951 an average of 31 percent of children between the ages of five and nineteen did not attend school.⁴⁹ As will be shown in the next chapter, these children were exclusively from the lower income working strata.

In universities, the class arrangements were even more visible. The median family income in 1956-1957 was \$4872.⁵⁰ One half of Canadian university students came from families whose income was \$5000 a year or more.⁵¹ If families whose income was under \$5000 could have sent their children to university in the same proportion that the children of families whose incomes were over \$10,000, it would have added 190,000 students to the then university population of 72,000.⁵²

One of the main problems facing the public school system during this period was a dearth of funds. Education, health, and other social services suffered considerably due to Canada's unrelenting subordination to United States imperialism. In 1953, the St. Laurent Government argued that the time for a national health scheme "was not ripe, not when defense bills are enormous". In 1952 Louis St. Laurent announced in the House of Commons that Canada "will have a National Library, but unless world tension eases, its going to be a long term project."

The educational system was flagrantly elitist and con-

structured as will be shown later, to sift out working class children to meet the demands of a changing capitalist system. While structurally it was such, ideologically it functioned to legitimize and reproduce capitalist class relations. But the working class and progressive sections of the bourgeoisie demanded reforms which culminated in the Royal Commission on Education in 1957. The recommendations of the Royal Commission, while certainly not revolutionary, signalled the demise of the Campbell Government. While the Roblin Government implemented many of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, public education essentially remained a capitalist reproductive mechanism.

The Manitoba Schools Question was re-opened during this period, but the Catholics made little headway. Their many and varied briefs to the Royal Commission and the Royal Commission itself illuminated the fact that the public school system was firmly Protestant in orientation. The briefs also pointed out, as will be discussed in chapter four, the ideological nature of religion as a support mechanism for capitalism.

Another feature of education during this period was the penetration of American culture. Much of this penetration depicted the worst aspects of American culture particularly the massive influx of comic books.⁵⁵ Generally, these books promoted war and violence as 'normal' human activities.⁵⁶

The period also witnessed a dramatic increase in the use of school text books written by American authors. While perhaps not as damaging as comic books, many of these texts legitimized Canada's subordination to United States interests. As a grade seven Manitoba text book used from the early fifties put it:

The United States needs our raw materials for its great industries and we in return require its manufactured goods. It can truly be said that both countries are good neighbours dependent on each other.⁵⁷

The Cold War

The 'Truman Doctrine' was the political ideology behind the American bourgeoisie's establishment of a western bloc aimed at 'containing communism'.⁵⁸ Behind this was America's drive to be the major imperialist power in the world and relegate the U.S.S.R. to an ineffectual second class power.⁵⁹ The doctrine represented an advance of American imperialism designed to frighten weaker states into an anti-Soviet coalition and to make new inroads into the moribund British and French Empires. At the same time, American monopoly took up positions from which to pressure the Soviet Union with the possibility of an eventual attack.⁶⁰ The entire manoeuvring was facilitated by creating fear of an attack by the Soviet Union on Europe and North America (Canada and the United States).⁶¹ In the process, American capitalism entrenched

itself in the rich oil reserves of the Near East and through the control of this oil⁶² the bourgeoisie enriched themselves and gained control over dependent nations.

The domestic objectives were designed to gain support at home and, therefore, dovetailed with the objectives abroad. Over and above the ongoing ideological deceptive mechanisms designed to reproduce and legitimize capitalism, the bourgeoisie unleashed an unprecedented crusade against communism underpinned by the repressive power of the state and disseminated through civil society. It was designed to incapacitate the labour movement's struggle for higher wages and to justify enormous increases in military spending.

Ideologically, the Cold War dominated the period and set in motion an hysteria that manifested itself in stifling intellectual inquiry, the purging of intellectuals from universities, and the purging of communists and progressives from their jobs and unions. Canada, closely allied with the United States, launched its own domestic Cold War. While of lesser severity, it followed the American pattern. Union after union passed motions forbidding known communists from executive positions. Entire unions were disaffiliated by the Canadian Congress of Labour because they were 'run' by communists.⁶³ At the convention of the Manitoba Farmers Union in 1951 a motion to exclude all communists from membership failed but in the dying moments of the convention a resolution was passed giving the executive power to suspend "all

members who indulge in subversive activities within the union."⁶⁴ The fact that the resolution was attenuated demonstrated the dialectic of class struggle right within the union movement. Similar pressure was brought to bear on the Teachers of Manitoba who at the height of the Cold War 'gave up' the right to strike and with excessive gusto dissociated themselves from organized labour.⁶⁵

The Cold War brought enormous pressure to bear on the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.), a party which officially condemned communism. In 1949, for the first time in history, the Manitoba C.C.F. expelled two members, both M.L.A.'s, for their outspoken position against the Marshall Plan.⁶⁶ The expulsion of Berry Richards and William Donelyko was also related to their work in the Manitoba Peace Council, which was considered unpatriotic. It is ironic that the C.C.F., founded on socialist principles, actually proceeded with this action. It did, however, demonstrate the intense pressure brought about by the Cold War. At the same time the C.C.F. had slowly succumbed to bourgeoisification since its effervescent Regina Manifesto days. Their identification with capitalism during this trying period became very evident with their election slogan in Manitoba in 1953; "Anything they can do, we can do better."⁶⁷

The Cold War affected education in an ideological manner characterized by fear, distortion, half-truths, untruths, irrationality, and exaggeration. This will be de-

tailed in chapters three and five in particular. Its effect on education was very definitely negative in general but the actual mental and intellectual damage sustained may never be accurately calibrated. Certainly the students who attended school and university during this period were deprived of a rich, critical, and questioning education. It is in this general atmosphere, governed by international and national class struggle that the reproduction of capitalist ideology was situated.

Notes

¹Gramsci, "The Study of Philosophy", Prison Notebooks, p.350.

²Ibid., p.162.

³National Affairs, 2 (February, 1948): 37.

⁴William Morton, Manitoba: A History. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p.477.

⁵Edgar McInnis, Canada. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), p.510.

⁶Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada: Historical Tables, (March, 1964): 1. Also see John Porter, Canadian Social Structure: A Statistical Profile. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967).

⁷Winnipeg Tribune, 1 January 1948. While this was one of the highest birth rates in the industrialized world, it was not a record for Manitoba. The highest recorded birth rate for Manitoba was 36.3 per thousand in 1913.

⁸Winnipeg Free Press, 27 October, 1951.

⁹Ibid., 27 December, 1957.

¹⁰Tim Buck, Canada: The Communist Viewpoint. (Toronto: Progress Books, 1948), p.13.

¹¹Ibid., p.15.

¹²National Affairs, 2 (February, 1948): 38.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Donald Creighton, The Forked Road: Canada, 1939-1957. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).

¹⁶National Affairs, 6 (July, 1949): 211-213.

¹⁷The 'inevitability' argument usually points to the following kinds of statistics:

British and U.S. Investments in Canada
(% of all foreign investments)

	<u>British</u>	<u>U.S.A.</u>
1900	85.4	13.6
1919	57.1	39.2
1922	47.3	49.8
1954	16.9	76.9

Marxist Review 164 (December-January, 1958-59): 38.

¹⁸See National Affairs, 2 (February, 1948): 36-61; and 6 (July, 1949): 211-212. For an excellent analysis of the equal partnership with the U.S. see Wallace Clement, "The Canadian Bourgeoisie - Merely Comprador?", in ed. Craig Heron, Imperialism, Nationalism, and Canada. (Kitchener: between-the-Lines, 1977), pp.71-85.

¹⁹Douglas Abbott was Acting Minister of Finance in the Liberal Government of Mackenzie King. The immediate aim of the Abbott Plan was to cut down Canadian spending on United States goods and services to at least \$350 million per year less than they were during 1947. Its immediately effective provisions were as follows:

a) Prohibition of importation of "a wide variety of consumer goods and certain other articles which the government has decided can no longer be permitted to draw on Canada's reserves of foreign exchange."

b) Restriction of "other types of imports which, though significant and desirable, had grown to excessive proportions in relation to our ability to pay out hard currency."

c) Import controls on capital goods, including "Materials and parts for use in construction and in the manufacture of durable goods." Concerning these three classes of restrictions the Minister of Finance commented that: "...direct restrictions had to be concentrated primarily on finished goods, mostly of a type used by consumers."

d) A special excise tax of 25 percent "on a wide range of durable consumer goods," including radios, electric refrigerators, washing machines, sewing machines, toasters, stoves, automobiles, etc. In his first announcement that it was going into effect the Minister said, of this and other new taxes imposed: "These new or additional taxes are not being proposed for the purpose of raising revenue. Their purpose is to limit expenditure on these goods and thereby on the steel and other imported materials or parts which they contain." In his explanation of the plan to the members of the House of Commons the Minister said, concerning the

purpose of these taxes: "The import of practically all these goods in finished form has been prohibited or placed under quota restrictions...The savings, however, would be considerably reduced if domestic production of the same type of articles were to expand to fill the gap in the supply, since this would involve further substantial imports of parts and components."

e) Restrictions upon the expenditure by Canadians of United States funds for pleasure travel.

f) A loan of \$300 million from the United States import-export bank.

What the Minister described optimistically as "the longer range constructive program" was general, but of drab significance for the Canadian people. It consisted of the following proposals:

a) Efforts to increase Canadian production of those commodities that the United States needs and in some cases the export to the United States of products previously exported to soft-currency markets.

b) Efforts to reach a further trade agreement with the United States. Concerning this the Minister added: "This proposal has been made informally to United States officials who are studying this and other methods of promoting mutually beneficial economic co-operation."

c) Subordination of Canada's export aims and foreign trade and credit policies to the foreign trade policy of the United States with particular emphasis upon the effort to fit Canada's production into the Marshall Plan. Concerning this central and decisive feature of the Abbott Plan, the Minister explained: "We are making every effort to achieve the needed integration."

Quotations are from Hansard, 8 (December 16, 1947): 323-40. Also see Tim Buck, Communist Viewpoint. (Toronto: Progress Publishers, 1948), pp.13-36.

²⁰See Tim Buck, Communist Viewpoint, pp.24-26. For a scathing attack on the Abbott Plan see Creighton, Forked Road, p.126.

²¹Creighton, Forked Road, p.125; Buck, Communist Viewpoint, p.26.

²²Essentially the Truman Doctrine was the inauguration of the United States as the leading imperialist power in the fading light of the British Empire. More concretely, on March 12, 1947 Truman asked a Joint Session of Congress to provide \$400,000,000 in military and economic aid to Greece to stop the spread of communism. It was a response to Britain's announcement in February that it could not afford such aid. Encyclopaedia Britannica, © 1967, s.v. "Truman".

- ²³National Affairs, 8 (September, 1947): 246.
- ²⁴The Manitoba School Journal, 4 (November, 1950).
- ²⁵National Affairs, 8 (September, 1947): 248.
- ²⁶This was considered very unlikely by this author.
See Chapter 5, note 50.
- ²⁷National Affairs, 3 (March, 1947): 67.
- ²⁸Toronto Globe and Mail, 30 January, 1947.
- ²⁹For a specific discussion with respect to Manitoba see William Kardash, "We Must Find Wheat for our Farmers", National Affairs, 5 (May, 1950): 43.
- ³⁰National Affairs, 8 (August, 1954): 15.
- ³¹Special Select Committee on Education, Report, 1945, p.23.
- ³²Buck, Communist Viewpoint, p.34.
- ³³Douglas Abbott in the House of Commons, March 18, 1948 in Buck, Communist Viewpoint, p.35.
- ³⁴Morton, History of Manitoba, p.477.
- ³⁵Ibid.
- ³⁶National Affairs, 3 (March, 1947): 67.
- ³⁷Ibid., 1 (January, 1947): 14-18.
- ³⁸Ibid., 5 (May, 1951): 12.
- ³⁹Manitoba Department of Labour, Broadsheet, (Labour Gazette, n.d.).
- ⁴⁰Four major strikes occurred in Manitoba during the period under study:
- 1) Meat Packers (1947) - National in scope but involving St. Boniface, Brandon, and Winnipeg. Nationally 275,000 man-days lost. Labour Gazette 47(1947): 1733.
 - 2) Steel Workers (1953) - 13,250 man-days. A bitter dispute calling for a reduced work week (42½-40 hrs.) Labour Gazette 54 (1953): 197.
 - 3) Plumbers (1954) - 6000 man-days, wages, was won by workers. Labour Gazette 54 (1954): 1814.

4) C.P.R. Fireman (1957) - 25,200 man-days lost. Issue involved the introduction of diesel locomotives. A Royal Commission was set up to settle the dispute. Labour Gazette 54 (1954): 1814.

⁴¹Labour Gazette 47 (1947): 1106.

⁴²Winnipeg Free Press, 10 March 1950.

⁴³Manitoba School Trustee, 10 (May, 1947): 14.

⁴⁴Hugh Stevenson, "So Little for the Mind?" The Curriculum in Canada in Historical Perspective, 6 (May, 1979): 96.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶In Canada, as a whole, the average yearly salary was \$1,942 dollars or what National Affairs referred to as a "wretched \$37.50 dollars a week". National Affairs 7-8 (July-August, 1953): 89. (All data is from Census of 1951).

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Dominion Bureau of Statistics, University Student Expenditure and Income in Canada, 1956-57, in National Affairs, 169 (October-November, 1959): 25.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid. The statistics also show that while 20 percent of the labour force was classified as 'unskilled' or 'labour' only 5.1 percent of their children attended university.

⁵³"Defense Expenses Block National Health Insurance" was the headline in the Hamilton Spectator, 9 May 1953.

⁵⁴Winnipeg Tribune, 21 May 1952.

⁵⁵Various sections of the working class and the bourgeoisie led campaigns against comic books. See for instance Edna Ryerson, "The Crisis in Education", National Affairs 7 (July, 1955): 38-39.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Barrows, Parker, and Sorensen, Geography of Our American Neighbours in Ibid. See also Creighton, Forked Road, pp.184-8.

⁵⁸National Affairs, 6 (June-July, 1947): 170-7.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹For referencing of why this was to a large extent a myth, see Chapter 5, p.34, note 50.

⁶²For a good analysis of American imperialism at work in the Near East see for instance Fred Halliday, Iran: Dictatorship and Development. (Bungay: Penguin Books, 1979).

⁶³For probably the most comprehensive analysis of 'purging' and 'union busting' during this period see Irving Abella, Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

⁶⁴National Affairs, 5 (May, 1951): 12.

⁶⁵Winnipeg Tribune, 10 June 1955.

⁶⁶Winnipeg Free Press, 14 July 49. A whole series of editorials by The Free Press worked feverishly to have Richards and Doneleyko expelled. See 14 May 1949; 17 May 1949; 3 June 1949; 29 June 1949; 14 July 1949.

⁶⁷National Affairs 7-8 (July-August, 1953): 71.

Chapter 3

BASE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE¹

A passage in the Communist Manifesto, addressed to the bourgeoisie, argued that contemporary education is socially conditioned, "determined by the social conditions under which you educate by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society by means of schools, etc. [*sic*]"². To elaborate on this general approach it can be said that education, as a sphere of social activity, a social institution, has its own inner development, both in theory and practice and any attempt to interpret educational development at different historical epochs, as well as today, must penetrate this and grasp its logic. But this can only be done by recognizing that education is profoundly influenced by the social circumstances of the time and particularly by the relationships between classes, both with respect to the actual institutions set up or modified at different periods and the ideas about the purpose of education, content, and methodology. This in turn will reflect the interests or ideology of particular classes. The kind of education, for instance, given in the one-room rural school in Manitoba differed markedly from that given at the middle to upper class Kelvin High School in River Heights, Winnipeg. These in turn differed from the kind of education provided in the Catholic private school or

Technical Vocational School with respect to content, method, pupil-teacher relations, and general ethos.

To interpret these differences and to understand the significance of the sharp conflicts in the sphere of education in this period, one must therefore grasp the underlying structure of society, the relations of production, and the complex changing nature of the relations between classes. In other words, as pointed out earlier, changes in education are not affected by mere criticism of the educational ideas under attack but correspond to and are conditioned by the economic base. From this standpoint, the history of education ceases to be the history of great men and women who have benevolently conferred education on the masses from above or of great thinkers, educators, whose thought, derived mysteriously from their own inner selves, has persuaded people to act in a new way. Great thinkers have had an influence,³ but the historian's problem is to discover why a particular set of ideas arises at a particular time, and what complex of social and intellectual conditions allows them to become influential among particular strata of society. In taking this approach, it is necessary to take integral account of the fact that education functions within the social-economic complex, with which it is connected in a multitude of ways. Any analysis that would elevate education into a kind of *primum mobile* as the factor which can change society must be rejected. This, of course, does not

mean that education cannot operate in a progressive direction and react back on the social structure, but this can only be within the condition determined by that structure. In the case of Manitoba, in this period, all pressure for change and subsequent changes occurred under the hegemony of capitalism. Engels made this point in his letter to J. Bloch:

...According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless abstract phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure -- political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas -- also exercise their influence upon the course of historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their forms.⁴

In Manitoba (indeed Canada and the U.S.A.), what emerged and appeared to be a superstructural multi-faceted ideological debate, traditionalism versus bourgeois progressivism, was really a manifestation and reflection of the economic and social changes that were occurring in Manitoba. The whole period under investigation can be viewed in terms of traditionalism versus bourgeois progressivism by clustering all aspects of education in relation to this dialectic.

Manitoba emerged from the World War II period with its educational system in profound disarray. It was a system that reflected deep class and rural-urban divisions and one where major changes had not taken place since 1916, when the Manitoba Schools Question appeared finally settled. The massive migrations to Manitoba after 1870, dominated by the English-speaking group from Ontario and the U.S.A., established their educational pattern as *the* standard for Manitoba. This involved the establishment of the small district school with local control of education, which in this period was ill-equipped, and staffed by ill-trained, young teachers. By 1929, Manitoba had a school population of 150,517 but by 1945 depression and war had brought it down to 118,390.⁵ There were some 1450 one-room schools, most of which were located in strictly rural areas and small villages, located in 1875 school districts scattered across Manitoba.⁶ By 1958, the structure remained essentially unchanged with 1651 school districts and 1410 one-room schools controlled by 5500 school trustees.⁷ Meanwhile, the public school population had risen to 169,482 and while the number of teachers kept pace with that rise, their training did not. In actual fact, the number of qualified teachers dropped until 1948. The General Secretary of the Manitoba Teachers' Society reported that in 1939 a total of 4457 qualified teachers were employed in the province and this had fallen to 3697 by 1948.⁸ Most of those teachers were employed in rural

areas where relative to the cities, the educational system was in a state of disintegration. One of the major inequalities of the entire system was the rural-urban disequilibrium with the urban areas enjoying most of the fruits of the system. Only 41 percent of rural children completed grade eight while 68 percent of urban children had accomplished the same.* "The greatest division of material and mental labour," wrote Marx, "is the separation of town and country."⁹ Capitalism "completed the victory of the town over the countryside."¹⁰ In many ways the school system did not meet the needs of rural children. In October of 1949, the Manitoba School Trustee quoted the following from the Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education:

Among the agricultural population of Canada...of the replies received, 22.9 percent said rural children were kept home from school owing to scarcity of labour, 12 percent think farm boys and girls do not need high school education, while 52.2 percent said the present high school program is inadequate to prepare boys to become successful farmers.¹¹

In Manitoba, specifically, the Report of the Special Committee on Education (1945) made the following remarks:

At both levels, elementary and secondary, the child in the rural schools suffers from certain disadvantages and handicaps. A study of retardation in rural and urban schools shows that the high standard of the urban schools results in a definitely lower percentage of

* Most rural students who got beyond grade nine had to take correspondence courses for their secondary education.

retardation. In the elementary schools in urban municipalities, the pupils have, in addition to regular subjects, various forms of handwork and the definite advantage of keen competition from other students at all grade levels. The urban child at the secondary school level has a choice of several courses of study and can choose the course adopted to his needs.¹²

But while large inequalities had emerged between urban and rural areas in favour of the former, the urban areas were also laced with inequalities and class divisions. Secondary and post-secondary education catered almost exclusively to the middle and upper middle classes, and notwithstanding the private schools, the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie. The vast majority of students did not complete high school and less than five percent enrolled in university. In Winnipeg, of the students who enrolled in grade one in 1945, only 53 percent were in grade ten by 1955.¹³ The majority of students who failed to complete high school came from Winnipeg's working class districts. For instance in 1945, two percent of the student body at Transcona Collegiate Institute wrote their grade eleven departmental examinations, 22 percent of the student body at St. John's Tech., and 54 percent at St. James Collegiate Institute.¹⁴ At the same time, there was blatant financial discrimination against the working class and lower income strata in the form of costs of textbooks, fees for departmental examinations, and university fees and tuition.¹⁵

The entire system had largely become outdated, not only by failing to meet the needs of the farming community and the working class but also by failing to address itself to the basic shifts in Manitoba's socio-demographic structure. As pointed out earlier, with the emergence of capitalism Marx saw the victory of town over city. This, however, has been largely a *process* (and a very uneven one), something that characterized nineteenth century Europe and Canada, and was being greatly accelerated in the twentieth century by the growth and centralization of monopoly capitalism. The trek from the country to the city is one of the prime equations of our social history. It is intimately linked to the centralizing process of technology and capitalism -- the drawing of wealth to the centres of power and the resulting impoverishment of the hinterland. Education reflected that process then as much as it does now. In 1945, 48 percent of Manitoba's school population was classed as rural and by 1958 that had fallen to 37 percent. The shift was even greater if a longer period is examined.

But the structure of education was being made obsolete. The educational system, when first set up in the 1870's, was the product of frontier conditions of settlement in wide and sparsely populated rural areas. The one-room school and the small localized school district operated of necessity under a certain measure of control by the urban centers in a pioneer setting. With regard to secondary education, its sole

aim was to prepare students for admission to the University, an aim was widely accepted in rural areas.¹⁶ Very few thought of the extension of secondary education to large numbers of students either as a condition for employment or preparation for farm or village life.¹⁷

The post-war period, however, up to and beyond 1960, saw a large growth in the urban population based on internal migration and immigration from outside Canada.¹⁸ The effects of that shift were significant. It led to the decline of the rural area with respect to investments, small businesses, jobs, and the beginnings of widespread rural poverty.¹⁹ With the decline of the small towns, villages, and the small farms, went the steady weakening of local institutions. In a time when all costs were increasing and more public services were demanded, those institutions found themselves with decreasing income. At the same time, rural consciousness was increasingly influenced by urban culture spread through electrification, television, and the extension of paved roads.²⁰

In the urban areas, there was an unparalleled growth in industry and the tertiary sector of the economy. Between 1946 and 1950 some 200 new industries sprung up in Winnipeg alone.²¹ Corresponding to that expansion of capital and the growth of the working class, Manitoba witnessed an unprecedented growth in organized labour and the resultant demands for better working and living conditions.²² The demographic

and economic changes and the adjunctive rise of consciousness led to new demands on the educational system. Those demands came from all sections of the working class, and the progressive bourgeoisie, as witnessed by the variety and comprehensiveness of the briefs presented to the Special Select Committee of the Legislature on Education in 1945²³ and the Royal Commission on Education in 1957.* Those who called for reforms quintessentially can be categorized as "progressives" and those who opposed reforms can be seen as "traditionalists". What was being reflected in this variegated debate was dialectical movement within Manitoba's capitalist structure. "Traditionalism" and "progressivism" formed the opposite poles of a struggle determined by the contradictions emerging within modern industrial capitalism. At no time, as will be demonstrated later, did the educational system go beyond its primary function of serving the demands of capitalism. That is not to say that some of the reforms brought about by capitalism did not benefit the working class, and were indeed demanded by the working class. The reforms, however, demanded by the working class and the progressive bourgeoisie were only compatible under the rubric of capitalism. For instance, as will be shown later, the working class genuinely desired "equality of opportunity" in

* Note that the Briefs to the Royal Commission on Education were made in 1957 but the Report was not completed until 1959.

what the phrase immediately suggests; however the bourgeoisie, while parroting the phrase, used it to serve their own interests. Needless to say, the period under study reflected a time of intense class struggle on the educational front not only in Manitoba but across Canada and the United States.

As early as 1945, the educational policies of the Garson Coalition Government came under criticism from the working class. In their brief to the Special Select Committee in 1945, the Winnipeg and District Trades and Labour Council, *inter alia*, made the following statement:

Generally speaking the administration of schools in rural districts, by local rural trustees, is unsatisfactory. As a rule they are more concerned with finances, with reducing the cost of operation of schools, than with providing the best type of education for the children... [T]eachers in rural elementary schools should be given special training and higher pay, in order that they may be better able to cope with the difficulty of teaching children in several different grades at the same time. Greater assistance should be given to these schools by the provincial educational authorities.²⁴

The Labour Youth Federation²⁵ took the following position:

It is a well known fact that facilities and instructors in rural communities are nowhere near the standards of our city schools. Non-urban municipalities can't seem to cope with the high cost of educational administration. The solution of this problem, like many others, depends to a large extent, on financial assistance from Dominion and Provincial Government.²⁶

The political representatives of the working class were

the sharpest critics of the educational system. Joseph Zuken, Labour Progressive Party (L.P.P.) Winnipeg School Board Member, attacked the low, inadequate teachers' salaries and the glaring inequalities in educational opportunities.²⁷ He outlined the educational policies of the L.P.P.:

...a minimum salary for teachers of \$1500, abolition of all examination fees, extensive scholarships, free textbooks for all grades, increased vocational training and technical institutes; extension of adult education, provision for the deaf and the immediate opening of the Tuxedo School; implementation of the recommendations of the Special Select Committee on Education.²⁸

The criticisms of the bourgeois progressives were coterminous with many of the working class concerns. Addressing himself directly to the inequalities in the educational system, Dean M. E. LaZerte of the Faculty of Education stated that high schools were free only for those who could afford them.²⁹

Part of the problem of inequalities could be traced to the outmoded structure of education and the closely associated problem of lack of financing. At the heart of this, as argued earlier, was the fragmented and molecularized school administrative unit. Progressive sections of the bourgeoisie and the working class mounted a concerted campaign to consolidate and centralize the school system, struggling to bring it into line with the changes in Manitoba's socio-economic structure. The Special Select Committee on Education first took up the question of re-organization in 1945. The Committee made the following observation:

Localism in education is the product of frontier conditions of settlement in wide and sparsely populated rural areas. Under modern conditions it is difficult to harmonize the thinking which supports extreme localism in government on the one hand, with the needs of a united democratic state on the other, more especially in the case of state enterprises, the benefits of which accrue to all, irrespective of territorial boundaries.³⁰

The Committee held that the small school districts had equal educational responsibilities but unequal resources to carry them through, and that only the larger administrative unit with larger central schools could "stabilize" the situation.³¹ They ultimately recommended the larger unit of school administration. But the drive for larger units was only in its formative stage and Manitoba at that point in time just stood on the brink of the profound socio-economic changes that were to occur in the late forties and fifties. Consequently, rural traditional ideology was able to stultify that structural aspect of progressivism. The Manitoba Federation of Agriculture, for instance, in its Brief to the Special Select Committee, recommended quite cautiously and hesitatingly that the "government [only] survey methods of larger units and make information available to the public, also the costs of same [*sic*].³² The Special Select Committee articulated to some degree that ideology:

With rural people, particularly, there are local loyalties and traditions which induce people to cling to what they consider right, if only by virtue of its

historical background. Such traditions have long been associated with the small school unit. The school, as an institution, managed and controlled from within the community, has come to be regarded as a vital element in the life of the community.³³

Rooted more deeply in the rural consciousness was the antagonism, as Marx had pointed out,³⁴ between town and country produced by capitalism. The Special Select Committee echoed this antagonism in its report:

Then again there are, possibly unvoiced, but nonetheless real, urban-rural antagonisms, especially where it is felt that a change might involve additional burdens or loss of power.³⁵

The drive for larger and more centralized school divisions grew in intensity and surfaced in a more defined way at the time of the Royal Commission on Education in 1957. The Garson and Campbell Governments largely ignored the contradictions that had emerged. Hence education was to become the primary issue in the provincial election campaign of 1958. The entire problem, rooted in the continuing centralization of production and impoverishment of the country, had a profound effect on education and conditioned the debate at the ideological level. As Marx said, "the whole economic history of society is summed up in the movement of this anti-thesis."³⁶

Looking at the educational superstructure reveals the corresponding call for "equality of opportunity". In an address at Brandon University, Dean LaZerte charged that 3500

children in the province were being deprived of an opportunity for advanced education because of the failure to organize large school areas.³⁷ He argued that the "little red schoolhouse" was outmoded and could not provide the education for a child of 1957.³⁸

The working class was also quick to see that the larger unit of administration would help alleviate some of the inequalities between the rural and urban areas. In 1957, the Manitoba Federation of Labour presented a sixteen page brief, co-authored by R. B. Russell,^{*} to the Royal Commission on Education. They chastised the Provincial Government for not implementing the recommendations of the Report of the Special Select Committee on Education for larger administrative units and showing no leadership with respect to that problem.³⁹ At the same time the C.C.F. and the L.P.P. were pressing hard in the legislature for major changes in educational structure and finance. The L.P.P. pointed out that the entire question of larger areas of administration "had become bogged down" and "the government had been hesitant and vascillating".⁴⁰ The L.P.P. demanded a total re-organization of education.

Closely associated with the whole structural question of education was the question of finance. The Special Select Committee found that there were "wide variations" in the

^{*} Founder of the One Big Union (O.B.U.) and prominent leader in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

financial ability of school districts to meet financial responsibilities.⁴¹ The argument for greater finances was linked to the larger administrative unit -- centralization due to the fact that increased expenditures on education had to come from the provincial government and that stood as the antithesis of local control. The "wide variations" were really inequalities that were linked to the variations in farm income from district to district which were inextricably linked to the anarchy of the capitalist market place, particularly the world market for wheat and other grains. "The history of school financing in Manitoba," maintained the Special Select Committee, "indicates very clearly that when rural income is high, school finances are buoyant and teachers' salaries are immediately increased."⁴² This situation was, of course, aggravated by the migration from country to city. That in turn put increased pressure on the urban school districts for increased financing. The working class was instrumental in agitating for increased educational expenditure⁴³ and the then political representatives continually pressed the Garson and Campbell Governments for more money. At a time when the Winnipeg School System was receiving only 13 percent of its educational cost from the provincial government, William Kardash, L.P.P. M.L.A., proposed that the province should assume 50 percent of the cost of education, thus relieving the burden of the municipalities.⁴⁴ Working class school board members also pressed the provin-

cial government for increased expenditure. Witness the following statement by The Reverend Phillip Petursson, C.C.F. board member:

Recent grants were so inadequate and niggardly that it can be said without exaggeration that practically nothing has been done to solve the disgraceful situation.⁴⁵

While the Special Select Committee made recommendations for increased financing, as with the larger administrative unit, they were ignored by the government of the day. The problems, however, remained and gathered momentum, literally forcing the government to call a Royal Commission.* With respect to the larger unit of administration and the financing question, the Report of the Royal Commission recommended that the Province be divided into 50 to 60 School Divisions having a minimum of 80 to 100 teachers.⁴⁶ Linked to this were sweeping changes⁴⁷ in the grant structure that, if implemented, would greatly increase revenues to school divisions based on the larger administrative unit formula. The Commission, with its "Royal" stamp, adumbrated the demise of the Campbell government in 1957, for given the intensity of the educational issue, it stood as a verification of the criticisms levelled against the rural oriented coalition government.

* The question of finances and other aspects of the traditionalism-progressivism debate was occurring all across Canada. Many provinces, led by Ontario's Hope Commission in 1945, conducted comprehensive studies of their educational systems. By the late fifties, education was considered one of the most serious problems facing Canada.

With the arrival of the government of Duff Roblin in 1958, many of the recommendations of the Royal Commission were put gradually into place.

While larger units of administration and inequalities in financing were the demiurge of progressivism, there were adjunctive ideological aspects of the traditionalism-progressivism dialectic. The curriculum was an issue and its updating and change was not just a matter of John Dewey's Manitoba epigones having their way, but something that had class content and was conditioned by the economic base. The curriculum was the bourgeoisie's up front ideological tool in shaping and directing the development and potential of Manitoba's youth. This chapter will now focus primarily on the structural aspects of the curriculum and its linkages to the economic base.

The curriculum, as the structural centre of the educational process, has historically served capitalism. In the early part of the twentieth century education performed the following tasks:

- (i) developed in children those habits and values necessary for industrial work: punctuality and attendance
- (ii) developed a subservient attitude towards established authority
- (iii) promoted patriotism as a means of assimilating immigrants and subordinating them to national interests which were actually ruling class interests in disguise
- (iv) taught technical and clerical skills.⁴⁸

To a large degree, by 1945, these objectives were in place. Punctuality, regular attendance, and subservience to established authority, though very important for disciplining any worker, were very slowly becoming part of the "hidden curriculum". Manitoba's capitalism was expanding and diversifying and these became the prime factors affecting the curriculum debate.

By 1945 the system was not meeting the needs of rural children and its main objectives, as outlined, were reached through elementary education.* The vast majority of students rarely went beyond grade nine. Dr. R. O. MacFarlane,** Superintendent of Education in Manitoba, said in 1946 that the present secondary curriculum had been designed more than seventy-five years earlier, primarily intended for the medical, ministerial, and teaching professions.⁴⁹ While the bourgeoisie referred generally to the curriculum as outdated and failing to provide "equality of opportunity", the working class added class content to their critique. They were aware of the fact that only five out of every one hundred who entered public school went to university and that those were the sons and daughters of professional parents.⁵⁰ While the working class critique of education can be considered mild, it should be remembered that their critical class sense

*The school leaving age was fourteen.

**Subsequent chairman of the Royal Commission on Education in 1957.

was blunted by the Cold War and the negative attitudes towards socialism and communism in society, particularly in education.* At the same time, "equality of educational opportunity" while, as will be shown later, was used to serve capitalism, it benefitted the working class as well. The working class pressed the Royal Commission for expanded vocational training, but unlike the bourgeoisie they did not see vocational training as menial or something reserved just for the sons and daughters of labourers. Their concept transcended the realities of a class system and they were able to anticipate the underpinnings of a planned socialist approach to education:

We regret the theories expounded by some educational spokesmen that students should be typed attaching such labels as brilliant, average or dull; and a type of educational program devised to suit the particular group. If we accept the fact that each and everyone has a contribution to make to society, then an obligation rests upon our schools to develop the latent capabilities of each child. To do anything else, is to subscribe, unconsciously perhaps, to the segregation policies that are so much in the news today. We do not argue that each child is on a common intellectual plane. We recognize that all cannot become candidates for university training, even if economic circumstances permitted. But each child must be given the opportunity and encouragement to develop its [*sic*] intellectual and vocational capabilities to the fullest possible extent... We do not subscribe to the idea that the students taking vocational training should concentrate on the development of specialized skills in some particular trade. Vocational

* This will be discussed fully in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

training should be judiciously combined with academic training in order that hand in hand with the development of the mind, whereby the student will absorb an awareness of the cultural, literary, and scientific traditions and knowledge, there will take place a practical application of that knowledge in the doing of productive work.⁵¹

The Royal Commission's recommendations⁵² to expand and further finance vocational education were eventually carried through.* But the entire expansion of vocational training pressed for by the working class did not reflect the "desire to develop the latent capabilities within students" but reflected the demands of modern industrial capitalism disguised as "equality of opportunity". Certainly in diversifying the curriculum and providing increased vocational training, the working class benefitted but at the same time the curriculum was structured in such a way that academic education, the ticket to university and the professions, was still reserved for a small percentage of the upper strata. Through an examination of the curriculum debate and rooting it within the socio-economic landscape (that is, a base-superstructure movement), it can be shown how and why the bourgeoisie was able to manage that kind of ideological ladronism.

The matriculation or academic stream was the "most prestigious stream" and was considered to be the gate to

* This was partly under way but received added impetus from the Commission.

higher education. The Special Select Committee believed that this course "provided the ladder by which a pupil rose from a lower stratum of society to a more leisured and generally more lucrative position."⁵³ Although they gave but a cursory glance to the class nature of society they believed what today has widely been disproven, but still believed, that there was considerably class mobility. They also noted that the matriculation course acted as a sieve with respect to better employment.⁵⁴ However much they recognized the "prestige" of the academic course, they did not address themselves to the significant financial barriers working class children had to overcome just to be in the secondary academic stream. But what the ideologues of the Select Committee recognized and elaborated on was that the curriculum must be concerned with "*differentiation of opportunity*" and "*relevancy to life*". [My italics.] This sleight of hand opened the door for the strengthening of the idea that "equality of opportunity" meant diversification of the curriculum to "meet individual needs" and prevaricated the issue of *who* gets into what stream. Of course what "relevancy to life" meant can be more clearly understood as relevance to capitalist life. What must be made clear at this point is that while "differentiation of opportunity" *does not imply* "equality of opportunity", the two terms were used interchangeably.⁵⁵

Throughout the forties and fifties the demand for

"equality of opportunity" (differentiation) came from many sections of the educational matrix.⁵⁶ In the late fifties the demands for diversification of the curriculum, as with other educational issues, peaked at the time of the Royal Commission. In its Report in 1959, the Commission reported that the secondary curriculum revealed a general demand for four specific courses (streams): Matriculation, General (non-matriculation), Vocational, and Terminal.⁵⁷ The Royal Commission justified their claim by stating that there was a necessity for providing a "suitable variety of courses to meet the needs of each individual."⁵⁸ What the Commission did, however, was turn reality on its head for these super-structural observations regarding curriculum reflected not the needs of the individual but the needs of the capitalist economy.

By 1958 there had been a vertiginous growth in vocational classes, particularly "commercial classes"⁵⁹ resulting from the increased demand for "clerical" workers. Similarly the recommendation that a General High School leaving course be established reflected the demand for low paid unskilled labour in Manitoba's fast growing service sector. In 1941, 25 percent of Manitoba's labour force was employed in clerical occupations, 20 percent of that being females. By 1961, the corresponding figures were 36 and 28 percent.⁶⁰ In 1951, the service sector employed 28 percent of the labour force and this had risen to 34 percent by 1961 with the larg-

est jump yet to come.⁶¹ Many of those occupations came as a result of tremendous pressure from the labour movement after the war for increased social progress, but a large part was due to Canada's industrial expansion, particularly in the service sector. This pattern in the occupational structure of Manitoba, and indeed Canada, was the result of an unnatural progression from primary to tertiary activities, that demonstrated the uneven nature of the growth of capitalism and the effects of external control.⁶²

Graduates from commercial classes had no problem finding employment as the demand for the female clerical worker was so great that a local branch funded by private enterprise. The National Office Management Association, assisted industry and government in screening and placing the graduates. The new General Course was essentially an attenuated academic stream designed as "a second course, substantially academic in type, with 'suitable' non-academic options, partly identical with the Matriculation Course in content, but different in aims and emphasis."⁶³ The General Course was in reality a high school leaving course that provided very little for students. It was clearly a cul de sac, and while it served capitalism well it also stunted the minds of thousands of Manitoba's young people, demonstrating the bankruptcy of the system. The graduates from the General Course, mainly from the working class, left high school with few skills and in times of recession became members of capitalism's indust-

rial reserve army.

In the sense that "streaming" was new, and designed to meet the needs of changing society and its new manifestations of division of labour,⁶³ it can be considered progressive. The curriculum, however, in the structural sense, was designed to serve capitalism.⁶⁴ The Commission's reasoning though can be considered a thaumaturgical act. For instance, the system was never at fault and was not blamed for any failures with respect to educating. The following quote is but one of several relating to this point:

It is felt that *pupils failing to obtain the standing necessary for admission into Grade X in the Matriculation, General, or Vocational Course can still profit from another year of instruction in carefully chosen subjects.*⁶⁵ [My italics.]

But an analysis of *why* students "failed to meet" matriculation or *what* students, in the class sense "failed to meet" the requirements, was not on the agenda. The glib and apologetic solution to that problem was the provision for a Terminal Course.⁶⁶ Ideologically, that provided the educational system with the ultimate excuse for its failure. The Terminal Course really masked the bourgeois concept of "blame the victim", allowing the system to wash its hands of the very real damage it was doing in its dead end streaming. Not only was the Terminal Course (and to a large degree the General Course) education's escape route from responsibility but it provided medicine to soothe the critique of the "elitists" and "traditionalists" who felt "standards" were dropping.

This was made very clear by the Commission:

The Terminal Course is also essential in the best interests of Matriculation, General, and Vocational Course pupils. In the absence of a Terminal Course, pupils capable of no more while of school age would have to be *forced* into one or another of the Matriculation, General, or Vocational Courses. This would be as harmful to pupils in these courses as it would be to Terminal Course pupils themselves.⁶⁷ [My italics.]

That same argument could be applied to the General and Vocational Courses. In fact, through provision for these courses, the Commission was able to streamline the Matriculation Course for they argued that students taking Matriculation Courses should be denied Vocational options. In essence they were further streamlining the reproduction of the class system and aggravating the undesirable division of labour in the mental and manual sense.

To be sure, society required bookkeepers, store clerks, typists, hospital workers, and men and women with vocational backgrounds. As already pointed out, the working class realized the importance of vocational training. But in a capitalist context mental work was reserved for the upper strata and the bourgeoisie while the manual work was for the lower strata. That was accomplished in the early part of the twentieth century through overt discrimination and by the late fifties, streaming accomplished the same. The bourgeoisie introduced and developed the disguise of "equality of opportunity". Meanwhile the working class framed many of

their demands within this context for even though it was designed to serve capitalism, "equality of opportunity" as such was a desirable thing. It was also because of the pressure brought to bear on the bourgeoisie by the working class that resulted in the proliferation of vocational facilities, which again, was a good thing in itself. The General and Terminal Courses, however, were inventions of the bourgeoisie brought on by the changes in capitalism.

At the apex of the base-superstructural pyramid stood the more familiar, but abstract, traditionalism-progressivism debate conducted both inside and outside the educational establishment. It encompassed the issues of discipline, standards, examinations, and options and "frills". The "standards" debate was one of the most confusing since there existed not a clear for or against argument but a spectrum of positions. To complicate matters, the definition of "standards" was obscure and varied with different opinions. But "standards", like most issues, are best understood from a class perspective which roots the debate in a socio-economic setting. The most clearly defined position -- that "standards" were in fact dropping -- came from the traditionalists who generally represented the ideology of Manitoba's rural bourgeoisie who were united with the right wing section of the urban bourgeoisie. The charge that "standards" were dropping veiled an outright denial that working class children should be educated to the same degree as those from

the upper strata. One of the leading opponents of working class entry into the arena of educational competition (as unequal as it was) for secondary education was Dr. Andrew Moore.⁶⁸ His position can be determined from one of his many outspoken remarks:

Standards have been lowered in an effort *to cope with the large proportion of high school students* who cannot or will not do hard work necessary to succeed in the traditional matriculation course.⁶⁹ [My italics.]

As a traditionalist, Moore's position was uncompromising and he voiced it over and over again in a kind of flamboyant verbosity that attracted attention; he was the traditionalists' traditionalist. Witness the following:

School athletic and opera productions are fine but they must be kept in their place. Rosebushes are fine in themselves but they have no place in a wheatfield where they become weeds. Similarly operettas, festivals, field days and athletic teams are all right in their place but produce weeds when over-emphasized.⁷⁰

And on discipline:

Fifty years ago if I made too many mistakes, I received as many strokes with the birch rod as the master considered good for me. There was no ceremony about it. Today some school boards require a witness when corporal punishment is administered and it must be followed by a special report.⁷¹

Another traditional ideologue, Professor C. N. Halstead, speaking to the Manitoba School Trustees Association in 1954, made the following remark:

...[T]he fallacy that the school is expected to train the whole child is creeping into education is utter nonsense. The fallacy has been carried so far that in some high schools they are now teaching children how to drive a car.⁷²

These ideological views on standards, discipline, and options and frills, can be traced back to the rural origins of education in Manitoba. Besides their position being anti-working class, in that they sensed the "hordes" at the gate, they represented a by-gone system which capitalism had eroded. The rural polity was breaking down as urbanization increased and developed. That brought their ideology into contradiction with the emergent reality. Certainly standards tended to be a concern for the ruling class in general, but there was absolutely no reason why reform could not take place and standards (whatever the definition) be maintained. Their sophistry was rooted in fear of the urban reality outflanking their anachronistic rural ideology. Options and extra-curricular activities in the schools signalled the ascension of the school to the centre of the community life in the urban polity. Capitalism was slowly forcing the family to yield many of its responsibilities to the school, ultimately an extension of state hegemony. The centralization of capital was in fact, as Marx pointed out, breaking down the "hallowed co-relation of parent and child."⁷³ Urban patterns varied markedly from rural patterns where the family was the central focus for all activity, including how to farm.

The growth of Winnipeg did not mean that automatically schools developed a broader curriculum and extra-curriculum. The working class brought pressure to bear on the educational system to provide more amenities for working people who could not provide them out of pocket. The ideology of the traditional did not belong on that terrain. It was not an accident that Dr. Moore had worked his way up as an inspector and as an inspector became the champion of traditionalism. The school inspector was in fact a product of the old rural system, the ideological policemen of the Department of Education, zigzagging the province making sure i's were dotted, t's were crossed, and registers were balanced. But by the fifties, the old system was outmoded and the functions the inspectors performed were being taken over by centralization and bureaucratization of the educational system. Even though the Royal Commission recommended that the corps of inspectors be increased, they stood on the brink of extinction. As the larger school administrative unit emerged through the sixties, history relegated the inspector to antiquity.

While Andrew Moore was a surrogate of "traditionalist" ideology, Neville Scarfe⁷⁴ was the outspoken champion of progressivism. He basically argued for school reform and a system that would not discriminate against "ordinary people".⁷⁵ Although far from being a revolutionary, Scarfe represented a somewhat social democratic ideology in his approach to

education and certainly his views were far beyond those of the Campbell Government. The following views of Scarfe grasp the essence of his bourgeois progressivism:

If Scandinavian ideas of equality of opportunity were adopted in Manitoba it would mean an act of the Legislature to consolidate forthwith all the smaller areas into larger school units. It would mean the closing of many uneconomic small schools and the building of large central schools with boarding accomodation and a fleet of buses.

It would mean the payment of teachers from a central purse on a provincially accepted schedule with a satisfactory pension scheme. School boards would be composed mainly of persons known to be interested in promoting education and supporting teachers and not primarily in keeping taxes down.

Passing examinations would no longer be the only goal of education. The big threat of the examination could not be used as a substitute for a real purpose and philosophy of education.

The greatest handicap to progress in education in Canada is the general mistrust of teachers and children which is implied by the examination and the grade system and by the strict regulation over curricula. The dull grind of reading, repeating, and reviewing the text book which is usually someone else's potted thought tends to reduce children to dull apathy.⁷⁶

While what much of Scarfe called for seemed logical, and was characterized by a certain freshness of sensitivity, he did not see things from a class perspective. He called for sweeping reforms, but seeing the futility of convincing the Government he resigned, at the same time firing a resounding salvo across the bow of the Campbell Administration. "U Dean Blasts School Setup" was the headline in the Winnipeg Free

Press as Scarfe labelled as "reactionaries" those in Manitoba who controlled the money spent on education.⁷⁷

Moore and Scarfe represented the two opposite ends of the traditional-progressive spectrum. There were, however, other positions that lay between theirs and indeed outside. The intensity of the educational debate in this period brought forth a multiplicity of positions from the ideological laboratories. Hilda Neatby, and her maligned pre-traditionalist elitism, cut a disconcerting swath across the debate, but her ideology was wholly out of place given the realities of modern industrial capitalism.⁷⁸ Neatby, an historian from the University of Saskatchewan, detested modern theories and practices of child development (particularly Deweyism), and schooling for her was expressed in the advocacy of a flagrantly elitist, anti-working class system of academic education, designed to "discipline" the minds of students who could demonstrate and prove their ability to "appreciate" the virtues of academic excellence by achieving it. "Gifted" students would set the standard and become leaders in society.⁷⁹ While sensationalist in tone and presentation, her views were largely ignored by serious and thoughtful educational philosophers of the day.

The debate about standards and examinations generally took place without being rooted in a class analysis. An examination, per se, can be a fine evaluative tool, but when situated in its full historical, social, and economic context,

it functioned as a tool to separate the lower and upper strata in Manitoba. In a simplistic partially differentiated system (as existed in Manitoba prior to the fifties) the external departmental examination, with its user fee, worked well in preventing the working class from invading the university and provided capitalism with its semi and unskilled workforce. Although the Royal Commission recommended the retention of examinations,⁸⁰ the emerging "differentiated curriculum" would soon replace the necessity for them.

As pointed out earlier, education slowly worked its way from 1945 to be number one on the agenda of political issues by the time of the Royal Commission. While the issues can be analyzed by searching the economic base, other factors seemingly unrelated, entered into the dialectic. The development of socialist education in the Soviet Union and the resultant scientific and technological breakthrough of Sputnik magnified and intensified all the issues. There was a tacit feeling that something was right there but wrong here or in journalistic jargon, why Johnny can't read and Ivan can. In any case it exacerbated the contradictions in Manitoba's educational system and further pointed to the need for some kind of reform.

But the Campbell Government, while nodding to the problem in education, failed to take the necessary initiatives. Their resistance to major changes, particularly the struc-

tural and financial changes discussed earlier, was rooted in the over-representation of rural ideology. The ideological physiognomy of the government was a thin veil for the old contrast between town and country, between capital and landed property. "Upon the different forms of property," wrote Marx, "upon the social conditions of existence, rises an entire superstructure of distinct and peculiarly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and view of life."⁸¹ Rural ideology loomed as a contradiction, given the major demographic shifts. In June 1952, there were 228,280 registered voters living in urban areas returning 17 M.L.A.'s and 224,083 in rural areas returning 40 M.L.A.'s.⁸² Between 1920 and 1961, 42 percent of Manitoba's M.L.A.'s were farmers.⁸³ Premier D. L. Campbell first entered the Legislature in 1922 as a United Farmers' representative. A farmer by occupation, Campbell embodied and represented all the main political tendencies of rural Manitoba. As Morton put it: "No one better personified the first post-pioneering generation."⁸⁴

The inconsistencies and contradictions in the electoral sense, were partly reconciled in 1957 by an "independent commission" that re-drew Manitoba's electoral boundaries to conform to the new demography.⁸⁵ The change of boundaries signalled the demise of rural government and confirmed the shift of control of Manitoba's economy from rural landowner

to urban bourgeoisie.* In 1958, Duff Roblin and his "Progressive" Conservatives swept to power and throughout the sixties implemented many of the recommendations of the MacFarlane Report, particularly the larger unit of administration and increased financing. Curriculum reform continued on the basis of streaming and by the late sixties the major secondary streams were in place and functioning, thus pre-empting the decline of the external examination. The whole system, while being advocated as democratic, in fact continued to perpetuate social and economic differences, essentially through streaming and a myriad of methods that manifested themselves in the hidden curriculum.

* This process was as uneven as the development of capitalism. Prior to 1922 the Manitoba Government was controlled by the urban bourgeoisie. See Morton, History of Manitoba, pp.380-406.

Notes

¹It should be pointed out that while this author has made a certain interpretation of Marxist 'Base-Superstructural Theory', a lively debate is presently occurring. Several interpretations exist and a detailed discussion lies outside the scope of this paper. See Gramsci, Prison Notebooks; or for instance, Brian Simon, "Karl Marx and Education", Intelligence, Psychology, and Education (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), pp.175-99; Miliband, State and Capitalist Society, pp.1-22; Nicos Poulantzas, Political Power and Social Classes (London: New Left Review, 1968).

²Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", The Marx-Engels Reader, p.487.

³"Men make history themselves, but not as yet with a collective will according to a collective plan or even in a definite, delimited given society. Their aspirations clash, and for that very reason all such societies are governed by necessity, the complement and form of appearance of which is accident. The necessity which here asserts itself athwart all accident is again ultimately economic necessity. This is where the so-called great men come in for treatment. That such and such a man and precisely that man arises at a particular time in a particular country is, of course, pure chance. But cut him out and this will be a demand for a substitute, and this substitute will be found, good or bad, but in the long run he will be found.

...The further the particular sphere which we are investigating is removed from the economic sphere and approaches that of pure abstract ideology, the more shall we find it exhibiting accident in its development, the more will its curve run zigzag. But if you plot the average axis of the curve, you will find that this axis will run more and more nearly parallel to the axis of economic development the longer the period considered and the wider the field dealt with." Engels, "To H. Starkenburg", The Marx-Engels Reader, pp.767-8.

⁴Engels, "Engels to J. Bloch in Konigsberg", Selected Works. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), p.682.

⁵Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1945, p.123.

⁶Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education, Report, 1945, p.11.
 Number of School Districts...1875
 Number of School Buildings...2098
 Number of One-Room Schools...1450.

⁷Annual Report, 1958, p.184.

⁸Winnipeg Free Press, 11 March 1948.

⁹Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, p.176.

¹⁰Ibid., p.185.

¹¹Manitoba School Trustee, 3 (October, 1949): 14.

¹²Special Select Committee, Report, p.13.

¹³Annual Report, 1945, p.123, and Annual Report, 1955, p.167.

¹⁴Annual Report, 1945, p.47.

¹⁵For the year ending March, 1958, examination fees amounted to the very significant sum of \$67,922. Annual Report, 1958, p.168.

¹⁶D. S. Woods, "Education in Manitoba", The Economic Survey Board, Report, 1945, p.3.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸In 1941 the rural population of Manitoba had been 407,871, the urban 321,873. In 1951 the rural was 392,112, the urban 384,429. By 1961 the figures were 332,879 and 588,807. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p.477.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., p.454.

²¹Ibid., p.457.

²²In Manitoba from 1929-39 there were 79,703 man-days lost due to strikes and lockouts. From 1945-55, 119,627 man-days were lost. Manitoba Department of Labour, Broadsheet (Labour Gazette, n.d.).

²³Special Select Committee, Report, 1945, p.6. Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, Report, 1959. Appendix A, pp.277-9.

²⁴Winnipeg and District Trades and Labour Council, Brief to the Special Select Committee on Education, 1945, p.2.

²⁵The Labour Youth Federation was an independent national organization comprised of young people from all walks of life. It was organized in 1942 and mainly dedicated itself to furthering and increasing youth's participation in the war effort.

²⁶Labour Youth Federation, Brief to the Special Select Committee on Education, 1945, p.3.

²⁷Winnipeg Free Press, 27 September 1945.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Winnipeg Free Press, 8 March 1957.

³⁰Special Select Committee, Report, p.10.

³¹Ibid., pp.14-15.

³²Manitoba Federation of Agriculture, Brief to the Special Select Committee on Education, 1945, p.12.

³³Special Select Committee, Report, p.12.

³⁴There are several references to and explanations of the rural-urban schism made by Marx. See in particular, "The German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, pp.177-85, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", Marx-Engels Reader, p.477.

³⁵Special Select Committee, Report, p.12.

³⁶Marx, "Capital", Volume One, Marx-Engels Reader, p.393.

³⁷Winnipeg Tribune, 8 March 1957.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Manitoba Federation of Labour, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, 1957, p.11.

⁴⁰Labour Progressive Party, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, 1957, p.5.

⁴¹Special Select Committee, Report, p.23.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³See, Winnipeg and District Trades and Labour Council, Brief to the Special Select Committee, 1945; Labour Youth Federation, Brief to the Special Select Committee, 1945; Manitoba Federation of Labour, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, 1957; See also the five Briefs presented by Home and School Associations.

⁴⁴Winnipeg Tribune, 25 January 1947. Kardash was proposing uses for the increased revenues Manitoba was getting under the new Dominion-Provincial Tax Agreement.

⁴⁵Winnipeg Tribune, 14 March 1947.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp.45-52.

⁴⁷The Royal Commission on Education, Report, 1959, p.28.

⁴⁸John Pampallis, "An Analysis of the Winnipeg Public School System and the Forces that Shaped it: 1897-1920", (Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979), pp.149-50.

⁴⁹Winnipeg Tribune, 31 October 1946.

⁵⁰M. F. L. Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, 1957, pp.9-10.

⁵¹Ibid., pp.3-4.

⁵²Royal Commission, Report, pp.222-4.

⁵³Special Select Committee, Brief, 1945, p.39.

⁵⁴Ibid., p.59.

⁵⁵Ibid., p.38.

⁵⁶See for instance, Winnipeg Tribune, 30 October 1946; Winnipeg Tribune, 31 October 1956; Winnipeg Free Press, 9 September 1957.

⁵⁷Royal Commission, Report, p.142.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1958, p.127.

⁶⁰Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961, Volume 3, Part 1, p.6.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²For a full analysis see Wallace Clement, Continental Corporate Power. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp.80-96.

⁶³Royal Commission, Report, p.142.

⁶⁴See Marx, "Capital", Volume I, Marx-Engels Reader, p.399. Also Engels, "On the Division of Labour in Production", Ibid., pp.718-24. For a complete and thorough analysis of twentieth century North America see Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capitalism. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974.)

⁶⁵Royal Commission, Report, p.145.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid., p.146.

⁶⁸Dr. Moore was Inspector of Secondary Schools in 1945. He later ran successfully for the Winnipeg School Board and eventually sat on the Advisory Board.

⁶⁹Winnipeg Free Press, 10 April 1953. See also Manitoba Department of Education, Report, 1945, p.50.

⁷⁰Winnipeg Free Press, 19 February 1953 and 10 April 1953.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Winnipeg Tribune, 21 January 1954.

⁷³Marx and Engels, "Communist Manifesto", Marx-Engels Reader, p.487.

⁷⁴N. V. Scarfe was Dean of Education at the University of Manitoba from 1952 to 1956. He resigned, attacking the Campbell Government of being reactionaries. See The Winnipeg Free Press, 14 May 1956.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Manitoba School Trustee, 9 (April 1954): 30-1.

⁷⁷Winnipeg Free Press, 14 May 1956.

⁷⁸See Hilda Neatby, So Little for the Mind. (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1953).

⁷⁹Hugh Stevenson, "So Little for the Mind? Reaction and Reform in the Modern Curriculum", The Curriculum in Canada in Historical Perspective: Sixth Yearbook, 6 (May 1979): 95. For an analysis of an address given by Hilda Neatby to Winnipeg's Who's Who, see The Winnipeg Free Press, 23 April 1954.

⁸⁰Royal Commission, Report, pp.163-6.

⁸¹Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", Selected Works. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), p.117.

⁸²M. S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p.79.

⁸³Ibid., p.83.

⁸⁴Morton, The History of Manitoba, p.463.

⁸⁵While the Commission was technically independent, ideologically it was not. While the Boundaries Commission was to take into account "the community or diversity of interests of the population...and all other similar and relevant factors" (Donnelly, p.80) it succeeded in "gerrymandering" Winnipeg's boundaries such that Communist representation from north end Winnipeg was eliminated.

Chapter 4

SECULAR IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

While the chapter analyzing base and superstructure dealt with structural relationships between the social-economic base and education, this chapter will focus on the reproductive mechanisms with respect to the content of capitalist ideology.

It was pointed out in the introduction that functionally, ideology has served as a form of false consciousness which distorts one's picture of social reality and serves the interest of the dominant class in society. Ideology can be considered an intellectual structure and practice which in fact serves the interest of one class, or some primary group, while putting itself forward as serving the interests of the whole of society. This chapter will elaborate and develop in concrete terms the specificities of this generalization.

The basic canons of Marx's outlook with respect to ideology are to be found in The German Ideology. Most of his work, however, reflects and amplifies the limits and contours of ideology and presents itself as a complete and coherent world view. In a seminal and far reaching analysis, John McMurtry¹ has analyzed, categorized, and structured Marx's

world view and at the same time has provided this thesis with a means of examining capitalist ideology. McMurtry schematizes the Marxist concept of ideology by showing the limits of its referential range with respect to human subject matter and public modes of existence. The following are a set of criteria for determining the boundaries of ideology:²

1. It is constituted of *formulated* ideas, as opposed to merely remaining on a subconscious level.
2. It refers to *human matters or affairs* as opposed to non-human or natural phenomenon. The law of gravity, for instance, is not ideology.
3. Its content is *materially* unproductive, as opposed to being usable, in whole or part, to make material use-value.
4. It manifests itself in a *public mode* as opposed to a private mode, such as a personal reflection, conversation, or letter that occurs outside legal or political jurisdiction.
5. It is subject to *state control*, by virtue of the approval of some sort, such as a license or permit or law (whether publishing firm, official document agency or government publication, church, school, assembly, or House of Commons or Legislative Assembly).³

The last criterion is of particular significance because it explains Marx's insistence that the ideology of a society is the ideology of its ruling class.⁴ The ruling class, however, has control of the state as its agency of collective

self-protection and therefore functions, as Therborn pointed out, performing the supreme rule making, rule applying, rule adjudicating, rule enforcing, and rule defending tasks of society.⁵ Ideology is no exception, and through base or superstructural linkages, its substantive qualities are to be found on the terrain of education. Also the domain of ideology includes within its ambit of reference, mass media, church, academic, legal, political, and all other forms of public communication. It should be noted at this point, however, that education is *productive* as well as ideological (criterion three might be misleading), productive insofar as the ideas disseminated (science, math, vocational skills) are cerebrally transformed into material use-values, unproductive (ideological) insofar as the ideas they disseminate cannot. There are, of course, 'grey' areas and discipline overlappings where ideology and productive ideas blend in a confusing pattern of irrelevancy, inconsistency, and half-truths draining disciplines such as history and literature of their potency. Indeed one of the purposes of this thesis is to help clarify this maze and decant those aspects of knowledge that act as dead weight on the brain.

The schema presented to this point does not eliminate, but encourages a scientific or productive approach to human affairs. For Marx,⁶ any conception of human existence that does not attend to the following are unscientific:

1. The real *relations of production* (the question of ownership with respect to the forces of production).

2. The division into *objectively* antagonistic classes of the relations of production. Specifically, the monopoly ownership of the means of production by a minority of society (bourgeoisie) and little or no such ownership by the rest of society (working class).

3. The laws of exchange between these classes, laws such that the class that has an ownership monopoly is able to extract regularly from the other class or classes unpaid labour.⁷

Given the above schema, McMurtry derived a set of standard mechanisms or ideological deceptions used by the bourgeoisie to maintain its hegemony.⁸ These mechanisms systematize many of the terms Marx used when referring to bourgeoisie ideology, terms such as "philosophic charlatanism,"⁹ mystical appearance,¹⁰ illusion,¹¹ idealistic humbug,¹² theoretical bubble-blowing",¹³ and "torn away from the facts".¹⁴ The following is a systematized ordering of the standard ideological deceptive mechanisms:

1. Its categories are empty generalities rather than determinate and permit discourse to be 'torn away from the facts'. For example, the indeterminate categories of freedom, equality, rights, and individual consciousness in capitalist society mask by their abstract generality the dis-

inction in the real world between the freedom, equality, and rights of individuals who own nothing but their labour power and individuals who own the wealth to buy *inter alia* the labour power for their own profit.

2. These same categories or ideas are not only separated from the real world by virtue of their indeterminate-ness, but are transformed into self-subsistent movers of the world.¹⁵ Adherents to religion imagine that the properties of a god they project rule human affairs as an omnipotent force and bourgeois apologists ascribe to their conceptions of freedom, rights, and the law the magical role of independently operating levers of world historical events.

3. The conceptions of ideology, insofar as they are employed to refer to determinate phenomena, are *selectively employed*, so that they validate what promotes the established order, and invalidate what challenges this order. These conceptions articulate a fondness for law, order, and property which are important in the ideology of a society that is concerned about protecting the ruling class's material interest.

4. The conceptions of ideology are historically derived in that the language they employ, and the phenomena to which they refer, are often tied to the past. In Manitoba this often was reflected in the pious droning about the pioneers who broke the land so 'we' might 'enjoy' the fruits of our present social order. "The traditions of all dead gen-

erations", wrote Marx, "weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living."¹⁶

5. The conceptions of ideology generally tend to idealize human states of affairs and clothe them in attractive disguise. For example, the social positions that people hold because of their command of material power are often described as divine sanction or eternal necessity. The uninterrupted course of capitalist exploitation is lyricized as progress, civilization, and freedom. The successful appropriation of the economic interests of the bourgeoisie is celebrated as the 'triumph of mankind' or justice. The aura, intoxication, and glamour of such ideology gives rise, in Marx's view, to what McMurtry so aptly describes as "an opiated ideological dwelling place where the perpetual conquest of force and fraud ever yields the inverted and romantic picture of some higher design regulating the world."¹⁷ Thus Marx, in a most telling description of religious ideology said the following:

Religion is the general theory of this world...its spiritualistic point d'honneur, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn completion, its universal ground for consolation and justification. It is the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people.¹⁸

These five categories are the standard duperies distilled by McMurtry from Marx's work. They are underpinned by one essential and unifying function and that is

they all operate to conceal the real relations of production, class divisions, and laws of exchange of capitalism. They thereby exemplify ideology's non-scientific approach to the essence of human affairs.

There is another dimension of ideology, a newly synthesized development,¹⁹ which clarifies and elaborates upon the difference between ideology as described and 'forms of social consciousness'. This crucially distinct and path-breaking category allows for further penetration and analysis of the reproduction of ideology. Forms of social consciousness are like rules of grammar.²⁰ While ideology is constituted of public formulations, forms of social consciousness are the presupposed principles of such formulations. For example, the standard public and school textbook formulation that the Vikings or (depending on what is read) John Cabot 'discovered' Newfoundland is presupposed by the general form of social consciousness that *all human discernment is European*. The former qualifies as ideology in Marx's work and the latter as a form of social consciousness. What the forms of social consciousness really represent are *a priori* forms of understanding. A priori assumptive processes are often exposed as errors in mathematical and scientific formulations but are rarely alluded to in social and political ideological formulations. McMurtry identifies nine such categories which are the presuppositions behind ideology. The following forms govern the vast manifold of capitalist

ideological formulations:

1. The existing social order cannot be qualitatively altered. It may be internally altered but not changed.

2. The existing social order is morally good. Hence in ideological formulation, it is described as bearing the attributes of some ethical entity; divine will, reason, justice, or civilization.

3. What does not comply with the social order is blameworthy. Therefore in ideology social protest is framed as extremism or agitation.

4. What promotes the social order is praiseworthy. Undeviating submission counts as moral or high minded, violent repression of opposition as firmness or resolve. Passive acceptance of exploitation is considered loyalty or patriotism.

5. Whatever rank is held by individuals in the social order represents their intrinsic worth. This lies behind the pernicious ideological formulation that the unemployed are lazy.

6. The social order represents the interests of all in capitalist society. Thus in ideology all citizens 'will it', 'consent to it' or 'benefit from it' even if some of them 'irresponsibly oppose it'. The bourgeoisie often use the ideological formulation 'the national interest' to order strikers back to work, outflanking the class conscious concept of 'whose interest'.

7. A part of society must always represent the whole of society. Hence in ideology a society without rulers or a workplace without bosses is unthinkable. It is labelled as anarchy, chaos, or disorder.

8. The social property of the bourgeoisie is an independent self-moving power.²¹ Thus, in ideology the collective weapon of the ruling class is represented as the law, the state, independently and impartially subjecting all citizens alike to its rule. The private capital of the bourgeoisie is represented as a self-governing object which somehow on its own creates jobs or brings prosperity.

9. The ultimate social agency resides in a non-human entity. The promotion of God is an ideological expression of this form of social consciousness.

These forms of social consciousness, distilled from Marx's works and schematized by McMurtry, are the machinery of public prejudice regulating ideas as an unseen grammar of ideology. They are the cognitive mechanism of historical illusion, the underpinnings of Marx's answer to the riddle of appearance and reality. It is out of this corpus of ideas that education can be better viewed when analyzing its ideological content.

While capitalist ideology and its adjunctive forms of social consciousness penetrated every corner of the social matrix, it was in public education that it took on the most basic and profound significance. When viewed through the

lens of Marxism, nothing exemplifies better the deception and ideological disorientation of Manitoba's youth than the perpetuation and idolization of the Monarchy and the British Empire. Related to the Monarchy was a whole phalanx of ideological paraphernalia that included Empire Day (which in 1951 became Citizenship Day), Patriotic Exercises, Civics, and the general belief in the sanctity and rightness of this state of affairs. All of the above were presented systematically and with staccato persistence.

A good starting point for an examination of ideology and forms of social consciousness is an analysis of the public formulation of monarchist ideology generated for public school consumption. Much of the adulation regarding the Monarchy and the Empire took the form of ribald gawdiness. Typical was the following, written by the President of the Manitoba School Trustees Association:

Monarchies have wavered and fallen, but ours endures more strongly entrenched in the hearts and affections of our people than ever before. Perhaps no single event has ever united the nation, the Empire, and beyond as this coronation ceremony, symbolic of a simple faith in God: representing all that is best in human associations, those enduring qualities of virtue, morality, truth, without which no nation, however powerful, has ever continued as a way of life throughout the centuries. The coronation of Elizabeth II has introduced a feeling of youthful buoyancy and optimism; confidence, faith, hope are being restored.²²

Another ideologue put it the following way:

...[T]he throne of her ancestors vividly symbolizes the romantic appeal of our hereditary kingship. It reminds us that the monarchy is not an abstraction, not a mere political convenience, but a visible and living token of our common share in a splendid inheritance and of our common interests in its perpetuation.

We recall the glories of England in days gone by, under such female sovereigns as Queen Victoria and Tudor Elizabeth whose triumphs we hope and pray will, under the guidance of Providence, be happily repeated by our future Queen Elizabeth.²³

Both of these descriptions exemplified a kind of diabolical intoxication and a considerable distortion of the reality of colonial rule. It can easily be shown that the Empire, a world system of exploitation and domination, represented in fact that which is *worst* in human associations. The second quotation goes so far as to call for a "happy repetition" of the glories of England's past, or more precisely a direct allusion to further subjugation of people. While no doubt the author of this quote probably did not intend this interpretation to be made, it seems clear that a frenzied loyalty to the Monarchy produced these ideological overstatements. What this ideology was objectively accomplishing was a covering up or masking of the realities of colonial exploitation by clothing the entire historical period in the most righteous and sanctimonious aura. As Marx pointed out: "this historical method must be understood from its connection with the illusion of ideologists in general (e.g., the illusions of the jurists, politicians), from the dogmatic dreamings

and distortions of these fellows; this is explained perfectly easily from their job, and the division of labour."²⁴

Manitoba's best known historian wrote the following:

The Crown signifies the monarchy, the hereditary, but parliamentary monarchy established in 1688 [through revolution]! In our society, it is the role of the monarch to personify first, the continuity and stability of society, the dignity, decorum, and decency to which all pay tribute and in the practice of which we are strengthened if we see them exemplified in the life of one in exalted station.

In its ceremonial role, the Crown becomes the focus as it has done from the days of Victoria to the days of the second Elizabeth, of those feelings which, being more than rational are not easily defined: loyalty, patriotism and public spirit.²⁵

"Whilst in ordinary life," wrote Marx, "every shopkeeper is very well able to distinguish between what somebody professes to be and what he really is, our historians have not yet won even this trivial insight."²⁶ While representing the Crown as the bourgeoisie expected it to be represented, Morton avoided what it really was: the last vestiges of feudalism and a most recent exploiter of Third World peoples. The fact that parliamentary democracy was fought for (class struggle), was glossed over by that singular and untelling word used by historians to avoid reality: 'established'.

The Empire began to break up during the late forties and fifties as a result of the awakening consciousness of various Third World peoples. The new status of several of these nations, while 'independent', was better described as

neo-colonial.²⁷ The term Commonwealth replaced Empire, but much of the rhetoric related to the Empire was transferred directly to descriptions and explanations of the Commonwealth. Commonwealth relationships, as well as the dialectic of partial liberation, forced the bourgeoisie to employ the tradition of the past to maintain their ideological gusset. Hence descriptions such as the following attempted to temper the enthusiasm of the freedom-seeking indigenous populations as well as prop up the righteousness of the former Empire:

And do not forget the dynamic nature of today's Commonwealth. There are still within the association a number of Dependencies and Colonies which have not yet attained the full status of the Member Nations. It has been the avowed aim of the Imperial Government to prepare the peoples in these countries to assume the full responsibilities of independent nationhood. The dramatic effects of that policy we are witnessing today. In 1947, India and Pakistan became the first Asian Member Nations of the Commonwealth, Ceylon followed in 1948. In Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, formed in 1953, has gone a long way towards full membership. Last year the Federation of Malaya in Asia, and Ghana in Africa, reached self-government. And today we are witnessing the emergence into full nationhood of our neighbour, the British West Indian Federation.

May I suggest that you obtain a number of these booklets for use in your classes. You will find them strangely interesting for they tell one of the great stories in the history of mankind. *You will find in them records of some of the devoted men who have given their lives to the Colonial Service.** You may discover the story of

Frederick Dealtry Lugard (Lord Lugard of Nigeria). His policy:

'First to promote the moral and material welfare of the African peoples, and secondly, to develop the natural resources of Africa, not only for its peoples, but for all mankind.'

At the end of a long life, his epitaph --

'All I did was to try and lay my bricks straight.'²⁸ [My italics.]

Empire was replaced by 'Commonwealth' but the terms colonialism and imperial remained. The bourgeois apologists were unable to break from their paternalistic, elitist, and condescending attitude towards their fellow human beings. They continued to describe Britain as 'preparing' the peoples of the colonies to assume the *full* (as if they had partial) responsibilities of independent nationhood.

There are many examples of ideological deception used to distort the realities of the Commonwealth and colonialism. In 1959, for instance, The Manitoba School Journal ran a series of articles on various former and contemporary British Colonies.²⁹ These included Sierra Leone, Trinidad, Ghana, and Hong Kong. The descriptions of these countries completely ignored their enormous problems created to a large extent by British exploitative colonialism and neo-colonialism. Hong Kong, an overcrowded, poverty-ravaged British Colony was described as "the original headquarters of a few pirates and fishermen, [it] is now a beautiful and interesting trading depot and tourist resort."³⁰ In Sierra Leone (newly 'independent' in 1959) the British exploitative pattern was phrased in the following neutered terms:

The hinterland was declared a Protectorate in 1896. This means that although Britain is the 'Protector' of the peoples from foreign invasions as well as from internal wars, yet the government of the area is carried on through natural rulers called Paramount Chiefs. These are supervised by District Commissioners who are colonial administrators, and are responsible to the Governor who is stationed in Freetown. He is responsible for the government of both Colony and Protectorate. Today, he is assisted in his work by an elected House of Representatives and an Executive Council.³¹

While the crops produced, such as bananas and coffee, were mentioned, the relations of production (foreign owned plantations utilizing underpaid indigenous workers) were not.³² It was this kind of 'half-truthing' or selective ideological operative that functioned in such a way as to protect the material interests of the bourgeoisie. Several distortions, bordering on falsehood, were foisted upon Manitoba's youth. The following is drawn from a pageantry programme suggested for elementary pupils by the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire for individual recital on Citizenship Day:

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I,
daring soldiers laid the foundations
 upon which the Empire was built.³³
 [My italics.]

and:

New Zealand: I am New Zealand, a Dominion
 of two islands set in the far Pacific. My
 original people, the Maori, were great
 orators and poets as well as warriors,
 huntsmen and seamen. In 1840 I *joined*

the British Empire, and now the Maori
and the white man live together in
peace and harmony as loyal subjects,
Queen Elizabeth II.³⁴ [My italics.]

The ideological mendacity presented here stands out in relief, for even a cursory glance at the history of New Zealand will show that the Maori were systematically plundered and pillaged, their culture destroyed, and eventually they were subjected to obdurate British colonialism. The pattern is not unlike what happened in North America. However, a very different picture was presented by the bourgeoisie. A recital, designed for Citizenship Day and suggested by the Department of Education, explained the origin of the British Commonwealth in the following way:

Teacher: No, it is not really an old institution. It had its beginning in North America when the British colonies were established along the Atlantic Coast after 1608. After the American Revolution of these colonies in 1776, only Canada and Newfoundland remained. Following that, the empire spread over the world.

Pupil: How did this come about?

Teacher: It was built by British Governments, by trading corporations, and by individuals. A merchant or a manufacturer pushed ahead because he hoped for new markets and new sources of raw materials and a missionary or an administrator, on the spot, pressed for government assistance to establish law and order. A settler struggling to make a living by taming a wilderness demanded the protection of the Union Jack and so the Empire grew into a large family from which later developed the Commonwealth of Nations.³⁵

The ideologues who perpetrated this kind of disorientation attempted to bask colonialism in the most favourable light and employ euphemisms to obscure reality. The Empire 'spread' and merchants 'hoped' for new markets; the settler asked for 'protection' (from what?) while 'taming' the wilderness; the Empire 'grew' into a large 'family'. While tautological praising of the Crown and Commonwealth occurred throughout this period it reached a xenophobic frenzy at the time of the Coronation of Elizabeth II in June of 1953. Ideologically it was a phantasmagorical deception of the first order. Speaking through the Manitoba School Journal, the Minister of Education declared the following:

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II

On this historic occasion, loyal addresses expressing the devotion of the peoples of the British Commonwealth will be sent to Her Majesty from many Legislatures and other public authorities. This issue of the Manitoba School Journal is in its own way another message -- a message sent on behalf of all those who are concerned with the direction of the schools of Manitoba and the instruction of the young people of our Province. They too wish to express to Her Majesty their loyalty and their devotion.³⁶

A Coronation programme was prepared by the Advisory Board for schools in Manitoba. *Inter alia*, the following was to be recited:

O God bless our Queen:
Crown her with Thy gifts:
Crown her with grace
to love her people
and to rule them well.

Crown with happiness
her Home and family,
Prince Philip, her consort,
and Charles and Anne,
their children.

Make her reign glorious
by the peace of her people
and their trust and love everywhere:
Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.³⁷

The Inspector for Winnipeg Schools gushed forth the following:

The school year of 1952-1953 will rank as preeminent in the lives of the present generation of Winnipeg boys and girls; for all of them, the memory of a great and moving event will re-echo down the years. The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth stirred the imagination of teachers and of pupils alike; while it extended opportunities to appreciate more fully the significance of the great Commonwealth of which Canada is part, it challenged pupils to contribute, through hard, sustained effort, to its continuing development and enrichment. May it rebound to the credit of Winnipeg teachers that this stirring occasion found re-echo in the work of Social Study, English, Art and Music classrooms alike. I had the good fortune to take part in the "Coronation Celebration" conducted at Robert H. Smith School; not readily could I forget an experience made memorable by the young people of this school; they brought to the celebrating of a deeply significant event a quiet dignity far beyond their years.³⁸

And, as a final example:

The Queen is the unimpeachable figure of all that is good in government: her crown is a symbol standing above creeds and parties. In a materialistic age, when the world is threatened by dangers never before known the British Monarchy endures in noble strength. It is, in essence, the exalta-

tion of dutiful example as opposed to the hazards of ruling by the mailed fist and the fleeting greatness of dictatorship.³⁹

It might be well at this point to pause and consider the more precise nature of the several examples of ideology and forms of social consciousness presented to this point. All of the previous examples qualify as ideology within the referential boundaries elaborated earlier. Much of what these Monarchist proselytes were engaged in was outright distortion and deception such as the idea that New Zealand 'joined' the British Empire. In many cases the selective tradition was employed, particularly in describing the phenomena related to colonial administration. The real nature of imperialist rule and exploitation was not discussed at all and where it was alluded to was disguised and hidden from view by singularly neutered words. This is particularly apparent in the description given of the colonial administration within Sierra Leone. The word 'colonial' does not appear as an exploitative term which in reality it was. Secondly, there was *strict avoidance* of any discussion of or allusion to force or violence.

For instance, the following description (strictly avoided by the bourgeoisie), is an example of the violence associated with British imperialism. It describes the British putting down a Zulu rebellion in South Africa in 1906:

A Natal trooper, writing to the London Star says, 'the last 500 natives that were killed were surrounded on all sides and seeing this made absolutely no fight, but herded together like frightened sheep, and we shot them down -- men, women, and children. The only living being was a tiny baby, tied to its mother's back -- and a bayonet soon finished it. But not a word of me, please, or I shall be getting six months for telling the truth.'⁴⁰

Capitalist ideology, as pointed out earlier, articulates an abhorrence of violence when applied in cases of people acting by force against material interests. But this abhorrence was suspended in the far more frequent cases of people acting by force for established bourgeois interests in the name of the state. This is all too obvious in the ideology of the Empire and Commonwealth fabricated for public school absorption. In reality, force and violence were the key operatives in establishing the hegemony of Britain over its colonies. Marx stated that "in actual history, it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly *force* plays the chief part."⁴¹ It was within the boundaries of self-interest and domination that the bourgeoisie avoided a discussion of the realities of the violence behind the establishment of the dictatorship of capital and its tendency to expand in search of surplus value. Certainly such a discussion would have exposed as fraudulent the omnipotent virtues of the Monarchy.

Another category of deception evident from the examples

cited are the overt and tacit references to the past.

Most obvious was the comparison between Elizabeth II and Elizabeth I and the adjunctive intellectually puerile hope for a continuation of Elizabeth I 'glories' by Elizabeth II. More general and somewhat less obvious are the repeated references to the spread of 'civilization' and 'continuity'. Even more subtly spurious, the Monarchy was made to look supremely virtuous in the light of humanity's vicissitudes of the past.

A further deceptive device practiced by Manitoba's educational bourgeois surrogates, was the placing of the Monarchy and Commonwealth in pompous solemnity through the use of language and phraseology that clothed the whole arrangement in attractive disguise. As pointed out earlier, pretentious glory was lyricized such that it represented a kind of intoxication. This served to elevate the Monarchy above human reality to some sort of subspecies of divinity. The following is a list of words and phrases distilled from the previous examples cited and presented undressed to emphasize the intoxicating quality of the ideology:

vividly symbolizes	great Commonwealth
romantic appeal	noble strength
splendid inheritance	exalted station
glories of England	harmony
guidance of Providence	unimpeachable figure
dignity	great moving event (coronation)

decorum	devotion of the peoples
decency	the highest poetry
peace	dutiful example

This type of language and phraseology presented itself as a powerful ideological tool, particularly for children in the public schools.

The nine forms of social consciousness articulated previously implicitly and explicitly govern the ideology presented to this point. The most salient are forms two, four, five, six, seven, and nine. What is evident from the material presented is that the social order is morally good. Hence in the ideological formulation of the Monarchy we see attributes such as 'unimpeachable figure' or 'decency'. What is morally good therefore is praiseworthy (four). What tends to stand out as a particularly ubiquitous form of social consciousness governing the ideology of the Monarchy is that somehow the ultimate social agency resides beyond humanity. Hence, the ideology employs terms such as 'guidance of Providence' and 'exalted station'. While God vis a vis religion is the ultimate invisible hand, the idea of a king, queen, or pope is posited as a sub-species, an intermediary between divinity and the real world. Hence in Canada, the Monarchy was continually described as a 'symbol standing *above* creeds and parties'. This particular form of social consciousness served to short circuit the develop-

ment of any kind of consciousness that assumed man himself was capable of creating fundamental social changes. Essentially it was a form of anti-intellectualism.⁴²

In somewhat more specific terms the ideology related to the Monarchy served the bourgeoisie by acting as the supreme over-rider in maintaining law and order. It was used to transfer certain forms of authority to some higher neutral omnipotent 'arbiter'. A good example of this is the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who acted on behalf of the king or queen. In reality, they operated by breaking strikes, infiltrating radical movements, and generally serving the direct interests of the ruling class. Less overt, are Canada's higher courts that operate in the name of the Monarchy to give them a 'neutral' halo. Important inquiries into Canadian economic, political, and social problems are titled "Royal" Commissions in order to appear neutral, independent, and somehow above class bias.

The Monarchy and its attendant ideology were omnipresent in Manitoba schools. The textbooks used in Manitoba's schools reflected, not surprisingly, the same orientation as did the ideologists in the upper echelons of the educational hierarchy. The grade nine textbook used throughout the period, The English Speaking World⁴³ (replaced in 1958 by The Story of Nations),⁴⁴ corroborated the idea that monarchist ideology penetrated the molecular nodal points of the educational system. Chapter four of the text was titled

"The Blood of Courageous Adventurers Flows in the Veins of an Englishman".⁴⁵ *Inter alia*, other chapter headings and content reflected the various ideological duperies and half truths characteristic of bourgeois indoctrination; "England is the Heart of the British Empire", and "The English Developed a Limited Monarchy and Established the Church of England".⁴⁶ While the text is laden with half-truths, sexism, distortions, and falsehoods and could be the subject of an entire chapter based on McMurtry's tools of analysis, the flavour of its ideology can be gleaned from one of the many misleading assertions. It not only grasps the essence of capitalism, but exemplifies the legitimizing character of bourgeois ideology presented to Mani-toba's school students. The reader is asked to compare the essence of the following quote with Lenin's Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism:

Why do nations build empires? We have learned that 'the sun never sets on the British Empire'; we know that in a few hundred years a small island off the coast of Europe gained control over much of the land and many of the people of the world. Why and how did this come about? Why do nations wish to expand, and how do they do it? Especially, why do nations wish to expand by gaining control of foreign territory -- territory that cannot be incorporated within their own natural boundaries and government? Why do they want to rule people who have manners, customs, and beliefs quite foreign to their own?

As you study the geography and resources of modern nations you will learn that no nation is entirely self-sufficient, that is,

in possession of all the natural resources necessary for economic and social well-being and progress. Such countries as the United States and Russia are better supplied than most other nations. Densely populated nations usually do not have sufficient resources to support the population. Where and how are they to get the necessary raw materials? Industrial nations need markets for their products. Where are they to get these markets?

The chief reasons for the desire to expand, then, are to secure natural resources and to develop trade. Of course there are other reasons, such as needing more room for a nation's people, wanting better self-protection, or even merely showing power.

Throughout history, nations, like individuals, have acted on the principle, "The finder is the keeper," and have taken not only discovered resources, but also the territory where the resources were found. This practice explains, for example, why so many expeditions were sent by different nations to the Americas, after their discovery by Columbus.

The claims of one nation, based on discovery or possession, have not always been recognized; and possessions have been seized by another nation. One indication of the advance of civilization is that in more recent times this practice has been frowned on by civilized nations, especially by democracies, even when they were not immediately concerned. This disapproval did not prevent Mussolini from taking Ethiopia, or Japan from seizing Manchuria. But the approved method today is to arrange by mutual agreement for a fair exchange of natural products and manufactured goods among the nations of the world.⁴⁷

Much of the ideology discussed to this point was rivoted into the statutes of the day. It took the form of "Patriotic Exercises", relentlessly repeated and conducted daily in every Manitoba school. Section 17 of the Department of

Education Act stated the following:

- (a) 'O Canada' shall be sung each day at the opening of school and 'God Save the King' each day at the close of school, with pupils standing at attention erect;
- (b) Empire Day, the King's Birthday, Dominion Day, Remembrance Day, shall be marked by suitable exercises in all the school to impress upon the pupils love for and devotion to Canada and the Empire; such exercises may consist of suitable readings, recitations, songs, addresses, saluting the flag and pageants of a patriotic character;
- (c) When the ceremony of saluting the flag is used, every pupil shall stand at attention erect during the ceremony and the teacher shall on behalf of the class raise his hand in salute;
- (d) While 'O Canada' and 'God Save the King' are being sung, no pupil shall be excused from standing at attention erect;
- (e) In singing 'O Canada' or 'God Save the King' and in ceremony of saluting the flag when the singing of the ceremony takes place in the open air, every male student shall stand bareheaded.⁴⁸

A great part of the Patriotic Exercises was related to Empire Day and/or Citizenship Day and there was a considerable physical dimension attached to expressing 'love and devotion' to Canada and the Empire. Empire Day had its origin in Canada, being conceived by Clementina Fessenden of Hamilton in 1896.⁴⁹ The concept arose as a response to the large influx of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants to Canada between 1890 and 1914. It became part of the campaign to assimilate 'foreigners' into Canada's largely Anglo-Saxon

population. It was considered a particularly powerful ideological tool in view of the large number of East European immigrants, many of them were escaping from Habsburg monarchist oppression.

While Empire Day tended to emphasize the Monarchy and the Empire, Citizenship Day emphasized a more direct nationalist orientation. The same ideology, steered by the sub-rosa forms of social consciousness, were employed but the substantive content shifted away from Royalty. This can be seen by examining the purposes of Citizenship Day as approved by the Advisory Board of Manitoba in 1960:

Purposes of Citizenship Day Programme

1. To stress the necessity for instilling an awareness of the virtues of our Canadian Democratic system of government:
2. To promote among students a knowledge of their proper relationship to God, to Canada, to their Church and to their fellow citizens;
3. To stress the basic virtues and respect for authority, the love of neighbors and the willingness to sacrifice to God and Canada;
4. To stimulate among students the desire to assume responsibility and to co-operate toward the common good of all.⁵⁰

Each year the Advisory Board prepared a program for use on Citizenship Day and it constantly employed the standard ideological deceptive devices and forms of social consciousness supportive of capitalism. The objectives of Citizenship Day allude to various abstractions such as the 'basic virtues'

and 'proper relationships'.⁵¹ These however are not concretized and made determinate. Objective four, of the purposes of Citizenship Day, employed a form of social consciousness that produced an intellectual deflection from the idea of 'class'. It called for co-operation toward the 'common good'. This was often repeated, not only for Citizenship Day purposes but with periodic regularity. "It is impossible to escape the realization," said the Minister of Education in 1947, "that our society like any society rests on common beliefs."⁵² The concept of a 'common good' presented itself as a contradiction in a class divided society. Certainly it was a source of dialectical tension when applied to labour-industrial relations. Given the class arrangement of capitalism, however, the lubricity of the 'common good' made it impossible to define it in any concrete fashion.

One of the most frequent and ambiguous terms used with respect to Citizenship Day and the 'lofty' aims of education in general was the word 'democracy'. Democracy was repeated over and over again in the vast array of formulations of ideology. It was described in the same abstract and intoxicating prolixity as the Monarchy. The intense and repeated use of the word in this period was related to the rise of world socialism. The bourgeoisie tried frantically to usurp the word democracy and display it as an intrinsic

feature of capitalism. At the same time, the bourgeoisie made every effort to discredit and launder the realities of socialism such that it appeared as a non-democratic arrangement. This will be dealt with later in the chapter.

Basically, however, capitalist democracy was presented to the young people of Manitoba as an idealistic abstraction. Citizenship involved the "essentials of democracy".⁵³ The following is a sampling of the generalized and indeterminate categorizing of this form of ideology:

Parliament derives its meaning and strength from the community as a whole. If the parliamentary spirit of free and fearless debates in the pursuit of truth does not flourish throughout the land, in every town and village, then parliament itself suffers and representative government loses much of its meaning. In the school, this parliamentary spirit of free and fearless debates in the pursuit of truth should have expression.

In Canada, the good citizen is democratic. What does this mean? Essentially democracy is respect for personality, respect for the individual. It implies tolerance and regard for the rights of others. The school can implant this attitude in youth.⁵⁴

This peripheral and non-determinate ideologizing outflanked the world of real living concrete individuals in the here and now of an ongoing historical process. What were the rights of others who for the vast majority owned nothing but their labour power? What were the rights of thousands of unemployed in Canada, particularly in 1959, the first serious

post-war recession? Where were the 'free' debates in the union halls of unions that barred communists from their executives? Native people were unable to vote in Manitoba until 1952! The fundamental questions and issues just raised were very seldom addressed by educational ideologues. The empty generalizing permitted the bourgeoisie almost any signification that might be convenient in maintaining their class interests. The 'free' and 'fearless' debates in pursuit of truth only took place if class interests were not at stake. Hence the Cold War (capitalism's response to the rise of socialism) coercively frustrated attempts at free debates and ideas representative of socialism were systematically suppressed or distorted. But because capitalist democracy does stand for 'freedom of expression' the bourgeoisie had to allow some debate and expression regarding socialism. Speaking to the Liberal Business Men's Club of Toronto, Premier Stuart Garson⁵⁵ of Manitoba argued that 'free speech' was worth its disadvantages. While he admitted that free speech had given socialism a 'toe-hold', it must be protected.⁵⁶ But the bourgeoisie were able to launch a massive anti-socialist campaign using ideological deceptive tactics to discredit and hide socialism's critique of capitalism. Democracy was often situated within explanations and descriptions of capitalism as the antithesis of communism. The term was selectively employed so that it validated capitalism and invalidated socialism. Generally

this was accomplished by providing no concrete information about socialism but clothing it in the most pernicious language as opposed to the aggrandized vocabulary used to describe capitalist democracy. Following are three quotations illustrating these points:

Democracy

The freedoms that are necessary in a democracy seem to divide themselves into four major kinds: Natural liberty, national liberty, political liberty and civil liberty. These headings cover the individual's right to do as he chooses, the nation's right to stand as a sovereign power, the right of popular or representative government, and the rights and privileges created and protected by the state for its subjects.

The basic right, of course, is the right to live fully. Our human personalities clamour for expression and expansion, for recognition of our dignity as men and women, for the opportunity to realize all we believe we are capable of seeing and doing.⁵⁷

It has been wisely said that education aims at the good man, the good citizen, and the useful man. No public school system can be regarded as fulfilling its functions if it neglects any one of these aims. Behind the framework of our elaborate programmes of studies at all levels is the understanding that good citizenship rests on the basis of the integrity of the individual, and upon his capacity for useful work in the service of the society in which he lives. That is fundamental -- but we must also bear in mind that a democratic state has developed certain institutions through which it is able to ensure the maximum degree of liberty for the individual compatible with the welfare of all. A good citizen then must not only be a good man and a useful man -- he must also understand fully the purposes, the obligations, and the workings of the state as a whole.

He must know the goals of democracy,
and he must know too the machinery
by which the democratic state works
towards those goals.⁵⁸

Communism

Today the free movement of ideas is obliterated in some parts of the world, threatened in others. Communist rulers hold to no freedom, other than for their own doctrines. If the area of freedom in the world is not to shrink further, perhaps to disappear altogether, we have to be prepared to oppose the spread of communist power. Already we are paying heavily to build defences against the spread of this totalitarian might and the possibility of its overwhelming us and our liberties.

Right within our own borders communism works to beset and bedevil the cause of freedom. One of the chief ends of the communists and their world plan is to blot out freedom as we know it. Yet they work right in the midst of our free society towards their purposes. Unscrupulously they take every possible advantage of the very principles of freedom which their own doctrines sneer at.⁵⁹

To further demonstrate and reinforce the extent and intensity of this ideological mechanism, twenty articles⁶⁰ dealing with citizenship, democracy, and socialism were examined and a schematic comparison can be made between the words and phrases used in conjunction with 'democracy' (capitalism) and those used in conjunction with socialism/communism:

<u>Capitalist democracy</u>	<u>Socialism/Communism</u>
lifeblood	false Gods
dignity	pawns, dupes
best develops	beset and bedevil
principles of liberty	sneer
true satisfaction	blot out freedom
inner citadel of freedom	horrified
righteous	evil
the free way	shadow
preserve civilization	conspiracy

harmonious development	freedom-despising
lofty conception	cunning
integrity	sly
freedom	peddlars of propaganda
enjoyment of precious rights	long range plot
great opportunities	lurk
sacrifice	dangers
graceful living	tyranny
common good	enemy
conscience	kingdom of Satan
simple virtues	harsh
mutual esteem	terror
deep respect	threat
choose one's own calling	infiltration
true patriot love	beneath contempt
expression of faith	falsehood
soul of our people	subversive
logical conviction	sucking dove

At the same time, absent from these and other public formulations was any real analysis of either democracy in a capitalist setting nor democracy in a socialist/communist setting. The whole purpose of ideology was to discredit any possible threat to the stability of capitalism. This was particularly important in the context of education and young people in Manitoba schools. The most basic and fundamental threat to capitalism was Marxism and scientific socialism and any truths that these forms of thought may have uncovered about capitalism were hidden from view.

Another device of ideological deception found in the ensemble of formulations related to capitalist democracy and the perpetuation of this arrangement was individualism. The concepts of 'individuality' and 'freedom' are part of the touchstones of capitalism. While these are desirable objectives of any society, in capitalist society they existed

mainly in abstract thetoric. They were to be found situated in most of the liberal outpourings on the virtues of capitalism. The following are typical examples:

Whatever measures may be proposed to deepen the sense of responsibility in the young citizens of this land, we must keep in mind the very touchstone of liberty in a democracy -- that is that each citizen is free, is able to judge and plan for himself, is able to in a very real sense to govern himself.⁶¹

And in more oblique terms:

Canadians are free
to say what we think
to live where we please
to choose the work we do
to belong to the church or group we prefer
to choose the people we wish to run the
country
to remember things we value and those who
kept them for us.
Say it in your heart and mean it.⁶²

And:

The democratic system places the responsibility on the individual only insofar as individuals we act wisely will democracy succeed.⁶³

And:

We strengthen the Canadian way of life by developing individual competence by appraising each pupil and giving him the type of educational programme that will best fit his individual needs.⁶⁴

The preamble in the Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Manitoba dealing with curriculum states that the "ultimate aim in education must be to free each man to make

his own choices, his own judgments, his own decisions."⁶⁵

There are two inter-related aspects of the ideology of individualism. Firstly the bourgeois concentration on man as an individual is an outgrowth of capitalism. In order for capitalists to extract surplus value, 'individuals' must be 'free'. Historically this process first occurred when craftsmen were separated ('freed') from the instruments of production and the peasant separated ('freed') from the land.⁶⁶ Marx and Engels elaborate on individual freedom in the Communist Manifesto:

In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no personality. And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtably aimed at. By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois condition of production, free trade, free selling and buying.⁶⁷

Individual freedom then was a necessary condition for capitalism but in reality real freedom was only for those individuals who either own the means of production or who were apportioned a high salary by the owners of wealth. Capital was free, free to move about and extract surplus value at the highest rate that could be obtained. For instance, one-half of the people born in Newfoundland after 1949 were forced to leave Newfoundland to find work. The Maritimes

have served as a labour pool for capitalist concentration in southern Ontario. The fact was that it was the owners of the means of production and investment capital that governed the so-called 'freedoms' that the educational ideologues said Canadian democracy delivered.

Generally speaking, Canadians were 'free' to work, but only at the mercy of capital. To be sure, freedom existed, freedoms wrestled from the bourgeoisie after decades of class struggle. These freedoms allowed the working class to defend themselves during the Cold War period and to a large extent prevented the worst abuses of capitalist rule (fascism).⁶⁸ The bourgeoisie, nevertheless, obscured the very real problem of individuals having the right to work and a social political order that could not maintain full employment.

Capitalism removed all hindrances to exploitation by capital in the laws and slogans of 'freedom' and 'individuality'. At the same time, through ideological mechanisms and social consciousness, it blocked out or selected out, all phenomena, generally arising from the exploited class, that did not comply with it. For example, the following were blocked or selected out of existence:

1. An educational system that altered public consciousness toward a non-competitive outlook.
2. Any profound, scientific, or analytical study of Marxism and/or socialism.

3. Planned legislation to reduce profits.
4. Nationalization of natural resources.

Secondly, the freedom-individual nexus was that the emphasis on 'individuality' represented a tactical ideological ploy to disrupt attempts by sub-altern classes to unite and organize in order to transcend their predicament. Gramsci referred to individualism as "brutish apoliticism".⁶⁸ The idea of the 'free individual' in society stood as a barrier for collective action. The ideological barrier was translated into real terms via restrictive laws of assembly, picketing rights, and laws governing the formation of political parties and function. Education systematically implanted in the minds of young people that individualism was a virtue linked to our seven 'great freedoms'.⁶⁹ Religion played a key role in transmitting the idea of man as a static, fixed individual incapable of joining with other individuals to affect change. This particular facet of individualism will be developed more fully in the next chapter.

The entire analysis developed to this point alludes to a conscious conspiracy on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This, however, is an untenable proposition. Ideological phenomena are best seen as a defensive reflex to the exigencies of the underlying economic base, rather than any sort of initiating or conspiratorial influence. Indeed, Marx's concept of ideology, does not relate to action as much as in-

action. Ideology plays a very significant role in the inaction of society's members, namely, with regard to altering their economic arrangements. Insofar as ideology 'blocks', 'masks', and 'disguises' these arrangements, it blocks comprehension of their reality and in this way, ensures their perpetuation. It is difficult to change socially what is not socially seen. It was in this territory that the educational system functioned on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

Notes

¹John McMurtry, The Structure of Marx's World View.
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

²Ibid., p.127.

³Ibid., p.128.

⁴Marx, "The German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader,
pp.172-3.

⁵Therborn, What Does the Ruling Class do When it
Rules? p.47.

⁶McMurtry, World View, pp.132-4.

⁷Ibid., pp.135-6.

⁸Ibid., pp.136-8.

⁹Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, p.147.

¹⁰Ibid., p.175.

¹¹Ibid., p.165.

¹²Ibid., p.166.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., p.167.

¹⁵Ibid., p.175.

¹⁶Marx, "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte",
Marx-Engels Reader, p.595.

¹⁷McMurtry, Marx's World View, p.138.

¹⁸Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philos-
ophy of Right", Marx and Engels on Religion, ed. Reinhold
Niebuhr. (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), pp.41-2.

¹⁹McMurtry, Marx's World View, pp.145-56.

²⁰Ibid., p.148.

²¹Also see: Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, pp.173-5.

²²Manitoba School Trustee, 1 (June 1953): 1.

²³Ibid., 5 (December 1947): 1.

²⁴Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, p.175.

²⁵W. L. Morton, "The Crown", The Manitoba School Journal, 9 (May 1953): 9.

²⁶Marx, "German Ideology", Marx-Engels Reader, p.175.

²⁷Neo-colonialism replaced Colonialism by transferring governing power from London to the national bourgeoisie of the new nation. Most often this national bourgeoisie acted in collaboration with Britain's (and others) monopoly capitalists to continue to exploit the workers and peasants.

²⁸Manitoba School Journal, 8 (April 1958): 8.

²⁹See The Manitoba School Journal, 7 (March 1959): 18; 6 (February 1959): 16; 9 (May 1959): 19; 8 (April 1959): 16.

³⁰Ibid., 8 (April 1959): 16.

³¹Ibid., 7 (March 1959): 18.

³²For example, in 1935, a British company obtained a 99-year concession covering the *whole* country with respect to mining, particularly diamonds. As of 1967 they still controlled the richest areas in diamonds as well as iron ore and bauxite.

³³Manitoba School Journal, 8 (April 1957): 9.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., 8 (April 1955): 7.

³⁶Hon. W. C. Miller, "The Minister's Page", Manitoba School Journal, 9 (May 1953): 3.

³⁷Manitoba School Journal, 8 (April 1953): 7.

³⁸Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1953, p.67.

³⁹Manitoba School Trustee, 10:(May 1953): 1.

⁴⁰The Voice, 9 September 1906.

⁴¹Marx, "Capital, Volume I", cited in McMurtry, Marx's World View, p.74.

⁴²For a good discussion of anti-intellectualism see University of Toronto Communist Club, Campus Politics, Class Politics. (Toronto: University of Toronto Communist Club, n.d.).

⁴³L. Rogers, F. Adams, W. Brown, C. Simonson, G. Leckie, eds., The English Speaking World. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Ltd., 1948).

⁴⁴L. Rogers, F. Adams, W. Brown, Story of Nations. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1948). This text was essentially a reprint of the English Speaking World.

⁴⁵Rogers, et al, English Speaking World, p.v.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp.48-9.

⁴⁸Manitoba Department of Education, The Education Department Act, 1941.

⁴⁹Manitoba School Journal, 1 (September 1955): 12. The first Empire Day in Canada was celebrated on May 23, 1899. In 1904, Empire Day was observed in Britain. Empire Day and/or Citizenship Day was celebrated on the last school day before Victoria Day.

⁵⁰Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1960, p.158.

⁵¹For a detailed discussion of 'basic virtues' as related to education see Ontario Royal Commission on Education, Report, 1950, pp.27-9.

⁵²Manitoba School Journal, 5 (February 1947): 2.

⁵³Ibid., 8 (April 1959): 15.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Stuart Garson was later elected an M.P. and he became Minister of Justice in the Liberal Government of Louis St. Laurent. He was the architect of the famous Garson Amendments of 1951 which were aimed at the repression of Canadian rights. See National Affairs, 10 (October 1952): 8-14.

⁵⁶Winnipeg Free Press, 8 (October 1947).

⁵⁷Manitoba School Trustee, 2 (September 1949): 12.

⁵⁸Manitoba School Journal, 6 (February 1954): 3.

⁵⁹Manitoba School Trustee, 1 (June 1954): 13.

⁶⁰Manitoba School Journal, 6 (February 1958): 8;
8 (April 1951): 2; 4 (March 1960): 5; 9 (May 1951): 3;
3 (November 1946): 2; 1 (September 1951): 8. The Manitoba
School Trustee, 8 (March 1948): 1; 6 (September 1957): 3;
7 (February 1949): 6. Winnipeg Tribune, 26 October 1946;
16 November 1946; 18 November 1947; 27 October 1951;
22 November 1949. Winnipeg Free Press, 29 November 1946;
24 June 1950; 28 October 1950; 30 April 1952; 16 Decem-
ber 1948; 20 October 1949.

⁶¹Manitoba School Journal, 6 (February 1954): 9.

⁶²Ibid., 3 (November 1957): 11.

⁶³Ibid., 6 (January 1953): 19.

⁶⁴Ibid., 4 (December 1951): 1.

⁶⁵Royal Commission on Education, Report, 1959, p.126.

⁶⁶See Marx, "The Grundrisse", Marx-Engels Reader,
pp.222-367.

⁶⁷Marx, Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party",
Ibid., pp.485-6.

⁶⁸For example, see chapter 6. As Lamb points out,
both parents of the student harassed by the R.C.M.P. were
able to resolve their particular problem by writing to Ottawa.
While the government in office did not act, the opposition
did, forcing the bourgeoisie to live up to the bourgeois en-
trenched belief in civil liberties. Similarly, the Inkster
Home and School Association ultimately accepted its Commun-
ist Executive because of its entrenched profound belief in
the democratic process.

⁶⁹Gramsci, "The Modern Prince", Prison Notebooks, p.147.

⁷⁰November 2 to 8, 1947, Education Week, had for its
theme "Education for the Seven Freedoms". These were free-
dom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom to choose one's
own calling, freedom from fear, freedom for leisure, freedom
from want, and just freedom. Manitoba School Journal,
2 (October 1947): 6.

Chapter 5

RELIGION AS IDEOLOGY

The class power of the ruling forces in capitalist society assumes many different forms -- control of the means of production; control over financial institutions; control of most of the press and political communication; control over most political parties, associations, and pressure groups (most of which disclaim any political partisanship); and to a large extent control over the churches and their satellite organizations. The school, at all levels, and the church are the most salient cultural organizations in the advanced capitalist countries.¹ This is true in Canada, including Manitoba.

This chapter attempts to show how religion functioned as a reactionary element within Manitoba's school system. To be sure, religion has operated as a progressive factor at different times and in different places, reflecting the uneven development of capitalism. Its main tendencies, however, in Manitoba were reactionary.

Prior to 1890, Manitoba provided for two sets of schools, Protestant and Catholic, and provision was made by law for their maintenance and government. The maintenance was affected by a special school rate, levied on each district for

its purposes, a general municipal rate, levied by the municipality and divided among the school districts of that municipality, and a grant from the government which came out of the provincial treasury. In 1890 the above system was changed² marking the dominance of Protestantism over Catholicism. A 'non-denominational, non-sectarian' single school system was set up. No public funds were provided for the Catholic school system, resulting in a quarantine of that form of religious ideology. The issue, national in scope, demonstrated the dominance of the English bourgeoisie in Manitoba and Canada.³ It also reflected the pervasiveness of Protestantism which had emerged as *the* hegemonic religious ideology with its temporal values of hard work, thrift, frugality, self-sacrifice, and self-discipline. This contrasted with Catholicism's outmoded feudal agrarian outlook characterized by pious authoritarianism.⁴ Catholicism, however, remained dominant as a residual enclave in Quebec to assist the English bourgeoisie in their exploitation of the French working class. For Protestantism, earthly achievements and good deeds were the measure of religious salvation in accordance with the notion of life after death. These values made up the core of the emerging capitalist order in Canada with its dependence on profit, efficiency, productivity, and bureaucracy. Gramsci observed that the Protestant ethic was more universally assimilated by the popular masses in the United States than elsewhere owing to

the absence of feudal remnants and to the more advanced levels of industrialization.⁵ Undoubtedly this had had its effect on Canada, particularly Ontario.

The ascendancy of the Canadian bourgeoisie occurred with the Rebellion of 1837 in Upper and Lower Canada. With the dismantling of the Family Compact, the way was opened for the expansion of capitalism. Confederation was necessitated by this expansion. With Confederation came the need to bring the West under the hegemony of capitalism. After settling with Riel, Macdonald opened Manitoba for the subsequent flood of Protestant settlers from Ontario.⁶ Protestantism was the new form of Christianity, part of the ideological gruel served up by the bourgeoisie. As Engels pointed out, religion took on a new disguise, conditioned by the class struggle, and the ascendancy of a new class.⁷

The Manitoba Schools Question signalled the ideological ascendancy of the bourgeoisie in Manitoba. To make it appear legitimate they invoked the concept of separation of church and state. Witness the following excerpt from a lecture delivered by Dr. John Mark King, Principal of Manitoba College in 1889:

The public school is surely meant to be the school of the state by which it is supported. It does not exist to initiate the youth of the province into the details of Christian doctrine, or to prepare them for communion. Its main, if not indeed its sole aim, is to make good citizens, intelligent, capable, law-abiding citizens.⁸

The fact is that no separation of church and state took place. What did occur was the transfer of dominance from one form of ideology to another form corresponding to the ascension of the bourgeoisie and their dominance of the state. "Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose." The question of separation of church and state will be taken up again in this chapter but suffice it to say at this point that the reality of separation was a dubious proposition under capitalism.

The rise and spread of Protestantism was, like the rise and spread of capitalism, a very *uneven process* in the western world. Where Roman Catholicism was firmly entrenched, such as Italy, the religion altered its form and to some extent entered directly into secular affairs disguised as "Christian Democracy".¹⁰ In Canada, the dominant feudal religion ideologically was Anglicanism, the most conservative form of Protestantism. This was superseded by Methodism and Presbyterianism especially in Upper Canada with the rise of the bourgeoisie. These progressive strains of Protestantism date back to the immigration of English settlers after the conquest in 1759, particularly into Upper Canada. Protestantism became firmly entrenched in Ontario having some 80 years of history before the bourgeoisie took over the state. Consequently from the very beginnings Ontario was able to afford ideologically a state-supported separate school system.

In Manitoba, however, by 1890, Protestantism although dominant was very young and fragile and was being pressed by Catholicism and French language rights. Behind this pressure stood the fear of the recent massive immigration of Protestants from Ontario and the bourgeoisie's fraudulent expropriation of métis land. At this same time Protestantism felt this regional and national pressure and required of itself to be in firm control in anticipation of the massive immigration to come from Europe. Hence, the solution to the Manitoba Schools Question provided an answer to the bourgeois fear and at the same time provided an historical fulcrum for an examination of religious ideology in Manitoba.

Protestantism has played a substantial ideological role in Manitoba's public school system while Catholicism has done the same in its private and parochial schools. Their ideologies, which on the cardinal points converge,^{*} remained antagonistic, and the whole issue, although hibernating for some time, rose again in 1957. The Royal Commission on Education became the hope of the Catholic hierarchy to have the quarantine lifted from their religion and allow them to become more integrated with the state. They mounted an all out campaign to press the Commission for support of their schools or for Catholicism to be allowed in the public school

^{*}Both are supportive of the capitalist social order.

system. The bishops of Manitoba¹¹ issued a joint pastoral letter. The letter was to be read in all Catholic churches on the Sunday following its release. The following excerpt illustrates the seriousness of the issue for Catholicism:

For Catholics the overwhelming problem is our inability to educate many thousands of our children according to the dictates of our conscience. The hearings of the Royal Commission will provide an opportunity to present this distressing situation to a Commission authorized to recommend a solution to the Provincial Government. We therefore exhort you, our beloved people, to pray earnestly that the Holy Spirit may guide the deliberations of the Commission in every phase of its important work.¹²

The aftermath of this letter and the subsequent re-opening of the question led to seven submissions to the Royal Commission. They stressed the need for religious Catholic education in public schools and support for private and parochial schools from the public treasury.¹³ The submission presented by the Catholic Conference of Manitoba stressed the need for expanding and including more qualitatively acceptable religious education.¹⁴ Their essential criticism of the public school system revolved around the two sections of the Public Schools Act that allowed for religious teaching only if the school boards are petitioned by the parents of ten or twenty-five children attending an urban or rural school respectively, and that such teaching had to take place in the last half-hour of the day.¹⁵ Their case was cloaked in bourgeois form employing several references to the Declaration

of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948. They based their case on 'freedom of religion' and 'freedom of education'.¹⁶

It was the Catholic Parish School Boards and the Ukrainian Catholic Council of Manitoba that asked for public support for Catholic private and parochial schools.¹⁷ The Parish School Boards brief concluded with the following:

By law, the province of Manitoba provides a public school system designed to meet the needs of all children including the requirements of their religious heritage. We feel the public school system does not attain this purpose at present and ask some public recognition of our position and public support of our schools.¹⁸

The Ukrainian Catholic Council represented a most outspoken position and claimed to speak for the majority of Ukrainians in Manitoba; a highly dubious assertion.¹⁹ They wanted in no uncertain terms "access to public funds on an equal footing with the public school".²⁰ While their position corresponded with other submissions, it was based on the most odious reasoning. The root determinant of their position lay in Czarist Russia:

The spiritual and religious background of the Ukrainians who emigrated from Western Ukraine and now form the greater majority of the Ukrainian population is traditionally Catholic. Prior to the 'Communist occupation' of their Fatherland, they had Catholic Schools, completely supported and maintained by the Government.²¹

Not only was their submission an heirloom of the past but it ignored the fact that in pre-revolutionary Ukraine the vast majority of people were kept illiterate and bled white by the Habsburgs and Romanovs with the active collaboration of the Catholic church. The Catholic church was the very reason large numbers of Ukrainians emigrated from the Western Ukraine! In essence, this submission probably hurt the cause of Catholicism in its call to turn the clock back and its spurious criticism of the public school system quoted below:

In their new homeland, the Ukrainian Catholics were *constrained* by existing conditions to accept for their children the more secular type of education being offered in the public schools.²²

Although Protestantism was firmly entrenched in Manitoba by 1957, and was ideologically not threatened by Catholicism, the Royal Commission made no recommendation to the provincial government to lift the quarantine on Catholicism. Strong presentations by the Protestant community, with historical inertia on their side, plus the fact that the Commission was dominated by Protestants, led to little change of the statutes. What the Royal Commission did reflect, though, was the push for more religious education in the schools:

The Commission...believes that more needs to be done than now is being done to stimulate in children and parents an attitude toward education founded on faith in its

power to make man better by the standards of our generally accepted Judaeo-Christian philosophy, and to use the enormous resources and power of public education to reinforce the church and the home in their efforts to civilize man.²³

Even though Catholicism was not an influential factor in the public school system, it was a vigorous ideological force in the private and parochial school system. In 1956 there were 22 parochial schools located principally in Winnipeg and St. Boniface. The objective of these schools was supplemented by ten private Catholic schools. There were approximately 5500 Catholic children attending parochial schools and some 1500 at private schools.²⁴ Three archbishops and two bishops led some 238,000 Catholics in Manitoba.* The essential features of Catholicism that made it ideologically supportive of capitalism can be grouped around two inter-related concepts: anti-intellectualism and anti-communism. These two concepts can be considered the defense mechanisms employed within the McMurtry schema introduced in chapter four. McMurtry's analytical framework will be set aside for the moment in order to describe some of the characteristics of Catholicism and Protestantism and establish a critique. Both of these translated themselves into state supportive orientations and had significant implications with respect to education in the Catholic system of

*The population of Manitoba in 1956 was 920,000.

schools and in the home.

Catholicism champions the concept of "Religious Permeation of Teaching".²⁵ The principle can be stated as follows:

Just as a real Christian must live according to his beliefs not only on Sunday but on weekdays as well, so a Christian school must mirror Christian beliefs, not only during religious instruction but throughout the day. The aim of Christian education is to co-operate with Divine Grace in forming Christ in those regenerated by Baptism, to prepare them for Christ-like living in our society in anticipation of future life.²⁶

The traditional intellectuals of St. Paul's College held a more secularized view:

Education to us is the deliberate and systematic influence exerted by the mature person upon the immature, through instruction, discipline and the harmonious development of all the powers of the human being, in their proper hierarchy, by and for their individual and social uses and directed towards their Creator as their final end.²⁷

The actual application of this theory to the educational process accentuates the notion of *permeation*. "Home, church, and school must be harmoniously blended like root, trunk, and branch in the educational process."²⁸ The following extract conveys this principle:

(c) Discipline must reflect belief in man's perfectability with the help of grace, and his infirmity as heir of original sin.

(d) Practise in community living cannot be solely governed by theories of social adjustment but must be consciously integrated into the exercise of Christian love towards God and Man.

(e) Since a child is a member of a church, a kind of membership that cannot be checked at the door like a hat or coat, the liturgy of the church will be reflected in the classroom. A Monday, for example, will not just be a Monday, but the feast day of a saint or a reminder of an aspect of Christ's life. The teaching of art and composition might be inspired by the seasons of Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Passion Week, Pentecost, etc.²⁹

While this is only part of the applicative aspect of the theory, its entirety is laden with contradictions and is markedly untenable. Part (g) states that the most important event in history is the birth, death and resurrection of Christ and following that comes the completely contradictory statement that religious influence in history should be given due consideration and treated objectively. Most serious, however, is the Catholic approach to the natural sciences. Part (f) states:

Natural sciences will be taught as the fruit of the application of man's God-given intelligence to the penetration of nature, the fruit of God's wisdom and power in such a way as to recognize faith as a source of wisdom, affirm will power as a reality in a world of deterministic materialism and consider miracles as possibilities.³⁰

Anti-intellectualism, so inherent in the above, denies the values of thought and preaches against the development of rational intellectual skills. The quotation exemplifies

ideological category two of McMurtry's reproductive schema and category nine with respect to social consciousness. "The integral Catholic," says Gramsci, "one, that is, who applied the Catholic norms in every act of life, would seem a monster. Which when you come to think of it is the severest and most peremptory criticism of Catholicism itself."³¹ Although Catholics would answer that no other religion is followed perfectly, this only demonstrates that there does not exist, historically, a way of seeing things or of acting equal for all people.

No less central to the criticism of the Theory of Permeation are certain other aspects of Catholic dogma (implicit in the "theory" as well) that had important consequences for education. The Catholic Women of Manitoba stated that "a child must remain a child of God, so that he may see all learning and all activity in the light of his eternal destiny."³² For Catholics, religious ideals and aspirations must accompany a child if he is to develop through adolescence into a "truly Christian" man whose judgements are sound because they are based on "unchangeable truths".³³ The static view of development towards an "eternal end" was also reflected in one of the several Catholic definitions of education:

...a process which is concerned with the *ultimate end* of man and with the *fixed* intellectual and moral standards which must discipline and order human behaviour.³⁴

This view was so contrary to the facts of human history and the revolutionary changes that had occurred that it remains quite enigmatic. It reflected the form of social consciousness which maintains that the existing social order cannot be qualitatively altered.

From the philosophical point of view, but related to the above criticisms, what is unsatisfactory in Catholicism (and Christianity in general) is the fact that in spite of everything it insists on putting the cause of evil in the individual man himself, "his infirmity as heir of original sin". In other words, as can be seen from the above definition of education, Catholicism conceived man as a *defined* and *limited* individual. This can be said of many other philosophers and religions that they conceive man not only as a limited individual but as a "spirit of individuality".³⁵ Gramsci took up this point forwarding a positive approach to the development of the intellect rather than a negative static view as posited by Catholicism. Echoing Marx's Theses on Feuerbach and the German Ideology Gramsci stated:

The humanity which is reflected in each individuality is composed of various elements: 1) the individual; 2) other men; 3) the natural world. But the latter two elements are not as simple as they might appear. The individual does not enter into relations with other persons by juxtaposition, but organically, in as much, that is, as he belongs to organic entities which range from the simplest to the most complex...[T]hese relations are not mechanical. They are active and conscious. They correspond to the greater or lesser degree of

understanding that each man has of them. So one could say that each one of us changes himself, modifies himself to the extent that he changes and modifies the complex relations of which he is the hub. In this sense the real philosopher, the active man who modifies the environment, understanding by environment the ensemble of relations which each of us enters to take part in.^{36*}

It is not enough, however, to know the ensemble of relations as they exist at any given time as a given system or as a Catholicized eternal truth. They must be known "genetically" in the movement of their formation. "Each individual," maintained Gramsci, "is the synthesis not only of existing relations, but of the history of these relations. He is the precis of all the past."³⁷ Individualism can change very little but when the individual can associate himself with all other individuals who want the same changes, and if the changes wanted are rational, the individual can be multiplied an impressive number of times achieving changes that seem impossible.³⁸ The problem with the Catholic philosophy of education is that it sees man as a static individual, powerless and seeking salvation in some *future* world denying that anything can be done in this *real* world. This was precisely what Marx alluded to in his seminal "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right":

*The sixth of Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach" states: "The human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations."

The *task of history*, once the world beyond the truth has disappeared, is to establish the *truth of this world*. The immediate *task of philosophy* which is at the service of history, once the *saintly form* of human self-alienation has been unmasked, is to unmask self-alienation in its *unholy forms*. Thus the criticism of heaven turns into the criticism of the earth, the *criticism of religion* into the *criticism of right*, and the *criticism of theology* into the *criticism of politics*.³⁹

The essence of Catholicism's anti-intellectualism is its fatality, fixedness, and rigidity. Catholicism was imbued with the idea that man is fixed to unquestionable and unshakeable dogma. The existing social order is 'morally' good and cannot be altered, in fact must not be altered. Real education is concerned with, as Gramsci puts it, "man becoming",⁴⁰ in the sense of his interacting with social relations to produce *new ones*. These new relations then in turn change man. "One can say," wrote Gramsci, "that the nature of man is history...if one gives to history precisely this significance of becoming which takes place in a 'concordia discors' "^{*} which does not start from unity but contains in itself the reason for possible unity."⁴¹ The Catholic philosophy of education is concerned with finality and changelessness while real pedagogy is concerned with movement, change, possibilities, and horizons.

Another facet of Catholicism's anti-intellectualism is

^{*} discordant concord (dialectical movement)

authoritarianism. Gramsci made the following observation:

Religion, or a particular church, maintains its community of faithful in so far as it nourishes its faith permanently and in an organized fashion, indefatigably repeating its apologetics, struggling at all times and always with the same kind of arguments, and maintaining a hierarchy of intellectuals who give to the faith, in appearance at least, the dignity of thought.⁴²

The operative manifestation of the above was through the separation of the masses from the intellectuals. Once accomplished, once the church hierarchy had set itself off from the general population as an ecclesiastical caste, it set about indoctrinating the 'man-in-the-mass', demanding uncritical adherence to its canons. The following Parish Bulletin of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral exemplifies the unquestioning and authoritarian manner the Catholic church employed in maintaining control of its faithful:

All the children of the Parish should attend a Catholic school. Permission to go elsewhere should be obtained from the Pastor. If Catholic parents, despite this warning persist in disobeying the regulations of the church, setting themselves up as foolish pride, as a scandal and disedification to others, there is no other course open but that prescribed by the church itself: Parents who neglect to give the necessary Christian training and instruction to their children or who permit them to go to schools in which the *ruin of their souls* is inevitable, or, finally who send them to the public schools without sufficient cause, and without taking the necessary precautions to render the *danger of perversion* remote, and do so while there is a good and well equipped

Catholic school in place, and while they have the means to send them elsewhere to be educated; *such parents if obstinate cannot be absolved*, as is evident from moral teaching of the church.⁴³ [My italics.]

This authoritarian contact between the intellectual and the masses produces a condition of moral and political passivity. It is abuse of the intellect of the lowest order and its aim is apedagogical in that it creates a contradictory state of consciousness where there is no room for action, decision, or choice.

Catholicism, as an ideology, through anti-intellectualism, produced support for the existing order by employing the standard ideological deceptive mechanisms governed by the attendant forms of social consciousness. It operated by derailing the process of thought that might have led to a critique of capitalism, stressing the importance of transcendental commitment over everyday collective action to change the world and creating moral passivity and intellectual closure.

The second focus of Catholicism, which is really the other side of the same coin, is anti-communism. Catholicism in Manitoba made very clear its position:

We have in mind particularly the fact that sooner or later the children whom we are now purporting to educate will have to face that aggressive and pernicious ideology called communism.⁴⁴

Notwithstanding the cold war several church spokesmen were favourably quoted in the media concerning communism. Typical was the following:

The universal kingdom of Satan as opposed to the Universal Kingdom of God, is the appellation conferred upon the Communist regime. And in this universal dynamic of evil forces no nation, no continent is safe. All Christians must form a universal, dynamic and effective movement to stop this common enemy.⁴⁵

This vituperation against communism is not surprising given that historical materialism stands as the anti-thesis of religious philosophy be it Catholic dogma or idealistic secular philosophy. Behind this diatribe lies the form of social consciousness that legitimized the use of violent repression in putting down a 'threat' to the social order (category four). The standoff between communism and Catholicism (religion) is endemic to the epoch of capitalism. The Catholic church had made it their business to preach acceptance and obedience rather than questioning and rebellion. Marxism, with its critical materialist philosophy, has had a consistent record of opposition to religion and the churches and this has been richly reciprocated by the latter. The strident anti-communism of Catholicism can be traced back to Marx's Introduction to the Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right:

Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as

is the spirit of a spiritless situation.
It is the opium of the people.^{46*}

Although this can be considered the opening salvo of Marxism against Catholicism, it by no means was the first attack against the church. From the point of view of historical materialism, the Catholic church has undergone enormous changes based on the rise of the bourgeois state. The major changes were the Reformation and the rise of Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, a creed "fit for the boldest of the bourgeoisie of his time".⁴⁷ The growth of Protestantism and the secularizing of religion conditioned by the rise of the bourgeoisie and the birth of capitalism slowly forced the Roman Catholic Church into a compromising position with respect to participation in the bourgeois state.⁴⁸ It led to the rise of "modernism" within the Church.⁴⁹ Modernism's concern was with the relationship of the church to the state and society rather than a theological question as such. Its main ideological contribution was Christian Democracy⁵⁰ which in turn was conditioned throughout the twentieth century by political events. Its entry into the affairs of the state was a response to its decline in its influence on the masses and the challenge of communism. The following excerpt from the Brief to the Royal Commission

* This writer has deliberately quoted the entire passage leading up to the famous or infamous "opium of the people" statement. Often this is omitted and the quotation sounds more venomous. In its full context it shows Marx to be a more sensitive, less dogmatic, and understanding philosopher.

on Education of the College de Saint Boniface illustrates this clearly:

In real life, religious activity must permeate every human act. One does not perform secular acts for a while and then religious acts for another while. Religion pervades, commands all of life; it cannot be segregated.

We believe that the ideology of a Christian democracy is more likely to command the respect and adherence of our youth, and afford them an effective answer to communism, if they are taught the very principle that underlies the ideology of a sound democracy.⁵¹

The anti-communism of Catholicism has been a *force majeure* in Manitoba in de-fusing working class consciousness. This was particularly true in the period under examination. It rarely jousted intellectually with Marxism but used authoritarian and simplistic diatribes. But the Jesuit Priest or the Ukrainian Catholic Priest whether preaching or teaching in Brochet, St. Boniface, or Winnipeg's North End represented a significant ideological force.

Protestantism operated similarly in support of capitalism but because of its more complete fusion with the state it was able to reach more of the capillaries of society. This was achieved primarily through the school system. Christianity was considered the foundation of capitalist education: "the heart that pumps the blood into education itself."⁵² As noted earlier, simple provision was made by law for religious exercises in the schools, but Christianity went fur-

ther than that. Protestant intellectuals believed that it had to be literally chiselled into the consciousness of the masses. The religious ideologues pointed out that "these simple exercises conducted in accordance with the foreward to the program will create a spiritual atmosphere which will permeate the school activities throughout the day."⁵³ The literature text used in Grade IX and Grade X in Manitoba during the forties contained four psalms, two selections from the book of Proverbs, a chapter from Isaiah and the chapter from Corinthians on faith, hope and love. Texts below these grades had the story of the Good Samaritan, the story of Joseph and his brethren, the Parable of the Sower, Praise Famous Men,^{*} and some selections from Psalms and Proverbs. In addition there were such hymns as "Oh God, Our Help in Ages Past", "The Recessional", "Dominion Hymn", and "Lead Kindly Light".⁵⁴ Manitoba school trustees (with some exceptions) firmly expressed their belief in Christian education:

It does not seem possible that a society could endure unless founded on an active religion that teaches and inculcates the eternal verities: the virtue of Christian love, honesty, and truthfulness. Daily we witness the evil that can be done by clever persons unhampered by moral restraints. Our classrooms are opened each day with a religious exercise humbly recognizing our dependence on God. The programme of studies brings personal development through the

*Note the sex bias.

search for knowledge and understanding. Outside the school, the church waits lovingly to take charge of religious teaching.⁵⁵

The Department of Education regularly sponsored "Church and School Week" with adjunctive slogans such as "Every child at Sunday School on Sunday, September 27."⁵⁶ This period also saw a drive for greater penetration of the church into the state. In 1955, 4303 bibles were presented to Grade VII school children across the province of Manitoba.⁵⁷ In 1946 the Manitoba Education Association⁵⁸ chose for its unifying theme, "Spiritual Values in Education" because of the "dark forces that bring the threat of doom".⁵⁹ Notwithstanding the melodrama, the drive for more religion in the school system during this period culminated in the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Education in 1959.* The recommendations involved nine sections calling for an expansion and further entrenchment of religious education in the public school system. *Inter alia* the Commission recommended that the "Judeo-Christian heritage be stressed in all courses in the Philosophy of Education, in the Manitoba Teachers College, Brandon College, and in the Faculty of Pedagogy."⁵⁹

At the same time that religion was pressing hard to capture the minds of Manitoba's school children, bourgeois ideologues in their denominational factional dispute with Catholicism, rationalized their position through the spurious

* See Note 23.

belief that they were maintaining the separation of church and state. Witness the following comment made during an address by the Principal of Queen's University to the Public School Trustees Association in 1949:

In order that we might be sure that education was not dominated by a church we have been scrupulously careful that religion forms no part of school instruction. We have achieved our purpose in Protestant education. The schools are completely free from church domination.⁶⁰

But this was nothing more than an ideological sleight of hand. The fact was that the organized form of Christianity, the church, in its bourgeois ideological form (Protestantism) had to a great degree penetrated the public school system. Separation of church and state had its historical origins in the rise of capitalism and in a certain sense has been partly accomplished. Capitalism, however, recognized the ideological value of religion and is not prepared to separate completely church and state. In socialist countries, on the other hand, where religion serves no secular ideological purpose, the church has been completely separated from the state.

In Manitoba, religious ideology functioned also on behalf of capitalism by grafting itself onto the bourgeois concept of democracy, hence multiplying its ideological power. Speaking for some 300 teachers in the Province of Manitoba, the Teachers' Christian Fellowship stated the following:

Democratic society is founded on certain moral and spiritual values which concern the conduct of people. These values are the determiners of right and wrong conduct. Moral values are a guide to each person's relationship with others. Spiritual values manifest in one's respect for the Almighty. People in a democracy recognize the significance of moral and spiritual laws.⁶¹

Closely related to this Christian-democracy nexus was, as with Catholicism, anti-communism. In 1947, the president of the Manitoba School Trustees Association said that in his opinion "religion was the best bulwark against communism."⁶² He also stated that that was why the Ontario government had introduced religious exercises into the curriculum.⁶³ The Teachers' Christian Fellowship believed communism to be actively hostile to the "fundamental of democracy" and that our schools need to be "bulwarks against philosophies which appeal exclusively to the emotion, greed, and suspicions of people."⁶⁴ These Christian proselytes argued that "our youth are more likely to reject 'atheistic totalitarianism' if the facts are objectively presented in the classroom."⁶⁵ It was this kind of ideological disorientation the Christian ideologues attempted to use to underline their so-called adherence to the fundamental philosophy of democracy. This writer was hard pressed to find *any* facts, let alone the objective presentation of facts, about Marxism, socialism and communism in the context of Manitoba's school curricula. At the same time that the Teachers' Christian Fellowship's brief was be-

ing presented to the Royal Commission a Cold War existed. Police subversion squads, calls for the removal of communists from the Manitoba Home and School Association, Monitoring of schools by the R.C.M.P., the barring of communist executives from unions, created the most unhealthy climate for the objective pursuit of knowledge in Manitoba.* What the Christian community was striving for in education was really quite un-Christian and undemocratic. Firstly, it struck fear into the hearts of its adherents and then produced a situation whereby ideological competition would be so unequal as to give a crushing advantage of one side over another.⁶⁶ Because of the accelerated rise of world socialism in this period, the bourgeoisie attempted to increase their ideological hold on the majority of working people and religion was no exception.

The religious and clerical factors varied in intensity from province to province and nation to nation, but everywhere they operated in favour of the ruling forces. Moreover, to situate this correctly in an hegemonous context, it should be noted that this religious and clerical influence was propagated not only by the churches and the school system but by a vast network of groups and organizations whose impact was felt over a large range of activities. Organizations like the Rotary Club, the 4-H Club, and the Junior Red Cross were particularly active agencies of ideological hege-

*This will be elaborated in Chapter 6.

mony. Their constitutions and exertions were clearly underpinned by Christianity. For example the founding principle of the Junior Red Cross was "love thy neighbour" and "duty towards God".⁶⁷

As alluded to throughout this chapter, religion was functioning as a capitalist reproductive mechanism within the theoretical schema developed by McMurtry and articulated in chapter four. Generally speaking, religion functioned mainly, through ideological categories two, three, and four and category nine of the forms of social consciousness. Adherents to religion imagine that the properties of a god they project rule human affairs as an omnipotent force. For instance, after man created the atomic bomb and dropped it on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, religious ideologues looked toward 'God' to solve international agreements. Witness the following:

Two World Wars, and the atom bomb
have jolted our complacency. Whither
is mankind drifting? With scientific
discovery continually increasing our
capacity for inflicting suffering, what
progress is there towards a healthier
and happier state of society? No one
can survey the present world scene with
much confidence. The standards of all
countries have suffered a decline, and
disagreements between representatives at
international conferences show only too
clearly the lack of co-operation between
the peoples. We English sing fervently:
"Lord make the nations see
That men should brothers be
And form one family
The whole world o'er."

But it is suicide to hope that Christian standards will survive without the Christian faith of which they are the outcome. The brotherhood of man is dependent on the Fatherhood of God. If God is left out, what hope is there of the unity of mankind? "Like as the heart desireth the water brooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God."⁶⁸

Conceptions of ideology, including religion, insofar as they are employed to refer to determinate phenomena, are selectively employed so they validate what promotes the social order and invalidate or omit what challenges this order. This was particularly true with respect to the function of religion and religious references in Manitoba's public school textbooks. The most salient example was the treatment of the Jesuit missionaries in Manitoba texts during this period. "The Jesuit Fathers" reads one text, "suffered much for the greater glory of God."⁶⁹ The grade nine text, The English Speaking World, prefaced a most racist description of a Jesuit encounter with the Iroquois the following way; "The Jesuits did heroic deeds for Christ".⁷⁰ All the descriptions of Jesuit attempts to 'convert the heathen' were of a decidedly racist nature. The following are quotations selected from three of Manitoba's social studies texts used throughout the entire period exemplifying this point and McMurtry's standard ideological categories (particularly two, three, and four):

The Jesuits did heroic deeds for Christ.
Just at dawn over one thousand screaming
Iroquois rushed at the wooden walls of

St. Louis. The Hurons fought bravely but they could not hold off the hordes of battle-maddened warriors. In a few minutes, Brebeuf, Lalemont and the few living Hurons were prisoners of the Iroquois. As usual after a victory, the savages tied the prisoners to stakes and began the torture. The two priests endured hours of the most savage cruelty before the Indians finally killed them.⁷¹

and:

The Fathers were eager to baptise anyone who would let them, but the Indians were slow to accept new ideas.⁷²

The following quote, taken from the grade nine social studies text refers to the involvement of the church in South America:

During the early centuries of Latin America's growth, there was never a single broad frontier such as existed in early Canada. There were extensive out of the way districts inhabited by savage Indians. In many places missionaries of the church, unaccompanied by soldiers plunged into the wilderness among the savage tribes. Here they founded mission settlements in which the natives were given some elementary education, instruction in arts and crafts, and perhaps some mechanical or manual training.⁷³

Lastly, the following quotation revealed the paternalism (a form of racism) generated by religion for native peoples:

First he made them say 'Our Father', which Father Daniel had put into Huron words for the children. Then he told them bible stories and taught them little rhymes and hymns. Afterwards he asked them questions to see if they remembered

what he taught them the day before. Usually they did, for they were clever little boys and girls, and said their rhymes to one another as they played about the village. At four o'clock Brebeuf gave them two or three bright beads or a few raisins and off they ran as gaily as you do when school is over.⁷⁴

The bourgeoisie owed part of its capacity for survival to the presence of institutionalized forms of prejudice against minority groups.⁷⁵ Religious ideology aligned itself with bourgeois ideology with respect to racism. Racism can essentially be seen as a method of protecting the social order, that is, one of the ideological operatives maintaining class stratification. What the text books were doing vis à vis religion was promoting the social order by legitimizing exploitation. The fact was that the Catholic church was involved in assimilating the native population in order to subordinate it to capitalist exploitation (fur trade). The Iroquois, who were the most resistant group to colonialism were considered 'cruel savages'. As McMurtry observed in social consciousness categories three and four, 'what does not comply with the social order is blameworthy' and 'what promotes the social order is praiseworthy'. In the case of the latter, the Hurons, who were assimilated rapidly (and exploited) were depicted in a far better light than the Iroquois.

The 'heroism' and 'idealization' of human states of

affairs (ideological category five) was not just reserved for the Jesuits. "One of the most heroic men of those early days," reads one text, "was James Robertson", Superintendent of Missions for the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1880.⁷⁶ His "blessings"⁷⁷ helped people through the hardships of prairie survival. He was a "great" and "good" man.⁷⁸

There is no doubt that the Jesuits and Robertson were determined people and played a significant role in the development of Canada. There are of course many things that were done by the church in the fields of education and social protest (social gospel) that fell partially outside the area of the reproduction of capitalist ideology. But the role of religion in Manitoba's texts functioned to promote fully and legitimize the capitalist social order. There was no critique to be found in the three social studies text examined.

The most ubiquitous form of social consciousness promoted throughout the period was that the ultimate social agency is a non-human entity. As argued earlier, this form of intellectual molesting derailed thought processes that would lead toward solutions of problems created by man. The promotion of God, the ideological expression of this form of social consciousness, was the lynchpin of religion. The Chairperson of the Manitoba Association of School Trus-

tees put it in no uncertain terms; "Our classrooms are opened each day with a religious exercise humbly recognizing our dependence on God."⁷⁹ The grade six reader, Life and Adventure, under the chapter heading, "The Land We Love" was a story titled "Euchariste Moisan Makes a Present to God".⁸⁰ This four page vignette weaved together God, patriotism, and service.

As with the Monarchy and capitalist democracy, religion was clothed in the most favourable language making any kind of critique virtually impossible, if not dangerous.⁸¹ Religion was framed in very intoxicating and persuasive language. The textbooks used words and phrases such as, "heroic, daring, and the man of the good heart."⁸² The list is endless and portrays religion and religious heroes in the most favourable light. The texts and the ideologues at the helm of education blocked out or selected out all phenomena that would have challenged the social order. For example, the following were blocked or selected out of existence:

1. A discussion of cultural imperialism and/or cultural genocide.
2. Religion and racism.
3. History of atheism including the persecution of non-believers.

In conclusion, organized religious ideology played a functional and integrative role in regards to the prevailing economic and social order in Manitoba. Besides the churches,

it operated through the public, private, and parochial school system. "If ever the people must be kept in order by moral means," said Engels, "the first and foremost of all moral means of action upon the masses is and remains religion."⁸³

The Manitoba Schools Question was the historical fulcrum for examining religion and its ideological implications. In 1890, the Schools Question signalled the hegemonic dominance of Protestantism over the state ideological apparatus -- the public school system. In 1959, this factional denominational struggle surfaced again but in a far less dramatic way.

The period under examination saw a drive for increased religious education in the school system, generally because of the cold war and the rise of socialism and communism. The Schools Question, the ideological significance of religion, and the changes in religion were all related to the correlation of forces within the rubric of class struggle. Engels perhaps sums it up best:

All moral theories have been hitherto the product, in the last analysis, of the economic conditions of society obtaining at the time. And as society has hitherto moved in class antagonisms, morality has always been class morality; it has either justified the domination and interests of the ruling class, or, ever since the oppressed class became powerful enough, it has represented its

indignation against this domination...
and future interests of the oppressed.
That in this process there has on the
whole been progress in morality, as
in all other branches of human know-
ledge, no one will doubt. But we have
not yet passed beyond class morality.⁸⁴

Notes

¹Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, p.342.

²Referred to as the Manitoba Schools Question.

³See W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp.241-50.

⁴See F. Engels, "Introduction to Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", Marx and Engels on Religion, ed. Reinhold Niebuhr. (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), pp.299-304. See also F. Engels, "L. Feuerbach and the end of Classical German Philosophy", Marx and Engels on Religion, pp.215-268.

⁵Gramsci, "Americanism and Fordism", Prison Notebooks, pp.298-303.

⁶Morton, Manitoba: A History, p.177. Also see Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education, Report. (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1945), p.10.

⁷F. Engels, "L. Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy", Marx and Engels on Religion, p.264.

⁸The Congregation of the Unitarian Church of Winnipeg, Brief Submitted to the Royal Commission on Education. (Winnipeg: November, 1957), p.8.

⁹Karl Marx, "The Leading Article of No. 179 of Kölnische Zeitung", Marx and Engels on Religion, pp. 34-40.

¹⁰Christian Democracy was an outgrowth of Modernism which was an ideology concerned with the relationship of the Church to state and society.

¹¹The full text of the letter was signed by Philip Pocock, Archbishop of Winnipeg; Maurice Baudoux, Archbishop of St. Boniface; Maxime Hermaniuk, C.Sc.R., Metropolitan of Winnipeg, and Paul Ducmouchel, O.M.I., Vicar Apostolic of Keewatin.

¹²Winnipeg Free Press, 14 August 1957.

¹³See for example, The Catholic Parish School Boards of Manitoba, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, p.7, and Le College de Saint Boniface and L'Association Des Anciens Du College De Saint Boniface, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, p.7.

¹⁴The Catholic Conference of Manitoba, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education. (Winnipeg: October, 1957), pp.4-5.

¹⁵Manitoba Public Schools Act, p.129.

¹⁶L'Association des Anciens du College de Saint Boniface and Le College de Saint Boniface, Brief, pp.5-6.

¹⁷Private schools operated on fees while parochial schools operated on voluntary contributions from the Parish community.

¹⁸The Catholic Parish School Boards of Manitoba, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, p.7.

¹⁹The question of who speaks for the "majority" of Canadians of Ukrainian descent has historically been very difficult to determine and has fluctuated throughout the twentieth century. For a good discussion on the variegations in the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg, see Leo Driedger, "Ukrainian Identity in Winnipeg", ed. Martin L. Kovacs, Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education. (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1976), pp.147-165.

²⁰Ukrainian Catholic Council of Manitoba, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education. (Winnipeg, November, 1957), p.12.

²¹Ibid., p.4.

²²Ibid.

²³Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, Report, 1959, p.152. For expanded recommendations re: more religion in the schools see pp.152-161.

²⁴Parish School Boards, Brief, p.1.

²⁵Catholic Conference, Brief, p.4. In the words of Pope Pius XI, "The Participation of the laity in the hierarchic apostolate, for the defence of religious and moral principles, for the development of a wholesome and beneficial social action, under the guidance of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, outside and above political parties, with the criterion of restoring Catholic life in the family and in society." Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "Catholic Action". Also see Leo XIII, Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., p.5.

²⁷St. Paul's College, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, p.2.

²⁸Catholic Conference, Brief, p.6.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Gramsci, "Study of Philosophy", Prison Notebooks, p.351.

³²Catholic Women of Manitoba, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, p.3.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ukrainian Catholic Council, Brief, p.4.

³⁵Gramsci, "Study of Philosophy", Prison Notebooks, p.352.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid., p.353.

³⁹Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right", Marx and Engels on Religion, p.42.

⁴⁰Gramsci, "Study of Philosophy", Prison Notebooks, p.355.

⁴¹Ibid., p.356.

⁴²Ibid., p.340.

⁴³St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Parish Bulletin, Winnipeg, 29 August, 1954.

⁴⁴Le College de Saint Boniface and L'Association des Anciens du College de Saint Boniface, Brief, p.5. Also see Ukrainian Catholic Council, Brief.

⁴⁵Winnipeg Tribune, 27 November 1957.

⁴⁶Marx, "Introduction to the Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right", Marx and Engels on Religion, p.42.

⁴⁷Engels, "Introduction to Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", Marx and Engels on Religion, p.300.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp.299-304.

⁴⁹A product of the challenge of socialism among the masses, Modernism aimed to revitalize the Church as a social force at the end of the nineteenth century and to counteract the effects of its refusal to allow Catholics to participate in the affairs of the Italian state.

⁵⁰Gramsci, "Study of Philosophy", Prison Notebooks, p.332.

⁵¹Le College de Saint Boniface, Brief, pp.4-5.

⁵²Manitoba School Trustee, 16 (January 1960): 43.

⁵³Winnipeg Council of Churches, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, November, 1957, p.3.

⁵⁴Ibid., p.4.

⁵⁵The Manitoba School Trustees Association, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, November, 1957, p.1.

⁵⁶Manitoba School Trustee, 15 (September 1959): 6.

⁵⁷Manitoba School Trustee, 11 (May 1955): 23.

⁵⁸Membership in this organization was largely drawn from those actively engaged in administration.

⁵⁹Royal Commission on Education, Report, p.161.

⁶⁰Manitoba School Trustee, 6 (June 1950): 2.

⁶¹Teachers' Christian Fellowship, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, October 1957, p.4.

⁶²Manitoba School Trustee, 3 (October 1947): 3.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Teachers' Christian Fellowship, Brief, p.8.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), pp.182.

⁶⁷Manitoba School Journal, 19 (April 1958): 11.

⁶⁸Manitoba School Trustee, 4 (November 1951): 11.

⁶⁹D. J. Dickie and H. Palk, Pages From Canada's Story. (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1928), p.77. The book was used for grade six students from 1928 to 1961!!

⁷⁰L. B. Rogers, F. Adams, W. Brown, C. S. Simonson, G. W. Leckie, The English Speaking World. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, and Company, 1954), p.187.

⁷¹Ibid., pp.187-8.

⁷²Dickie and Palk, Pages From Canada's Story, p.77.

⁷³Lester B. Rogers, Fay Adams, and Walker Brown, Story of Nations. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1947), p.316. Originally an American text revised for use in Canadian schools.

⁷⁴Dickie and Palk, Pages From Canada's Story, p.76.

⁷⁵See Jack Levin, The Functions of Prejudice. (New York: Harper and Row, 1975).

⁷⁶Dickie and Palk, Pages From Canada's Story, p.414.

⁷⁷Ibid., p.417.

⁷⁸Ibid., p.419.

⁷⁹The Manitoba School Trustees' Association, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, November 1957.

⁸⁰J. C. Bates and Lorne Pierce, Life and Adventure. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1928), pp.444-50. This text was reprinted 24 times and was used throughout the entire period in Manitoba's public schools.

⁸¹I am referring here particularly to the persecution in schools of children who let it be known they did not believe in God. As a teacher, I have witnessed this myself on several occasions. I will make the assumption that the same persecution occurred in the period under examination.

⁸²Dickie and Palk, Pages From Canada's Story, pp.58,62.

⁸³F. Engels, "On Historical Materialism", cited in Maurice Levitas Marxist Perspectives in the Sociology of Education. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p.178.

⁸⁴Engels, "On Morality", The Marx-Engels Reader, p.726.

Chapter 6

THE STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The period of 1945 to 1960 is often described by historians as the Cold War period. Winston Churchill's 'celebrated' speech at Fulton Missouri on March 6, 1946, is frequently cited as the official beginning of cold war tension between socialism and capitalism.¹ As alluded to earlier, the origin of the Cold War can be found in the victory of socialism over fascism and the resultant emergence of the Soviet Union as a world power. Attending this was a general rise in working class consciousness and its accompanying demands on the capitalist system.²

While the specificities of the historical origins of the Cold War have been documented, the ideological dimension still remains fertile territory. The Cold War period represented a salient expression of bourgeois class rule where fear, intimidation, and coercion were employed to stem the rising tide of socialism and democratic impulses at home, matching the threat of war to contain socialism abroad. All the standard ideological devices operated, but with increased amplitude and bravado. At the same time the state became more obvious as an instrument of oppression.

The Gramscian extensions of Marxist thought provides a framework for an analysis of the social forces of this period

and particularly the repressive machinations of the state. Gramsci is essentially recognized for his celebrated Prison Notebooks where he developed and elucidated in codified and elliptical fashion the concept of hegemony. The introductory chapter of this thesis elaborated in general terms some of the canons of Gramsci's thought. At this point it is necessary to develop the notion of hegemony in more specific terms to better fix the events of the period within the theoretical apparatus. While several books have been written about Gramsci and his notion of hegemony, one of the most comprehensive and important studies is Perry Anderson's "The Antimonies of Antonio Gramsci".³ Much of what Anderson addresses regarding Gramsci is relevant to an understanding of the relationship between education and the hegemony of bourgeois ruling class power. In addition, Anderson's work reflects the fact that there is still an on-going debate with respect to an interpretation of Gramsci, and indeed the nature of bourgeois class rule.

One of the most important considerations when studying Gramsci is to remember the conditions under which he wrote his Prison Notebooks. His imprisonment and the censoring of his work resulted in a codified, cryptic, and fragmentary style requiring persistent scholarship to translate and reproduce in more orthodox style. At the same time there are several apparent ambiguities in his work requiring persistence and comprehensiveness. Anderson's work represents such a

scholarly and systematic lucubration.

Of distinct importance to this chapter was the nature of bourgeois class rule and the theoretical particulars related to consent and coercion. Gramsci, in much of his writings, oscillated between the idea of state and civil society.⁴ At times the state was equivalent to civil society and at other times they were separated. The idea of force was linked to the state (army, police, courts, law), while consent (hegemony) was linked to civil society (schools, churches, private organizations). As Anderson puts it, there appears an asymmetry between the state and civil society.⁵ Coercion is located in one (state) and not the other (civil society); consent is located in both. Anderson's solution to this apparent enigma is that what Gramsci was really saying meant the hegemony of the bourgeoisie was a combination of force and consent.⁶ But it remains a difficult problem to calibrate accurately this relationship. What Gramsci appeared to be pointing out was that the normal structure of capitalist political power in bourgeois democratic states is in effect simultaneously and indivisibly *dominated* by culture and *determined* by coercion. Anderson's interpretation appears validated by the particular form of bourgeois rule that operated during the Cold War. While the exercise of power was not 'normal', in that it was excessive, it was not 'abnormal' in the Marxist-Gramscian sense of responding explicitly to a revolutionary upsurge (counter-revolution).

Cultural domination is embodied in certain irrefutably concrete institutions; regular elections, civic freedoms, certain rights of assembly, none of which threaten bourgeois class rule. The day to day system of bourgeois rule is thus based on the consent of the masses in the form of an ideological belief that they exercise self-government in the representative state. But in the final analysis, bourgeois hegemony is underpinned by violence.

In our society, a relationship exists between repression and ideology, or coercion and consent.⁷ The normal conditions of ideological subordination, the day to day routines in school and society, are themselves constituted by a silent, absent force which functions as an energetic potentate; the monopoly of legitimate violence by the state. Deprived of this, the system of cultural control would become extremely fragile. So powerful is the underlying potential violence of the state, that paradoxically it does not appear to be present at all.

The development of crises necessarily displaces the dominance within the bourgeois power structure from ideology to violence. Coercion becomes both determinant and dominant in a supreme crisis and the police and army occupy the trenches abandoned by ideology in the class struggle.⁸ The fact that the dominant class in capitalist arrangements claims innocence of any such a scenario is not 'proof' of their neutrality but of the remoteness of the prospect to them. In fact,

any revolutionary crisis within a capitalist country must inevitably produce a reversion to the ultimate determinate of power: force. As Anderson succinctly puts it, "it is the rule of the end-game situation".⁹

Capitalist rule in Canada during the period under examination was characterized by the alloy of coercion and consent rather than by the singular nodal expression of force. But it still remains to explain the nature of the overtness of bourgeois rule in Western capitalist democracies and to what extent coercion or consent (force or ideology) was the salient mode of maintaining hegemony.¹⁰ Gramsci, according to Anderson, expressed in numerous passages throughout his Prison Notebooks references to combinations of the two.¹¹ But, as Anderson argues, Gramsci's work never succeeded in definitively or precisely locating either the position or the interconnection of repression and ideology within the structure of advanced capitalism.¹² Gramsci allowed the conclusion that bourgeois class power was primarily consensual. In this form, the idea of hegemony tends to manifest itself as both a dominant mode and a determinant mode of bourgeois power by suppressing the latter or fusing the two together. This tends to rule out the last instance of force.

The indeterminateness and lack of a precise relationship between force and consent makes it difficult to sort out in the period under examination, that which is coercive and that which is consensual. The fusion model, however, proposed by

Anderson provides the clue to a Marxist orientation. Any model of hegemony, that makes nugatory the reality of force, dilutes the reality of the class struggle. While the Cold War was by no means a response to a revolutionary crisis of capitalism in North America, the situation was markedly different in certain European countries. In Greece, the bourgeoisie, aided by the American and British bourgeoisie militarily put down an uprising. But in North America a clear distinction between force and consent was not clear. Viewing hegemony as singularly consensual essentially bourgeoisifies a most revolutionary concept. It is true that in North America the bourgeoisie were able to mobilize the anti-socialist forces within civil society to subdue working class consciousness. On the other hand, the state itself through its laws and police forces conducted a repressive campaign. The violence underpinning bourgeois rule vis a vis the state became partially visible but the absolute upfront use of force in the critical sense was not necessary. The ideological deceptive devices, however, articulated in an earlier chapter, were employed with new vigor, frequency, and scope. Fear was one of the major tactical modes employed by the bourgeoisie and their educational quislings during the Cold War. Fear and intimidation are more accurately associated with coercion than consent, but they can encompass both. This chapter will focus on those aspects of capitalist rule that are more closely associated with coercion, but the boundaries are indeterminate.

Anderson points out that Gramsci's idea of the state oscillated between three definitions:

state	contrasts with	civil society
state	encompasses	civil society
state	is identical with	civil society. ¹³

With Gramsci, these definitions were subject to sudden variations and mutations.¹⁴ This again is a result of the synthetic integration of the terms state and civil society. The state represents the coercive aspect of bourgeois rule while civil society represents consent. The difficulty, then, of categorizing precisely coercion or consent is solved to a large degree by viewing it as a fusion.

Education belongs on the terrain of civil society. Hence it is immediately associated with the consensual component of bourgeois rule. Consensus, however, is underpinned by such things as compulsory attendance laws. During the Cold War there was an intensification of ideological indoctrination linked to a repressive campaign being carried on directly by the state in the form of police actions and special laws.¹⁵ It is out of this duality of hegemony that events related to education and the Cold War will be analyzed.

The most direct form of state repression during this period involved the use of the local police and the R.C.M.P. Generally, they were instructed to infiltrate 'subversive' movements and harass relatives and friends of people suspected of being involved in the Peace Movement or socialist activity.

The fact that a 'subversive squad' operated in Winnipeg was first made public in 1949. Following an investigation of a physical altercation that grew out of a meeting organized by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (A.U.U.C.), Mayor Coulter announced the existence of the squad and that it "worked in conjunction with the R.C.M.P. in tracking down subversive activities within the city limits."¹⁶ The A.U.U.C. was (and is) an ethnic organization, many of whose members were (and are) also members of the Commonwealth Co-operative Federation (C.C.F.), Labour Progressive Party (Communist Party, L.P.P.), or Manitoba Peace Council. They were the object of considerable police harassment and with respect to the aforementioned incident were found responsible. Their ethno-political opponents, the Ukrainian Nationalist Party, who were also involved in the incident were exonerated and publicly congratulated for their co-operation in the investigation.¹⁷ It was a characteristic tactic of the bourgeoisie in this period to falcitate and praise individuals or groups who demonstrated anti-socialism.

The work of the 'subversive squad' and the R.C.M.P. had no particular boundaries, and one of their favourite targets was the harassment of close relatives of known working class activists. The aim of the bourgeoisie was to create an atmosphere of fear based on intimidation. The following is an account of such harassment and the details contrast sharply with the state's continual pronouncements of 'freedom' and

'democracy'.

A group of women, who philosophically patterned themselves after Ann Rand,¹⁸ and whose spokesperson was Myrtle Gooch, wrote letters consistently to the newspapers that saw the 'Red menace' everywhere.¹⁹ The 'Reds' were behind unemployment insurance, old age pensions, welfare, and social reform. A high school student, who was studying Jonathon Swift and satire at the time decided to write a letter in response to Gooch's diatribes about 'Reds'. The letter was written in satirical form and following is part of it:

To the Editor;

Myrtle Gooch is doing an excellent job of exposing the 'Red' plot and how the 'Reds' work by advocating social reforms. But she really is slipping, slipping in many ways. Here is Christmas approaching and coming on to the scene will be Santa Claus. He wears a red coat, he is not hiding his appearance, and he is giving away things for nothing. Why isn't Myrtle Gooch doing something about this? There is a weakness in her vigilance!²⁰

While sitting in school, eating his lunch, the author of the letter was taken by two plain clothes men to an unmarked car. They were R.C.M.P. officers and proceeded to interrogate the student. The interrogation started out by complimenting the student on his fine academic background and stating what a fine future he had. This fine future, however, was contingent on one thing; the student was told he must report back regularly to these officers with information of who came and went from his parents' house. Both parents of the student

were active in the Peace Movement. The student refused to co-operate and was immediately threatened by being told that he would never be able to get a job. As a result of the incident, the mother of the student wrote three letters, one to David E. Fulton, Minister of Justice, one to Lester B. Pearson, Leader of the Opposition, and one to T. C. Douglas, Leader of the C.C.F. The letter to Fulton and Pearson brought no results, but the bourgeoisie were backed into a corner when Douglas raised the question in the House of Commons during question period. The story immediately became a national story and swarms of reporters converged on the student's home. The R.C.M.P., who previously denied any knowledge of the incident were forced to admit that it in fact had occurred but that it was an 'isolated incident'. This, however, was false since the parents of the student were deluged by hundreds of letters and phone calls describing similar instances. Many of the persons harassed were quite apolitical, which demonstrated that state repression was not just directed at activists but its intrinsic objective was to create an atmosphere of fear. For instance,²¹ a prominent Winnipeg journalist, who in his younger days as a musician, played at many Labour Temples, was barred from the United States. This came about because he had refused to obey R.C.M.P. orders to stop playing in these halls. The incident demonstrates clearly the collaboration between the American and Canadian ruling classes.

The tactics employed by the R.C.M.P. are described by the sociologists, F. Mann and J. A. Lee in their book The R.C.M.P. vs. the People:

In 'friendly territory' (such as Regina or Winnipeg) the R.C.M.P. would not have to resort to such methods [referring to methods used in Quebec]. They would have to rely on more traditional tactics, of which a favourite is the 'noisy investigation'. An R.C.M.P. officer simply visits the targets' friends, neighbours, and employer, to 'make some enquiries' and perhaps hint that the target is a 'Red'. The threat of such an enquiry may persuade an individual to co-operate with the R.C.M.P.

Often the person who was in fact a member of a radical group or active in the Peace Movement was left unharrassed. The 'target' was usually a friend or relative and they were either used as informers or as 'scare fronts' in order to sway the commitment of the activist. Often this approached bizarre configurations. For instance, a friend of the sister of a teacher active in the Peace Movement in Winnipeg, who happened to be a member of the Toronto Board of Education, was denied entry into the United States and categorized as a 'communist' by U.S. immigration authorities.²³

The oppressive tentacles of bourgeois state power reached everywhere and often distant and past connections with movements today considered meritorious resulted in denial of democratic rights. The Toronto Symphony Orchestra, conducted by the eminent Sir Earnest MacMillan, was refused entry into United States because Sir Earnest had once been a sponsor for

the Committee to Aid Loyalist Spain. To obtain entry, the orchestra had to dismiss two musicians accused by the U.S. authorities of being 'communists'.²⁴ In Winnipeg, the famous artist Lemoine FitzGerald, often associated with the Group of Seven, was also denied entry into the United States because he had once sponsored the Committee to Aid Victims of Franco.

Well known and open members of the Labour Progressive Party (The Communist Party of Canada) were denied entry into the United States through information supplied by Canadian authorities. In Manitoba this involved school trustees, Mary Kardash, Margaret Chunn, and Joseph Zuken. The prominent Winnipeg lawyer and now law professor, Roland Penner, was also denied travel rights in the United States while he was a student at the University of Manitoba.²⁵ In 1947 Penner was refused permission to cross American territory under its Communist Screening Law. He was returning from the World Youth Festival in Prague. This touched off a long standing 'controversy' over communism on the campus of the University of Manitoba. The student newspaper, The Manitoban, criticized the United States for its action. This resulted in hundreds of letters to the editor of The Manitoban accusing the University of promoting communism. The kind of pressure that was brought to bear on academia and the pursuance of scholarly activity can be ascertained from the following statement made at the University of Manitoba by the National

Director of the Social Credit Party:

I would sincerely welcome the full co-operation of all our educational institutions in exposing the Communist conspiracy and clearing Marx and his atheism out of our schools and colleges and letting Christ and his immutable truths in.²⁶

Lester B. Pearson, at the time Secretary of State for External Affairs, declared, "I hope we may never succumb to the black madness of the witch-hunt."²⁷ Contrary to this ideological perjury were the facts. While not on the scale of the witch-hunt in the United States, there was a witch-hunt in Canada. The barring of Professor Fairly of Toronto and Shortliffe of Queens from the U.S.A. led to repercussions concerning their jobs in Canada.²⁸ Dr. George Hunter, after twenty years service as head of the University of Alberta's biochemistry department was arbitrarily fired.²⁹ Hunter was the chairman of the Edmonton Peace Council and the Calgary Herald reported that his dismissal was because of "political interference from above".³⁰

Joseph Zuken, Winnipeg School Trustee, and member of the L.P.P. was the target of vigorous discrimination within the confines of the school board itself. The discrimination reflected the orientation of the public school system. In 1958 Zuken was by-passed as Winnipeg's delegate to Canada's first Canadian Conference on Education. Trustee Zuken charged that action to nominate Trustee Stewart instead of himself was "vicious discrimination of a political nature"³¹ since he had

made the original motion to hold the conference at the Canadian Schools Trustees Association Convention in 1956. Trustee Nina Patrick stated that Zuken was the best qualified member to represent the board but "because of his political affiliation it is difficult to let him represent the board."³²

The general atmosphere of fear created by the bourgeoisie through direct state repression spilled over into civil society. The educational landscape became fertile ground for rampant reproduction of capitalist ideology. The educational system, maintains Lamb, discounted rationality as a form of thought.³³ In 1947, at the Ontario College of Education, a panel discussion was held on the theme, 'Was Human Progress Possible?' The panel members came to the conclusion that because of man's 'innate sinfulness' human progress was not possible. One of the professors at the college offered what Lamb referred to as a mild defense of man's ability to work towards a better social order.³⁴ Lamb said that he was so bitterly attacked for his ideas that he slumped back unable to muster a rebuttal.

So strong was the drift to irrationality that it swept religion into areas and concerns that have traditionally been considered secular. The Tuxis and Older Boy's Parliament spent an entire afternoon debating charges that the leadership of community clubs was becoming atheistic.³⁵ This symbolic parliament passed a bill calling for a re-allocation of funds

from community clubs to church groups "so as to bring youth to church guidance".

Rationality gave way to religious dogma and found its way into the most unsuspecting and surprising areas. Science films depicting plant growth in slow motion often ended with prayers or benedictions insinuating that anything as marvelous as that had to be the work of 'God'.³⁷ Lamb maintains there was a clear attempt to discredit dialectics and rational thought. Undoubtedly this was part of the aim of the intensified campaign to include more religion in public education. In his Annual Report to the Department of Education, J. A. Day, School Inspector for Division #14 (South Central Manitoba) wrote the following:

The development and maintenance of spiritual values are constant aims of parents, trustees, and teachers alike in this division. Here there is being built a strong bulwark against all ideologies foreign to the Canadian way of life.³⁸

The same irrationality vis a vis religion found its way into teachers organizations. In 1948, at the Ontario Secondary Schools Teachers' Federation, a motion was brought to the floor to begin the meeting with a prayer. It was defeated, however, as a result of an impassioned argument, based on the concept of 'freedom of religion', delivered by a recently arrived immigrant from Germany. Lamb maintains, that during this period, newly arrived Canadians (who were generally assumed to be anti-socialists) carried a considerable amount of

credibility and in the case just cited, his arguments, surprisingly against the motion, contributed to its defeat.³⁹

Many educators acted irresponsibly, in some cases bordering on the absurd. The following is part of a text of an address given to an assembly of students at Runnymede Collegiate in Toronto:

I am very unhappy about the instances of vandalism in this school. I think everybody should know that this goes far beyond this school. Stalin has his agents everywhere, Stalin is watching everything we do. Everytime a window is broken or a tile is removed, Stalin is applauding for his side because it is a victory for International Communism.⁴⁰

This was said in perfect earnestness and sincerity and however absurd and/or amusing it may appear today, it was not then. Related to this grotesque distortion of reality was fear and the basis for violence. There were reported instances of teachers and principals organizing mob violence against left-wing speakers. Tim Buck, Leader of the Labour Progressive Party, reported the following in National Affairs:

On Thursday, March 18 [1948], a high school student told me that his teacher had urged him and the other students in his class to attend my meeting and to bring things to throw at me because 'Russia is gobbling up all the little countries of Europe and is getting reading to send troops over here to gobble up Canada as well and Tim Buck is in the pay of Russia'.

In a college which might be called a junior university, the students were called together in the amphitheatre during school hours. There they were

urged to arm themselves with eggs and sling shots and not be afraid of using stones. They were urged to get down to the meeting early, to wait until the main speaker is introduced and then let go with the eggs and the sling shots and to be careful that he is more than dirtied.⁴¹

In Manitoba, the entire educational structure was constantly reminded and prodded about the 'evils' of socialism. The Manitoba School Trustee systematically and continuously presented diatribes against socialism. At times these were foolish and crude. They reflected a superficiality and lack of comprehension with respect to Marxism as an established body of thought. Typical was the following:

Marxism Discredited in One
Easy Lesson

The thought of Communism as a way of life in Canada and the United States is farthest from the minds of 99 percent of our people, but the Marxist thought of taking "from each according to his ability" and giving "to each according to his need" is not.

In fact, many students accept this theory without question. For them, it looks like a pretty shiny idea.

Through Mr. Leonard Read, of the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, we recently heard about a New York City high school teacher who attempted to explain the fallacy of this theory by using this approach with his pupils.

When one of the brighter or harder-working pupils made a grade of 95 on a test, he suggested that he take away 20 points and give them to a student who had made only 55 points on his test. Thus, each would be contributing according to his ability and--since both would have a passing mark--each would receive according to his need. After he had juggled the grades of all the other

pupils in this fashion, the result was usually a 'common ownership' grade of between 75 and 80, the figure needed for passing, or for survival. Then he speculated with the pupils as to the probable results if he actually used this socialistic theory for grading papers.

First, the highly productive pupils--and they are usually a minority in school as well as in life--would soon lose all incentive for producing. Why strive to make a high grade if part is taken away by 'authority' and given to someone else?

Second, the less productive pupils--a majority in school as elsewhere--would, for a time, be relieved of the necessity to study or produce. This socialistic system would continue until the high producers had sunk--or had been driven down--to the level of the low producers. At that point, in order for anyone to survive, the 'authority' would have no alternative but to begin a system of compulsory labour and punishments against even the low producers. They, of course, would then complain bitterly, but without understanding.

Finally, the teacher returned the discussion to the ideas of freedom and enterprise--the market economy--where each person has freedom of choice, and is responsible for his own decisions and welfare.

Gratifyingly enough, most of his students understood what the teacher was trying to explain when he suggested that socialism--even in a democracy--would eventually turn all the people, except the 'authorities' and a few of their favourites and lackeys, into sheep.⁴²

The same journal often used a mocking immature style in attempting to discredit socialism. One such edition used four of its pages to present 'Laughs on the Commissars'.

This consisted of thirty-two 'jokes' at the expense of the "communist authorities and their police".⁴³ What is decidedly

significant was the paltry anti-intellectualism and anti-humanism.

Lamb argues that a black list of sorts was in operation during this period.⁴⁴ No verifiable evidence, however, is available to absolutely confirm this. But as Lamb puts it, "several times when I was interviewed for a job (and my Ontario College of Education background was above average), I was asked if there was any reason why I shouldn't be hired, while the interviewer thumbed over my file with a peculiar look on his face."⁴⁵

Keeping in mind the black list, it should be remembered that there was a great influx of immigrants into Canada during this period. In Manitoba between 1945 and 1950, 30,052 immigrants settled in Manitoba.⁴⁶ Many of these immigrants had pro-nazi orientations⁴⁷ and assisted the bourgeoisie in their ideological onslaught. Lamb maintains that "the more the new Canadians flaunted their anti-socialism, the more welcome they were."⁴⁸ She recalls a German immigrant who had no teaching experience in Germany and spoke very poor English but was given a job in a rural school teaching English to grades one to six. Lamb, who was the principal of this school at the time, said the teacher was a "dedicated nazi" and her appointment verified the policy of "how we love these new Canadians who hat the communists".⁴⁹

The state itself organized activities that quintessentially resulted in frightening young children and making it

easier for ideological manipulation. This consisted of mock atom bomb raid plans and civil defense teaching in the schools based on the dubious premise⁵⁰ that the Soviet Union was preparing to attack North America. By 1954, Manitoba's education officials decided that civil defense education should become part of the school curriculum.⁵¹ By 1955 a detailed plan, with special instructions for teachers, had been drawn up by educational and civil defense authorities. All children and teachers were to be thoroughly familiar with the procedures and precautions necessary to protect themselves from a thermo-nuclear attack. Part of the practise procedure included the following:

On a "Take Cover" signal, children would be taken to shelters where they would:

- Crouch on hands and knees, facing the wall, or drop flat if space permits.
- Pull a jacket or coat over head and arms and bury the face in arms to protect eyes.
- Refrain from looking into any sudden bright light, which a thermo-nuclear explosion gives off.
- Remain in shelter until otherwise instructed.⁵²

The fright generated by this form of psychological engineering prevented any rational discourse on socialism, indeed democracy! Critical thinking, in this context, was controlled by associating it with fear and anxiety. People can be effectively indoctrinated if unrelieved stress and anxiety can be associated with particular kinds of information.⁵³ The

information that is taken in under stress and anxious conditions gets 'locked into the brain'. It is taken in unanalyzed and later experiences which contradict the information tend to get ignored or distorted.⁵⁴ The intensity of the hysteria created by the civil defense exercises, linked to communism and socialism, made it difficult, if not impossible to explore rationally the value and validity of such systems.

This did not go unnoticed and unchallenged by everyone. Many sections of the working class opposed the various measures and plans drawn up to deal with atomic bomb raids. The L.P.P., C.C.F., and the Manitoba Peace Council all made representations against these measures. Alderman M. J. Forkin (L.P.P. city councillor) in a rebuttal to alderman J. Gurzon Harvey (vociferous advocate of civil defense) said that "if he wanted to put half of Winnipeg's population in the psychopathic ward, this was the way to do it."⁵⁵ John Marshall, Secretary of the Manitoba Peace Council, made the following points:

Such civil defense projects as this becomes inseparable from the insistent war propaganda designed to weaken the peace movement by convincing people that war is inevitable.

It creates needless fear and hysteria in our children with especially harmful effects. It should be our civic responsibility to train young minds for peace, not condition them for war.⁵⁶

Fear, anxiety, and mythical threats had no place in the public school system. They constituted an irresponsible abuse of the young person's mind.

During the Winnipeg 1919 General Strike, Winnipeg's Slavic community came under heavy attack, and hundreds, if not thousands, were deported through special amendments to the Immigration Act.⁵⁷ These Canadians were considered 'persona non grata' on the basis of being "revolutionary conspirators".⁵⁸ Marx once wrote, "world historical facts and personages occur as it were twice, the first time as tragedy, the second as farce".⁵⁴ This could be said of the predicament of Winnipeg's Slavic community in the light of events of 1919 and again 1953. The Cold War, as implied, produced disingenuous attacks in every nook and cranny of society where a socialist 'germ' could be discovered or conveniently fabricated. In the second instance it was Ukrainian ethnic education. "Seven Red Schools Operating in the City"⁶⁰ read the front page of the Winnipeg Tribune on March 3, 1953. The article went on to 'disclose' the following:

It is now known that the extent of Communist education of children is much more wide-spread than was uncovered at the start of the series.

Tuesday night, The Tribune investigated a third school conducted by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Point Douglas branch, with an enrolment of 20. The school operates at 197 Euclid Ave. It operates the same program as one of the previous schools mentioned.

Four other schools, one involving a large non-Slavic group of students, are also under

investigation. Night classes in Communism are not restricted to the North End of the city. Other schools are operating in East Kildonan, Transcona and St. Boniface.⁶¹

Under attack was the ethnic program of a large section of the Ukrainian community carried on in Winnipeg's Labour Temples since 1931. The attack consisted of a ten-day continuous 'expose' led by the Winnipeg Tribune and could easily be interpreted as a McCarthy witch-hunt. The newspaper produced 'exhibits' purporting to show the kind of education that was going on in these 'communist schools'. The 'exhibits' consisted of books, printed in the U.S.S.R., depicting poverty in Canada during the depression.⁶² A caption in one of the books under a picture of a mother holding a baby read, "Rich land, Canada, but the nation lives in poverty."⁶³ This of course was a clear and accurate picture of Canada during the hungry thirties but was being framed in such a way as to appear inaccurate and subversive.

Essentially the schools were ethnic in character and provided Ukrainian education that was to some degree sympathetic to socialism but on the other hand reflected the new socialist reality of the Soviet Ukraine.

The main subject taught was the Ukrainian language with geography and history as supplements. The following is a statement made in defense of the hysterical attack made against the ethnic schools. The statement reflects what today is

considered a right within Canada's official multi-cultural orientation:

Our organization, the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, categorically rejects the charges of The Winnipeg Tribune on this issue for what these are: an irresponsible newspaper hoax; a fabrication from beginning to end!

If certain interests in this community can succeed in prohibiting one national group from teaching their children the language, history and people's culture of their fathers, of their kinsmen and country, then all groups--be they French, Icelandic, Jewish, and others--stand in danger of a similar fate.

We declare that not a single lesson taught in our schools in any way detracts from the basic truths of good citizenship of love and loyalty for our country--Canada!

We have sought to retain the best in the traditions and culture of our forefathers, preserving and cultivating it from one generation to another, so as to instill, as good and loyal Canadians a love of all peoples and of all humanity.⁶⁴

Careful examination of all the articles presented by the Winnipeg Tribune revealed very little if any substantial evidence that these were 'Red Schools'. What the Tribune did do, however, was to provide a medium by which various members of the community could unleash emotional diatribes against socialism and proclaim their allegiance to Canada.⁶⁵ There was also an attempt to pit one section of the Ukrainian community against the other; a tactic that has been repeatedly used by the bourgeoisie throughout Canadian history. Most of the statements made in the press were intense manifestations

of ideological deception elaborated on previously. Specifically there existed no evidence to link these schools to 'subversive' activity even though the Provincial Attorney's office and the Minister of Justice's office attempted to discover such a link. The Winnipeg Police said that they knew of the 'set-up' but could take no action.⁶⁶ The Minister of Education met with the Attorney-General and agreed to "assemble the facts to see what possible field of action is open for countering the 'Red propaganda'."⁶⁷

Much can be said for the fact that the whole episode represented a fabrication.⁶⁸ Close scrutiny of the facts shows that the schools had been operating for twenty-two years. Secondly, the story arose very suddenly and closed the same way. Thirdly, the story broke on the eve of a provincial election and appeared designed to swing votes away from William Kardash, L.P.P., long standing M.L.A. from Winnipeg's North End. The bourgeoisie attempted to unseat Kardash in a 'smear' fashion⁶⁹ before but it had failed. Socialist representation in Manitoba's legislature was finally eliminated in 1958 through electoral boundary gerrymandering.

Perhaps one of the most revealing episodes during the Cold War period involved the Home and School Association of Inkster Elementary School. The occurrence demonstrated at once the cultural hegemony of the state exercised through civil society, the power of the press, the hypocrisy of the

bourgeoisie, ideological manipulation, and the resultant trepidations of the social order brought on by the Cold War.

On May 3, 1955 a delegation of eight women approached the Winnipeg School Board to speak on behalf of Trustee Joseph Zuken's motion that the Winnipeg School Board reinstate the instrumental music and swimming programs. Head of the delegation was Anne Ross,⁷⁰ President of the Inkster Home and School Association. Within days the following headlines splashed across the Winnipeg Free Press:

How the Reds Invaded the Inkster Home and School. 'What could ordinary people do?' asks ex-president, 'They're trained for things like this?'

The full page story went on to describe how the 'Reds' 'got control' of the Inkster Home and School Association. Originally several members of the Peace Movement attended a meeting of the Home and School Association to protest civil defense exercises at the school. The ex-president of the association described it the following way:

Suddenly, these people began to take over the meeting. They were on their feet one after the other. They hammered away about war-mongering in the schools. They said our children were going to be war-minded.

"What could we do about it? We can't make speeches like those people. They're trained for things like this. We're just ordinary people. And they're convincing. Even my wife was taken in and was going to vote for a protest. Practically nobody spoke against the idea."⁷¹

The same ex-president described their 'behavior' during the on-coming year:

They wanted us to get into all sorts of things home and school associations shouldn't deal with. At meetings they'd heckle and interrupt me until I got so confused I didn't know what I was doing.

This same ex-president resigned and Anne Ross was elected president. The principal of Inkster School, Lewis Walker argued the following:

I found the association sending feelers into all sorts of irrelevant endeavors-- a tot lot, a playground area, and the re-opening of an Inkster school rink. Delegations were being planned to this board and that.⁷²

The above statement reveals the anti-democratic character of the Cold War period. The kind of involvement of the Home and School Association objected to by the principal stands today as an ideal model for community involvement.

The Home and School Association Federation attempted to discredit Ross by checking into the kinds of films the Home and School Association were showing. They turned out to be children's classics and mental health films.⁷³ Behind this lay the bourgeois planted notion that 'communists' showed pornographic films or subversive films.

The Winnipeg Free Press on reporting the meeting at which the 'Reds' 'took over' published five pictures. The captions in essence represented an ideological melodrama. Under the pictures of the 'Reds', J. Gilbey, Ann Ross, and Joseph Zuken,

were the respective descriptions, "Community Influence Man", "A New Field of Endeavor" and "On a Fateful Night, a Visitor".⁷⁴ Under the photographs of the principal Lewis Walker and alderman Peter Taraska was the singular caption, "They Bucked Red Invasion".⁷⁵ Under a photograph of Inkster School read the caption, "In Peaceful Inkster School, Communism Won a Battle".

The press coverage produced the desired results. There was immediately launched an investigation into the legality of the Inkster Home and School Association Executive. More than one hundred and fifty parents of children attending Inkster School signed a petition that the Home and School Association be disbanded.⁷⁶

What was taking place throughout this entire affair was a witch-hunt organized by the state and mediated by local quislings. The petition represented the fear, anxiety, and irrationality generated by Cold War extremism. But like the 'Red Schools' affair, this affair died away as fast as it arose for the bourgeoisie had no room to manoeuvre. Their own legal democratic apparatus demonstrated that the 'Red' executive had in fact been legally elected. The following press release ended the saga:

The Manitoba Home and School federation Thursday night declared that the Communist-run Inkster association was "legally and democratically" elected--and the election of its executive officers could not, therefore, be put aside.

The federation statement was read to a special meeting of Inkster school parents who were gathered to discuss a 214-name petition demanding that the association be disbanded.

The Manitoba federation declared that the elected officers have been legally in office since April 21 and will hold office until the installation of their successors.

The statement said the federation fully appreciated the "disturbed feelings and emotions" of the district residents.

But it added that "unfortunately" the situation, (control of the association by Communists) had been brought about by the apathy of Inkster parents.

"The remedy," it declared, "lies within this group." 77

But the ideological damage was in fact successful. Fear, anxiety, and irrationality won the day. The children of Anne Ross suffered incredibly at the hands of other children ostensibly directed by their parents and teachers. The press showed itself to be integrally involved as the hand maiden of the bourgeoisie in developing an atmosphere of repression. The very essence of democracy was in fact being attacked, for the organizational skills possessed by these individuals and criticized so severely, were precisely the skills demanded of Canada's parliamentarians. At the same time, the specific concerns of the 'communist run' Inkster Home and School Association are today considered a nascent right of every child and an obligation of society vis a vis the public school system.

It is difficult to pinpoint the end of the Cold War, but the Cuban Missile Crisis seemed to be the last dramatic confrontation between capitalism and socialism prior to the be-

ginning of a 'thaw'. The overt and coercive aspect of bourgeois rule set back democracy particularly and the advancement of rational thought generally. With respect to the latter, which encompassed education, concrete manifestations of retardation can be documented. In 1952, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent announced in the House of Commons that Canada "will have a National Library but unless world tension eases it's going to be a long term project."⁷⁸ More specifically St. Laurent was referring to the drain on the budget by Canada's war effort contraposed to the advancement of peace and education.⁷⁹ But perhaps most indicative of the cardinal compass point of bourgeois rule during this period can be found in the two hundred thousand word Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences headed by the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, tabled in the House of Commons in May, 1951.⁸⁰ It appears on page 275 and puts forward the following:

Our military defenses must be made secure; but our cultural defences equally demand national attention; *the two cannot be separated.*⁸¹ [My italics.]

This, in the author's persuasion, best sums up the bankruptcy of Canada's bourgeois cultural orientation during the Cold War period. It illustrated the dilemma of the Canadian ruling class during the rise of working class consciousness. A bleak future was being presented to the people of Canada!

It is also quite clear that culture was inextricably

linked to the aims of the bourgeois state. It is a peninsular example of Gramsci's symbiotic duality of coercion and consent manifested through hegemony. Education suffered in many of the tangible ways discussed throughout this thesis and in many intangible ways related to the prorogation of rational critical inquiry. Behind it all was the power of the state, the instrument of the bourgeoisie. It underpinned their ideological dictatorship and sponsored the mobilization of forces within civil society that prevented the advancement of democracy and worked against the interests of the vast majority.

Notes

¹H. L. Trefousse, ed., The Cold War. (New York: Capricorn Books, 1966), p.73.

²Interview with William Ross, Leader of the Communist Party of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 26 March 1980.

³Perry Anderson, "The Antimonies of Antonio Gramsci", New Left Review 100 (November 1976 - January 1977): 6-94.

⁴Ibid., p.41.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p.42.

⁷Ibid., p.43.

⁸Ibid., p.44.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰This particular question is of paramount importance if class conscious stratum are to develop some kind of strategy with respect to opposition of capitalist rule and establishment of socialism.

¹¹Ibid., p.45.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p.13.

¹⁴Ibid., p.22.

¹⁵In 1951, special amendments to the criminal code were passed by Parliament. Known as the 'Garson Amendments' (after Stuart Garson, Minister of Justice and former Premier of Manitoba) they changed the definition of treason from an act, to intent. The Canadian Peace Movement charged that this particular amendment was aimed at inhibiting protest against Canadian involvement in the Korean War. There is no doubt that this amendment gave sweeping arbitrary powers to the state.

¹⁶Winnipeg Tribune, 22 November 1949.

- ¹⁷Ibid.
- ¹⁸Interview with Mildred Lamb, Retired teacher, Winnipeg, 26 March 1980.
- ¹⁹Ibid.
- ²⁰Ibid.
- ²¹Ibid.
- ²²Edward Mann and John Alan Lee, The R.C.M.P. vs. the People. (Don Mills: General Publishing Company, 1979), p.185.
- ²³Lamb, Interview.
- ²⁴Ibid.
- ²⁵Winnipeg Free Press, 12 November, 1947.
- ²⁶Winnipeg Tribune, 13 February, 1950.
- ²⁷National Affairs, 8 (September, 1949): 777.
- ²⁸Ibid., 4 (April, 1950): 3.
- ²⁹Ibid., 8 (September, 1949): 777.
- ³⁰Ibid.
- ³¹Winnipeg Tribune, 15 January 1958.
- ³²Ibid.
- ³³Lamb, Interview.
- ³⁴Ibid.
- ³⁵Winnipeg Free Press, 30 December, 1948.
- ³⁶Ibid.
- ³⁷Lamb, Interview.
- ³⁸Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1949-50, p.61.
- ³⁹Lamb, Interview.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Tim Buck, National Affairs, (May, 1948): 155.

⁴²Manitoba School Trustee, (October, 1951): 18.

⁴³Ibid., 4 (November, 1952): 7-10.

⁴⁴Lamb, Interview.

⁴⁵Ibid. At this point it should be noted that M. Lamb herself had been active in the Peace Movement.

⁴⁶Winnipeg Free Press, 27 October 1951.

⁴⁷Much evidence is now surfacing to render this a valid generalization. See in particular Michael Hanusiak, Lest We Forget. (Toronto: Progress Books, 1976). *Inter alia* see The Winnipeg Tribune, 8 April 1980.

⁴⁸Lamb, Interview.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰This to some extent still remains a debate. There does exist, however, a large body of knowledge that suggests it was not a real threat but a lie, fabricated to strengthen the hand of capitalism. While the specificities of the argument are peripheral to this thesis, some comment and referencing is required.

It is the belief of this author that the Soviet Union was not a threat to either Canada or North America. The reader is asked to consult the following sources to ascertain the reasons for this position. V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971); "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", pp.401-3; "Left Wing, Childishness and Petty Bourgeois Mentality", pp.435-8; "Speech at a Plenary Session of the Moscow Soviet, November 20, 1922", pp.672-80; "Better Fewer, But Better", pp.709-11. David S. McLellan, The Cold War in Transition, (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1966), pp.1-38. Isaac Deutscher, "Myths of the Cold War", in Containment and Revolution, ed. David Horowitz, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), pp.13-26. Athan Theoharis, Seeds of Repression, (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971). University of Toronto Communist Club, Anti-Sovietism and Cold War Ideology, (Toronto: N.P., 1972). Andrew Rothstein, ed., History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960), pp.606-744.

⁵¹Winnipeg Free Press, 1 February 1954.

⁵²Ibid., 15 September, 1955.

⁵³Bruce Rappaport, "Towards a Marxist Theory and Practice of Teaching", in Theodore Mills Norton and Bertell Ollman, ed., Studies in Socialist Pedagogy. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), p.279.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Winnipeg Tribune, 12 December 1950.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Mann, Lee, The R.C.M.P. vs. the People, p.116. Also see Norman Penner, The Winnipeg 1919 Strike. (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1973).

⁵⁸Ibid., p.110. In the Union Movement the R.C.M.P. used the term 'Agent Provocateurs'.

⁵⁹Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", Marx-Engels Reader, p.594.

⁶⁰Winnipeg Tribune, 3 March 1953.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid., 5 March 1953.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., 7 March 1953.

⁶⁶Ibid., Also see 6 March 1953.

⁶⁷Ibid., 6 March 1953.

⁶⁸Ibid., 5 March 1953.

⁶⁹The editorial page of the Winnipeg Free Press relentlessly attacked Kardash. See for instance 10 December 1948. In 1956 the Canadian Government barred Kardash from a northern inspection tour by M.L.A.'s of military installations because he was considered a 'security risk'. According to Kardash, the order to bar came from U.S. military representatives on the joint council. See The Winnipeg Tribune, 27 July 1956 and 28 July 1956.

⁷⁰It is of some significance to mention that Anne Ross was a community activist, active in the Peace Movement, and wife of Bill Ross, Provincial Leader of the Manitoba L.P.P.

⁷¹Winnipeg Free Press, 6 May 1955.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid., 30 May 1955.

⁷⁷Ibid., 10 June 1955.

⁷⁸Winnipeg Tribune, 21 May 1952.

⁷⁹Ibid. The war effort specifically referred to here is Canada's involvement in the Korean conflict.

⁸⁰John Stewart, "Ideological Preparation for War", National Affairs, 9 (September, 1951): 34-53.

⁸¹Ibid., p.34.

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters of this dissertation have examined the reproduction of capitalism through ideology. It has primarily focused on education and the related circuitry within the superstructure. Throughout the thesis a major theme has been that in the social production of life, people enter into definite relations that correspond to the development of certain material forces. Upon these definite economic conditions rises a legal and political superstructure corresponding to these material forces. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general.

Chapters two and three articulate and weave together the economic, political, and educational elements demonstrating how the educational system responded to changes and criticisms, yet continued to function within and for the capitalist formation. The structural and curriculum changes that occurred as a result of the progressivism-traditionalism dialectic benefitted both the bourgeoisie and the working class. The differentiated and broadened curriculum, particularly in the vocational area, provided increased opportunities for students, but only within the context of capitalist class relations. Much of what the labour movement was pressing for with respect to education paralleled that of

the progressive bourgeoisie. The so-called 'standards' debate that foreshadowed the demise of the departmental examinations resulted in the rise of the secondary school population. But the function of an external exam operating as a social class separator was replaced by streaming techniques. Dialectically, these events demonstrated that education has a dual antagonistic character. On the one hand, the educational system tends to reinforce and reproduce the existing class relations of exploitation, social inequality, and the political rule of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the education system leads to the aggravation of class antagonisms through the growth of knowledge, self-awareness, cohesion, and general enlightenment. This process transcends the period under study. The social structure, however, has always determined the essence and character of the educational system, not the reverse. This was made abundantly clear throughout the thesis. Above all, the content of education is elaborated and propagated by the ideologues of the ruling class and sanctioned through state power.

A second major theme running through the dissertation is that of the state as organizer of hegemony. Late capitalism has been forced to organize the consent of the subaltern classes to bourgeois domination and at the same time to arrange a consensus uniting the bourgeoisie in order to facilitate capitalist accumulation and to permit the bourgeoisie as a whole to

remain dominant. The concept of hegemony reflects the dual nature of bourgeois rule. It encompasses the seemingly contradictory anti-podes of consent and coercion. The two are linked by the fact that ideological reproduction (consent) is made operable or determined by the repressive apparatus of the state (force).

It was primarily the organic and inorganic intellectuals within the local social order who designed the specificities of the form and character of ideology. The general features of capitalist ideology were determined by capitalist relations in the entire world. The three main groups of ideologues referred to in this thesis were the School Trustees, the Manitoba Department of Education, and the clergy. To be sure, the superstructural matrix possessed other engines of ideology, but these groups represented the upper portion of the educational hierarchy. In organizing consent, they employed the various categories of ideology and the attendant forms of social consciousness. This was pivotal to the consent component of hegemony. Three content categories were examined in order to elaborate the reproductive process; the Monarchy, capitalist democracy, and religion. All three functioned hegemonically within the school system acting ideologically in subordinating the masses to capitalism. While the Monarchy was relatively pervasive within the system, it was the abstract and capitalist concept of democracy that

occupied centre stage in the reproductive process. The bourgeoisie persistently and endlessly put forward the notion that existing class relations were a democratic arrangement.

Religion was closely linked to capitalist democracy and functioned as a complimentary vehicle. While the bourgeoisie advanced the idea that the church and state were separate, this thesis has shown that religion played a large part in the educational system.

A third theme contained within this dissertation was the effect of the Cold War on society as a whole, and education specifically. To a large degree, the Cold War defined the character of the period. The Cold War brought the coercive aspect of hegemony into visibility. The R.C.M.P. and the police were actively involved in subverting movements and ideas that appeared threatening to capitalism. The educational system was directly affected by the Cold War both financially and ideologically. Intellectual life almost ground to a halt and rational critical inquiry was stifled. The entire atmosphere during this period adumbrated the explosive sixties.

In conclusion, this thesis has shown that the system of bourgeois education moved toward reproducing and reinforcing the existing class structure of society. As it was one hundred years ago, the system was designed to reinforce the privileges of the ruling class and spread their ideology.

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