

Notes

Introduction

1. Venezuela was re-designated “The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela” in the new constitution enacted after the election of socialist president Hugo Chávez Frías in 1999. The new constitution, written with the direct participation of the Venezuelan people, was approved in a popular referendum by 70 percent of the vote. The country was named after the Venezuelan Simon Bolivar, who helped liberate Venezuela from the Spanish in the nineteenth century.
2. The original main title of this book was *Racism, Schooling, and Education in the U.K. and the U.S.* However, it was felt that the inclusion of the word “Schooling” would make the title clumsy and ambiguous. While the focus of the book is the years of compulsory attendance at schools rather than further or higher education, education has the potential to be a liberatory process, society-wide rather than just in educational *institutions* in the conventional sense of the term. This societal process of liberation is occurring currently in Venezuela (see chapter 5 of this volume).
3. It is not my intent here to provide overviews of the work of Gramsci and Althusser. For analyses of Gramsci, see, for example, Giuseppe, F. (1970); Boggs (1976); Buci-Glucksmann (1980). For Althusser, see, for example, Callinicos (1976); Kaplan and Sprinkler (eds.) 1993; Elliott (2006).
4. Stalinism refers to political systems that have the characteristics of the Soviet Union from 1928 when Joseph Stalin became leader (his leadership lasted until 1953). The term refers to a repressive and oppressive form of government by dictatorship, which includes the purging by exile or death of opponents, mass use of propaganda, and the creation of a personality cult around the leader.
5. My views on the concept of “ethnicity” are dealt with at length in Cole (2003).
6. The following analysis of racism draws on and develops Cole, 2009a, pp. 38–41.
7. “Ideological” when used by Marxists means ideas that act in the interests of the capitalist class.
8. The thrust of Herrnstein and Murray’s (1994) arguments in *The Bell Curve* is an unabashed defense of social inequality, attributing wealth and poverty to superior versus inferior genetically determined intellectual abilities. The political conclusion of *The Bell Curve* is a rejection of all policies aimed at ameliorating social injustice. Attempts to reduce inequality do not work, they conclude, because of inequality of endowments. It is thus “time for America once

- again,” they argue, “to try living with inequality” (Herrnstein and Murray, *ibid.*, p. 551).
9. Ellis, erstwhile lecturer in Russian and Slavonic Studies at Leeds University, told the student newspaper that he supported the theory developed by Herrnstein and Murray that white people are more intelligent than black people. (He also said that women did not have the same intellectual capacity as men [Taylor, M., 2006.] According to Matthew Taylor, Ellis first came to prominence in 2000 “when he traveled to the U.S. to speak at the American Renaissance conference, an event described by anti-fascist campaigners as a three-day rally bringing together the scientific racism movement.” Apparently the event attracts organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. In one of his books, Ellis states that the fascist British National Party (BNP) “is the only party in Britain that has consistently attacked the scandalously high levels of legal and illegal immigration” (*ibid.*).
 10. Miles’s discussions of racism, as an exemplar of neo-Marxist analysis, are probably the most widely cited in the U.K. I should point out that my definition of racism is different from that favored by Miles and his associates who are totally against inflating the concept of racism (see the Appendix to this Introduction for a discussion).
 11. Steve Fenton (2003, p. 164) has used the term “ethnic majoritarian thinking” to describe the process of making a distinction between the (ethnic) majority, an almost unspoken “us,” and members of minority ethnic communities. This way of thinking is perhaps epitomized in the use of “our” in the title of the (1981) U.K. Rampton Report, *West Indian Children in Our Schools* (see chapter 4, pp. 118–119 of this volume). This distinction is underlined more recently by the fact that in Britain, for example, British Muslims have to substantiate their allegiance to Britain. After the Forest Gate terror raid (where the police raided the home of two innocent Muslim brothers, one of whom was shot, though not fatally; see Cole and Maisuria, 2010), the media highlighted the fact that the brothers stated they were “born and bred” East Londoners and they “loved Britain” (Getty, 2006, p. 5) (for a discussion of “Britishness,” see chapter 4 of this volume).
 12. The “Tea Party” movement is named after the 1773 rebellion in Boston, Massachusetts, which preceded the American Revolution (see chapter 3 of this volume) and signaled the end of British colonial rule. As Gary Younge (2010) argues, what unites the “Tea Party” is not an agenda, but anger. As he explains, many “are regular anti-tax, small-government social conservatives,” but some, who tend to be the loudest, “believe Obama is a Muslim communist who was not born in the US.” The Southern Poverty Law Center, the most prominent civil rights group focused on hate organizations, noted that a recent poll found that the Tea Party movement is viewed in more positive terms than either the Democratic or Republican parties (SPLC, 2010a). The movement is heavily funded by Republican oil billionaires, the Koch brothers (Goldenberg, 2010).
 13. Fascism is a political philosophy based on racism and a strong patriotic belief in the nation. Once in power fascists centralise authority under a dictatorship, and promote belligerent nationalism. Workers and their organizations are smashed, as is any form of opposition through terror and censorship. Fascism tends to arise when capitalist democracy becomes unable to sustain capitalism. As Leon Trotsky put it, “[t]he historic function of fascism is to

- smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery” (Trotsky, 1944).
14. Maria Papapolydorou (2010) has pointed out that for Miles (1989) racism is associated with modes of production but not limited to *capitalist* modes of production, and that, according to Miles, racialization and racism predate capitalist societies. As Miles, 1989, p. 99, puts it, neither are “exclusive ‘products’ of capitalism but have origins in European societies prior to the development of the capitalist mode of production.” While I acknowledge this, my focus in this volume is specifically on the way in which racialization connects to capitalist modes of production (and to patterns of migration). This is not to say, of course, that all instances of racism are directly or even indirectly linked to capitalism, economics and politics. In racialized societies, racism is experienced with massive and constant frequency in countless situations. The point I am making is that without the neo-Marxist concept of racialization, it is impossible to have a full understanding of racism historically and contemporaneously. For a discussion of different uses of the concept of racialization, both (neo-) Marxist and non-Marxist, see Murji and Solomos (eds.) 2005.
 15. Sexist language was the norm before the advent of the twentieth-century feminist movement. I will thus resist the temptation to comment each time it occurs in citations in this volume. Today sexist language tends to be absent from the printed word. When it occurs, one must presume it is there out of ignorance, or because the writer is deliberately being sexist.
 16. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (Macpherson, 1999) followed a lengthy public campaign initiated by the parents of black teenager Stephen Lawrence, murdered by racist thugs in 1993. A bungled police investigation means that there have been no convictions. The report looked at racism in the Metropolitan Police and other British institutions, and acknowledged the existence of institutional racism in the police, the education system, and other institutions in the society. In subsequent years, the concept of institutional racism has been under sustained political attack in the U.K. (see chapter 4 of this volume for a discussion).
 17. I have included continent-wide and global institutions in my definition. The former, for example, would incorporate xeno-racism and xeno-racialization in the case of Europe, in light of the enlargement of the European Union (see chapter 2 of this volume for a discussion). With respect to the global dimension, modes of production throughout the world have become globally racialized in new ways and have created new institutionally racist structures. In an analysis, which is essentially postmodern but informed by Marxism, Bhattacharyya et al. (2002) have provided a number of insights that can aid in the development of our understanding of a Marxist concept of racialization. Their argument is that, in the global economy, racialization has taken on new forms; for example, the way in which the World Trade Organization has supported multinationals against developing world farmers (*ibid.*, p. 30); how “downsizing” has spawned a revival of old-fashioned sites and forms of production like “sweatshops” and homeworking (p. 31); and the general way in which high street goods on sale in the West are produced by excessively exploited labor in developing countries (pp. 32–33). Bhattacharyya et al. make interesting observations on new forms of institutional racism, such as the “prison-industrial complex,” which “performs the oldest management

- tricks in the book—undercuts wages, exploits the most constrained workforce imaginable and, through this, disrupts the organization of workers on the outside” (ibid., p. 43), and on the role of the WTO and the IMF in the debt crisis (pp. 111–136). The spatial proximity of the racialized poor and the rich, they point out, is needed “because insurance companies, law firms, banks, etc., need cleaners, porters and gardeners: they also need entertainment both for their own workforce and for their international clients” (p. 131). In addition, they attempt to extend Marxist analysis by noting the way in which biotechnology and genetic modification extends the idea of ownership to the organic world (pp. 116–121).
18. I use “Latina/o” in order to be inclusive of both women and men. Where “Latino” appears on its own in this volume, I am citing someone who, for whatever reason, has not used the inclusive term.
 19. Since my primary purpose is to examine the contribution of Gramsci and Althusser to theorizing racism, schooling, and education, I do not deal in this volume with theoretical developments that have taken place in (neo-) Marxist educational theory since the interventions of Gramsci and Althusser. I have, however, addressed some of this work in Cole (ed.) (1988) and Cole, 2008a, chapter 3. For a more comprehensive analysis of theoretical developments that have taken place in (neo-)Marxist educational theory since Althusser and Gramsci, see Allman (2007, pp. 51–68), Rikowski (2002, pp. 18–20; and 2007) and Small (2005, pp.169–187).
 20. While CRT has its strengths, it also has a number of weaknesses. For example, some Critical Race Theorists (e.g., Gillborn, 2009; Mills, 2009) caricature Marxism as being largely insensitive to racism. For a response to and a rebuttal of this view, see, for example, Cole, 2009a, b, c, d. For a comprehensive Marxist response to CRT, see Cole, 2009a.
 21. “Barrio” is a Spanish word meaning district or neighborhood. In the Venezuelan context, the term commonly refers to the outer rims of big cities inhabited by poor working class communities.
 22. I put “imperialisms” in the plural in order to make a distinction, for example, between old U.K., Spanish, and U.S. imperialism (discussed in chapters 2 and 3 of this volume) and current “new imperialism,” in which the U.S. is hegemonic.
 23. In the context of increasing political and academic awareness of human rights in general, Marxists should not allow workers’ rights to be excluded from the equation. Workers’ rights are human rights that we have because we are human (Gross, 2006).
 24. In Marxist terminology, the dialectic refers to contradictions between opposing forces and their solutions (the dialectic is referred to and developed throughout this volume).
 25. One contributor suggested that we should use “Englishness” rather than “racism.” His argument was that “Englishness” helps to explain the contemporaneous incorporation of previously racialized groups. My response would be that the connection between “racism” and “nationalism” implicit in “Englishness” might be particularly close in the English context, as noted by Miles (see p. 55 of this volume). Thus while the concept of “Englishness” may explain a form of *racism* (excluding others not considered to be “English”) at a specific juncture, for example, what *may have been* occurring, in certain contexts, in England in 2006, “racism” is a more useful *general* term to

describe discourse, actions, processes, and practices, both historically and contemporaneously.

26. The concept of xeno-racialization is discussed in chapter 2 of this volume. Essentially, in *my* usage of the term, it refers to that form of racialization currently meted out to Eastern European workers in the U.K.
27. It should already be clear that (neo-)Marxism is a “broad church” encompassing varying interpretations of Marxist theory.

1 Socialism, Marxism and Neo-Marxism

1. For a fuller discussion of utopian socialism, see Cole, 2008a, pp. 13–21, on which this section of the chapter is based. My focus is on Europe because the utopian socialists, which Marx and Engels critiqued in their development of scientific socialism (see below), were Europeans. This is not to imply that socialist thought was not occurring elsewhere in the world—to take just one example, see Tecumseh’s (1810) thoughts cited on p. 68 of this volume. Marxism has been accused of Eurocentrism. However, I would argue that one of the major strengths of Marxism is that it is non-Eurocentric. As I have argued elsewhere (Cole, 2008a, p. 76), while Eurocentricity may be true of modernism in general, Marxism is not Eurocentric. That this is the case is attested to by the “fact that many of the most brilliant, prominent, and effective anticolonial activists have insistently pronounced themselves Marxists” (Bartolovich, 2002, p. 15). While accusations of lack of awareness in the North’s complicity in the underdevelopment of the South, of Euro-American genocide, and the lack of dialogue between the North and the South are valid when directed at many “modernists,” they also do not apply to Marxism, particularly *current* Marxist analyses, which do engage with such issues. Top priorities for modern-day Marxists include the way in which the economic situation in the South is a direct result of decisions made in the North, particularly with respect to impoverishment as a result of debt burdens; and the violence practiced as a result of the economic and political trajectory of neo-liberal capitalism. This is the form of capitalism where the market rules; public expenditure is cut; governments reduce regulation of everything that could diminish profits; state-owned enterprises, goods and services are sold to private investors; and the concept of “the public good” or “community” is eliminated (Martinez and García [2000]). Neo-liberal capitalism is accompanied by (U.S.) imperialism. Connections need to be made and lessons learned with respect to resistance to U.S. imperialism and Left political and economic developments in countries such as Cuba, and in Latin America (Cole, 2008a, p. 76; see chapter 5 of this volume for a discussion of twenty-first-century socialism in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela).
2. A dialectical conception of history sees societies moving forward through stages of struggle. Thus out of opposing forces (thesis and antithesis), a new form of society arises (synthesis). This in turn generates a new thesis and antithesis, and ultimately a new synthesis and so on and so on (this is discussed further, later in this chapter).
3. The word “communism” is a greatly misunderstood one. It was used by Marx to refer to the stage after socialism when the state would have withered away and when we would live communally. In the period after the Russian Revolution up to the demise of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union and other

Eastern European countries were routinely referred to as “communist” in the West. The Soviet Union, founded in 1922, actually referred to itself, following Marx, as “socialist.” Some Marxists (e.g., Cliff, 1974) have described what became of the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries as “state capitalist.” It is ironic that the West falsely designated these states “communist.” In reality (despite the fact that many had a number of positive features—full employment, housing for all, free public and social services, safety for women to walk the streets at night, and so on), they were undemocratic dictatorships with special privileges for an elite and drudgery for the many. These Eastern European societies were not real socialist states, and were also far removed from Marx’s vision of communism. Marx and Engels also made reference to early pre-capitalist social formations—stages of communal living—for example, “the ancient communal and State ownership which proceeds especially from the union of several tribes into a city by agreement or by conquest, and which is still accompanied by slavery” (Marx and Engels, 1845–46).

4. Terry Eagleton (2002, p. 3) makes a distinction between the term *proletariat* (originally those who served the state by producing children) and the term *working class*. While the former refers primarily to any kind of subservient labor, the latter denoted a position within the social relations of production. However, in current usage, the two terms have become synonymous.
5. “Forcible” does not necessarily imply or involve excessive violence (a charge often leveled at Marxists). Engels, for example, stated: “if the social revolution and practical communism are the necessary result of our existing conditions—then we will have to concern ourselves above all with the measures by which we can avoid a violent and bloody overthrow of the social conditions” (Engels, 1845 [1975], p. 243). Engels believed that education could play a role in a peaceful transformation of society: “the calm and composure necessary for the peaceful transformation of society can... be expected only from an *educated* working class” (ibid.). While Marxists recognize that violence has been perpetrated on a grand scale *in the name of Marxism*, it is, in fact, neo-liberal capitalism that is currently unleashing unabashedly an orgy of violence, hitherto unprecedented, causing masses of avoidable deaths from world poverty and imperialist conquest (for a discussion of Marxism, social revolution, and violence, see chapter 10 of Cole, 2008a).
6. Lenin is more circumspect about the transition from socialism to communism, or from the “first phase of communism” where “every worker... receives from society as much as he has given to it” (1918 [2002], pp. 98–99) to the higher phase where the rule will be “[f]rom each according to his ability to each according to his needs” (ibid., p. 103). As he puts it, “it has never entered the head of any socialist to ‘promise’ that the higher phase of the development of communism will arrive” (ibid.) (for a discussion, see Lenin, 1918 [2002], pp. 91–109). Elsewhere, however, he appears to possibly contradict himself. Thus in 1920 [2002], p. 192, he writes, “Marx studied the laws of development of human society and realised the inevitability of the development of capitalism towards communism.”
7. History has confirmed that while “stages” hold true as a *general* description of history, different stages can exist in a given country at the same time (Marx, Engels and Lenin were acutely aware of this), and that it is possible to go backward or forward, for example, from socialism to capitalism, or from capitalism to feudalism, or indeed from capitalism to fascism and vice versa.

8. For Lenin, as indeed for Marx, a period of the “dictatorship of the proletariat” was necessary in the transition from capitalism to socialism. As Lenin argues, unlike bourgeois democracy which, as we saw in the Introduction to this volume, Lenin defined as the oppressed being allowed to decide every few years who will repress them in parliament (Lenin, 1917 [2002], p. 95), under the dictatorship of the proletariat, “democracy . . . passes into an entirely new phase . . . and the class struggle rises to a higher level, dominating each and every form” (Lenin, 1919 [2002], p. 176). For Lenin, as for Marx, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a *temporary* phase necessary to consolidate and defend the revolution from inevitable challenges from capitalists, both nationally and overseas. The ultimate aim is the abolition of social class *per se*. As Lenin (1919, [2002] p. 172) puts it, “[s]ocialism means the abolition of classes” (for a discussion, see Lenin, 1919 [2002], pp. 153–154). Despite Lenin’s heartfelt hopes that the dictatorship was temporary, it actually intensified and continued in various forms until the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991.
9. From the stance taken in this book where education is viewed as “liberating” and schooling as “conforming” young people to the requirements of capitalism (see chapter 4), it make more sense to think of the “educational ISA” as “the schooling ISA.” It is clear from a reading of Althusser, 1971 that it is the schools that Althusser has in mind. However, given that “educational ISA” is the term that he used, I will retain it.
10. Althusser’s use of a capital “S” here represents a religious analogy, as in the Subject (capital “S,” the Father). People “must be obedient to God, to their conscience, to the priest, to de Gaulle [the French president at the time he was writing this passage], to the boss” (Althusser, 1971, p. 181).
11. For Althusser (1971, p. 182), it is this very phrase, “*So be it!*” that “registers the effect to be obtained” and “proves that it *has* to be so.”
12. Rather than having the aim of overthrowing capitalism with a socialist revolution, social democratic policies entail the attempt to *reform* capitalism through parliamentary and democratic processes; to regulate the market; and to implement state-sponsored programs to ameliorate and remove the inequalities and injustices caused by capitalism.
13. Clause IV stated that the aim of the Labour Party was:

To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.
14. What Blair meant was that in his use of terminology, the grand ideology of socialism is over, but not the grand ideology of capitalism. He repeated this belief in his aforementioned speech to the (British) Labour Party Conference, on October 2, 2001, when, in reaffirming his belief in meritocracy, he declared that “ideology . . . in the sense of rigid forms of economic and social theory . . . is dead.” (*Guardian*, October 3, 2001, p. 5). From a Marxist perspective, where, as we have seen, ideology represents ideas and beliefs that uphold and maintain capitalist hegemony, it is in fact the idea of *meritocracy*—that people advance on merit—within capitalism that is ideological. In their classic treatment of the relationship between schooling and capitalist America, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1976, p. 103)

- demonstrate how schooling legitimates economic inequality by providing an *ostensibly* meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions. For Bowles and Gintis, both meritocracy and equal opportunities within capitalism are ideological. In reality schooling mirrors the inherently unequal structure of the capitalist economy.
15. The cuts, which are, in reality, not even necessary (e.g., Basketter, 2010; Hari, 2009) have been described by Steve Bundred, chief executive of the Audit Commission and the U.K.'s "chief accountant," as unavoidable. As he put it in classic interpellative style, "[d]on't believe the shroud-wavers who tell you grannies will die and children starve if spending is cut. They won't. Cuts are inevitable and perfectly manageable." Bundred earned nearly £250,000 in 2008 (*Socialist Worker*, July 11, 2009, pp. 1 and 2).
 16. Conventionally, from a (neo-)Marxist perspective, the capitalist state needs to be overthrown, and replaced by socialism, rather than socialism being established through parliamentary change (but see chapter 5 of this volume for the interesting case of Venezuela, where Hugo Chávez is advocating the overthrow of the state of which he is president). For this reason, Marxists would normally vote for socialist parties in order to spread socialist ideas rather than in the hope that such parties can enact socialism through parliament.
 17. VAT (value added tax) is like a sales tax, based on the estimated market value added to a product during each stage of its manufacture.
 18. In October 2009, BNP leader Griffin appeared on the BBC current affairs "Question Time," a program in which a panel with a "cross section" of views answers questions from the audience. Griffin stated that Islam was incompatible with life in Britain; admitted sharing a platform with the Ku Klux Klan (see chapter 3 of this volume); and described gay men kissing in public as "really creepy." He said that "legal reasons" prevented him from explaining why he had previously sought to play down the Holocaust and that he had now changed his mind. He was challenged by Jack Straw, the then Justice Secretary and a fellow panelist, who said there was no law preventing him from giving an explanation.
 19. Derrick Bell's (1980) concept of "interest convergence" has been defined by Critical Race Theorists Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (2000, p. xvii, cited in Gillborn, 2008, p. 32) as the tolerance of or encouragement for "racial advances" for black people "only when such advances also promote white self-interest." It is a key concept in the lexicon of Critical Race Theory. For a key example, *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, see chapter 4 of this volume.
 20. This is another of Derrick Bell's concepts, and refers to "those situations where an inequity becomes so visible and/or so large that the present situation threatens to become insurmountable" (Gillborn, 2008, p. 32). In Bell's 1985, p. 32 words, such cases "serve as a shield against excesses in the exercise of white power, yet they bring no real change in the status of blacks" (cited in Gillborn, 2008, p. 32).
 21. Traditional intellectuals regard themselves as an autonomous and independent group, and are seen as such by the public, whereas in fact they tend to be conservative and allied and supportive of the ruling group. Organic intellectuals, on the other hand, grow organically with both dominant and subordinate groups classes in society, and are their thinking and organizing

- elements. For Gramsci, organic intellectuals are produced by the educational system to perform a function for the dominant social group in society. It is through organic intellectuals that the ruling class maintains its hegemony over the rest of society. Gramsci argued that it was important for the working class to produce its own organic intellectuals, and also that a significant number of “traditional intellectuals” come over to the revolutionary cause (see Burke, 2005, for an analysis).
22. Marx argues that the origins of the capital held by capitalists lie in the forcible seizure of feudal and clan property, the theft of common lands and state lands, and the forced acquisition of church property at nominal price. In other words, capitalism has its origins in theft and continues on the same basis (see Marx, 1887 [1965], pp. 717–733).
 23. This Appendix is adapted from Cole, 2009a, pp. 115–116.
 24. Marx’s views on religion are well known. As he famously put it: “Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people” (Marx, 1843–1844). The editors of the Marx Internet Archive (MIA) (cited with this extract from Marx) explain that in the nineteenth century, opium was widely used for medical purposes as a painkiller, and thus Marx’s dictum did not connote a delusory state of consciousness, but rather a way of easing the pain of capitalism. Although Marx and Marxism have traditionally been associated with atheism, my own view is that this needs amending. While religion, as opposed to theism (belief in a God or Gods that intervene in the world) or deism (belief in a God who does not intervene in the world) has often been and continues to be form of oppression and conservatism, there have been and are large numbers of people who identify with a religious or spiritual belief who also identify with Marxism or socialism (millions of Roman Catholics in Venezuela; for example, see chapter 5 of this volume). There are also, of course, many Marxists who are atheists or agnostics. Whatever our beliefs or lack of beliefs, it is my view that our energies should be devoted primarily to the creation of equality and happiness on earth. This becomes increasingly imperative as capitalism and imperialism intensify their ravages.

2 Racism in the U.K.

1. An earlier, shorter, and less theorized version of this chapter was published as Cole (2009e).
2. In June 2009, a conference titled, “Critical Race Theory in the U.K. What is to be learnt? What is to be done?” was held at the Institute of Education, University of London. Over thirty papers were presented, and the conference included contributions from leading U.K. Critical Race Theorists David Gillborn, Namita Chakrabarty, and John Preston. There was a significant undercurrent of “black exceptionalism” (see the beginning of chapter 3 of this volume). One of the main conference organizers, Kevin Hylton, heralded the birth of “BritCrit.”
3. For a critique of the concept of “white supremacy” as deployed by Critical Race Theorists, see Cole, 2009a, pp. 23–33; see also Cole, 2009b, pp. 247–255. For a CRT response, see Mills, 2009. The importance of differentiating the traditional use of the term “white supremacy” to describe the ideology of fascists and other far right racists from “everyday racism” was underlined for

- me in the 2009 elections to the European Parliament (discussed in chapter 1 of this volume).
4. The concept of “the colonial schema” is Etienne Balibar’s (see Balibar, 1991, p. 12).
 5. I recall seeing ads in shop windows for accommodation in Hammersmith, West London in the 1960s that (before it was made illegal) ended with “No coloureds. No Irish.” Such racialization was typical and rampant at that time.
 6. At the time of writing (spring 2010), a report by The Equality and Human Rights Commission found black people were at least six times more likely and Asian people about twice as likely to be stopped and searched than white people. The commission said it could not rule out legal action against some forces (BBC News, 2010). The evidence suggested that racial stereotyping and discrimination were significant factors behind these higher rates of stops and searches (ibid.). Black and ethnic minority youths were also overrepresented in the criminal justice system (ibid.). Additionally police were more likely to give white young people more lenient reprimands or fines, while black young people were more likely to be charged. Along with the continued racialization of black and Asian constituencies, the racialization of the Irish also continues (see Delaney, 2007; Mac An Ghaill, 2000; see also the discussion in this chapter of anti-Gypsy and Roma Traveller racism).
 7. Not all forms of racism discussed in this paper under the heading of “non-color-coded racism” are necessarily definitively non-color-coded. There are, for example, dark-skinned Jewish people who may experience color-coded racism rather than or alongside antisemitism. The point is that the forms or racism discussed under this heading are not *necessarily* color-coded.
 8. This concept is also Etienne Balibar’s (see Balibar, 1991, p. 12). However, whereas Balibar puts a hyphen between “anti” and “semitism,” I have omitted it, on the grounds that Jewish communal organizations in the U.K.—such as the Community Security Trust—use the unhyphenated “antisemitism.” This more closely reflects Wilhelm Marr’s use of the word that he and others advocate to describe a policy toward Jews based on “racism” (Langmuir, 1990, p. 311, cited in Iganski and Kosmin, 2003, pp. 6–7). Not using a hyphen or a capital “S” denotes that antisemitism is a form of racism directed at Jewish people per se, and not at those who speak a Semitic language per se. Semitic languages are spoken by nearly five hundred million people across large parts of the Middle East, North Africa, and Northeast Africa. The most widely spoken Semitic language is Arabic.
 9. I use the term “mainly” because there were settlements of colonial citizens in various parts of the U.K. during the colonial era (Fryer, 1984).
 10. The rest of Kern’s (2009) article takes an anti-Left, pro-Israel stance.
 11. While the reference to “jihad” *could* imply the involvement of antisemitic radical Islamists, there is no evidence that contemporary antisemitic attacks are predominantly the work of “extremist groups.” Indeed such attacks, including the daubing of swastikas on synagogues and graves, are prompted not “by a particular ideological conviction or volition but instead unthinkingly manifest a commonsense antisemitism” (Iganski, 2009, p. 138).
 12. The mode of production in Nazi Germany involved the state exercising ultimate control of the economy, with the seizure of the property of Jewish people. Selected corporations, which supported the state in its program, operated

- with monopoly power. This mode of production also involved the slave labor of Jewish people and others deemed by the fascist state to be subhuman.
13. David Latchman (2010, cited in Reisz, 2010) has expressed concerns about antisemitism among some parts of the Muslim population in the U.K., and what he describes as “far Left” “antisemitism.” It is my view that those who claim to be anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist and on the Left, but also express antisemitism in any form, are not truly on the Left and certainly not modern-day Marxists.
 14. I deal with anti-Gypsy Roma and Traveller racism under the main heading of “Non-color-coded racism” because my focus is the U.K. I am aware, of course, that many European Roma people have darker skins, and that this will be a component in the racism directed at them. An example of anti-Roma racism occurred in Belfast in June 2009, when there were violent attacks on a Roma community from Romania (Shilton, 2009). One of those affected stated, “[t]hey made signs like they wanted to cut my brother’s baby’s throat. They said they wanted to kill us.” Reports claimed that there was graffiti in the area containing the slogans of the neo-Nazi Combat 18 group. It was also reported that extracts from Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* had been put through letterboxes (ibid.). Attacks were also directed against those seeking to help the Roma people (ibid.). The fascists also wrote texts connecting racism against the Roma with xeno-racism, thanking “all true loyalists for forcing Romanian Muslims out of Belfast and also Polish in mid Ulster out of their homes! These foreign nationals are a threat to Britain’s Britishness” (see later in this chapter for a discussion of xeno-racism).
 15. “Pikey” is a racist term of abuse directed at the Gypsy Roma and Traveller communities in the U.K. The U.S. terms “white trash” and “trailer trash” are used in a similar perjorative way, though the stereotypes differ. The U.S. terms are used to describe people perceived to be of lower socioeconomic class, relating to the belief that people of lower socioeconomic class tend to live in trailers or mobile homes.
 16. As Thomas Acton has pointed out, “if official statistics about ‘Gypsies’” health relate only to poor caravan-dwelling people who have come to the notice of the authorities, they omit those Romani people who are living in houses or who use private caravan sites (his comments on this chapter).
 17. Fekete’s centralizing of “the economic” accords with the neo-Marxist formulation of racialization (see the Introduction to this volume).
 18. Of course, there may be overlap between xeno-racism, anti-asylum-seeker racism, and Islamophobia. For example, some Eastern European workers are Muslim, as are many asylum seekers (see the next section of this chapter).
 19. My focus here on *current* anti-asylum-seeker racism, under the heading “Newer Hybridist Racism” is not of course to underestimate the fact that this form of racism has a long history in the U.K. and elsewhere (for an analysis, see, for example, Schuster, 2002).
 20. I recognize the problematic nature of the term “asylum-seeker.” It forms part of a “discourse of derision” (Ball, 1990, p. 18) in the communications ISA, and in the political ISA in the pronouncements of certain politicians. “Forced migrants” (Rutter, 2006) might be a more appropriate term.
 21. Islamophobia as a concept is not without its problems, with some commentators making the case for different terms. For example, the Commission on the Future of Multi-ethnic Britain (2000) and Arun Kundnani (2007) prefer

“anti-Muslim racism,” while others (e.g., Etienne Balibar, cited in Modood, 2005) favor Muslimophobia. However, as Robin Richardson (2009, p. 11) points out, Islamophobia is widely used in the U.K. and in the deliberations and publications of international organizations, and “[d]espite its disadvantages, the term Islamophobia looks as if it is here to stay” (for a thorough analysis of Islamophobia and related concepts and terms, see Richardson, 2009).

3 Racism in the U.S.

1. Althusser’s analysis of RSAs and ISAs pertains to the unified (French) capitalist state in the sixth decade of the twentieth century operating on home soil. The five hundred years of institutional racism described in this chapter, however, occurred in a variety of “state formations” beginning with a colonial administration, as part of the British Empire, based in London. After U.S. independence in 1776, when the central state became unified (if not united), institutional racism was in large part administered by individual local states of the United States. Institutional racism continues in the United States, with the RSAs and ISAs operating from individual states as well as the central U.S. state apparatus.
2. Wayne Au has pointed out that it may be more appropriate to use the term, “enslaved Africans,” both for historical accuracy, and as a reminder that being enslaved was not Africans’ normal state of being (his comments on this chapter). I agree with this point, and will use it where appropriate.
3. This occurred forty-two years before the English colony at Jamestown, Virginia, and fifty-five years before the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts, making it the oldest permanent European settlement on the North American continent (Oldcity.com, 2009).
4. The town of Wounded Knee, site of probably the most famous Sioux massacre, in 1890, was seized by the American Indian Movement (AIM), a Native American activist organization in 1973.
5. The different identity-specific forms of CRT are useful in this chapter to focus on the concerns of specific racialized groups. However, CRT is not without its problems. I have already noted that a central tenet of Critical Race Theory is the use of the term “white supremacy” to describe everyday racism in certain societies, rather than the conventional restriction of the term to describe the views of extremist groups, and have made reference to my critiques of the concept. Another central tenet of CRT is the primacy of “race” over social class. I have also extensively critiqued this tenet elsewhere (see Cole, 2009a, b, c, d). Further weaknesses are CRT’s continuing attempts to caricature Marxism as being insensitive to racism, and CRT’s inability (beyond vague references to “human liberation,” “the struggle,” “a vision of hope for the future,” “social transformation”) to envisage a future world (see Cole, 2009a, pp. 149–150 for a discussion).
6. Old films about “cowboys and Indians,” and indeed “Texans and Mexicans” replayed endlessly on television on both sides of the Atlantic serve to reinforce imperialism and colonialization, as do “cowboy outfits” and “Indian outfits” readily available for sale in retail stores and on the Internet.
7. The origin of the term “Jim Crow” is often attributed to “Jump Jim Crow,” a “song-and-dance” caricature of African Americans first performed by a white actor in 1832. “Jim Crow” subsequently became a derogatory expression for

- black Americans. Hence the racial segregation laws became known as “Jim Crow laws” (Woodward et al., 2001, p. 7).
8. “White supremacy” is used here in its traditional, and in my view correct sense, as opposed to the CRT usage that uses the term to describe, in certain contexts, everyday racism experienced by people of color (see Gillborn, 2008 for a defense of CRT usage of the term; for a critique of CRT usage, see, for example, Cole 2009d).
 9. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held its 101st National Convention in March 2010. While it combats all forms of racism, it is oriented toward the defense and advancement of black Americans (NAACP, 2010).
 10. As this book goes to press, the 2010 U.S. Census figures (available from the U.S. Census Bureau: <http://www.census.gov/>) are gradually becoming available. I have inserted the 2010 figures throughout this chapter where they are available.
 11. *Mulatta/o* is a Spanish colonial term referring to a person with one black and one European parent, *Mestiza/o* to someone of mixed European and Indian origin.
 12. I differentiate schooling (the work of the educational ISA) from education (a potentially expansionary liberating process) (see chapter 4 of this volume).
 13. It is important not to forget that indigenous peoples from Mexico and other parts of Central America tend to be wrongly subsumed under the label “*latina/o*.” As Olin Tezcatlipoca (2008) points out Nican Tlaca (indigenous) people are 180 million strong, of which 32 million reside in the United States. Nican Tlaca people are projected to be over 50 percent of the U.S. population in the next one hundred years.
 14. Space constraints prevent my providing more than a brief consideration of the large number of constituencies of Asian Americans, which I will discuss in alphabetical order. For more comprehensive analyses, see, for example, Takaki, 1989; Zia, 2000; Wu, 2002; Perea et al. 2007; Asian-Nation, 2010.
 15. Asian-Nation (2010) also includes “Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islander Americans” (NHPIs) as being constituencies of “Asian Americans.” However, as we shall see, in response to representations from Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander activists, since 2000, NHPIs are now a sixth “racial category.” For this reason I consider this group separately from “Asian Americans.”
 16. From 1913 to 1948, thirty out of the then 48 states of the United States prohibited “interracial couples.” This included whites and blacks, and in many states, also relationships and the intermarriage of whites with Native Americans or Asians (Loving Day, 2009). Antimiscegenation legislation continued in some states until the outlawing of “interracial” relationships and marriage was made illegal in 1967.
 17. The “model minority” myth is discussed under the heading “Asian Americans Today” later in this chapter. Perea (1995, cited in Perea et al. 2007, p. 1102) goes on to identify a fourth media image: groups of *Latina/o* people rushing from stores clutching stolen goods. Perea (1995, cited in Perea et al., 2007, p. 1102) points out how this image works to mask the fact that *Latina/o* people were also part of the riots. He points out that this is hardly surprising since half the population of South Central Los Angeles was *Latina/o* and faced similar life conditions to African Americans. The needs of *Latina/o*

communities there, however, were not part of the picture (Perea, 1995, cited in Perea et al., 2007, p. 1102).

18. This last group includes the Hmong who, given that they comprise a separate entry in the U.S. census, are discussed separately in this chapter.
19. The forthcoming 2010 census makes it clear that “race” is not considered in a biological way. As the “United States 2010 Census Constituent FAQs” spell out: “The racial categories included in the census form generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country, and are not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically or genetically. In addition, it is recognized that the categories of the race item include racial and national origin or socio-cultural groups.”
20. I should point out for the benefit of U.K. readers that, in this volume, I use “public school” in the literal sense of the term to differentiate that system from private education. It is a (historical) peculiarity of educational usage in the U.K. that “public school” implies an elite private school such as Eton or Harrow.

4 Racism, Schooling, and Education Against Racism in the U.K. and the U.S.

1. Since “the compulsory years” are my major focus. I tend, in this volume, to use *schooling* in the restricted U.K. sense of the compulsory years of attendance at *schools* rather than the wider North American usage of “school” that can include colleges and universities. However, quite clearly, colleges and universities in both the U.K. and the U.S. increasingly and overtly attempt to prepare students for capitalist conformity and jobs, consistent with the changing demands of the capitalist economy.
2. Barry Burke (2005) points out that Gramsci’s writings on schooling are not always easy to understand, are confusing, and are open to misinterpretation. In a well-known study, Harold Entwistle (1979) argues that Gramsci paradoxically promotes conservative schooling for a radical politics. This has drawn considerable adverse criticism (e.g., Apple, 1980; Giroux, 1980; Borg and Mayo, 2006). The editors of the *Prison Notebooks*, Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, make the point that Gramsci’s apparent “‘conservative’ eulogy of the old curriculum [in Italy] in fact often represents a device which allowed Gramsci to circumvent the prison censor” (Gramsci, 1971 p. 24). However, as Burke (2005) argues, “this device has had the effect of perplexing more than his captors.”
3. Terry Wrigley and Peter Hick (2009, p. 36) have argued that the word *pedagogy* is relatively new in English-speaking countries, and that it is often used with limited understanding. In most European languages and education systems, they argue the concept means more than just teaching methods. It requires “an articulation of educational aims and processes in social, ethical and affective as well as cognitive terms, and involves reflection about the changing nature of society or the value of human existence.” It is in this sense that I am using it here.
4. Given current U.S. and U.K. imperialism’s obsessive designs on Afghanistan, this historical reference is telling, to say the least.
5. Maud Blair worked as an advisor for multicultural education, and as late as 1989 was helping schools identify books with outdated colonial theories and racist views and images. Not only were there history and geography books,

- but story books and well-intentioned books by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Oxfam. Some published as late as the 1970s still presented images that were demeaning to Asian and black peoples (Cole and Blair, 2006, p. 85).
6. The rest of this section of the chapter draws heavily on Cole, 2009a, pp. 72–75.
 7. I have deliberately chosen this traditional nomenclature, given that I am describing the monocultural approach.
 8. Antiracist education in the U.K. has shown awareness of equality issues other than “race” for over twenty years (e.g., Cole, 1986a, b; Troyna, 1987).
 9. It should be recorded that there were local government exceptions. For example, the left-wing Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), eventually abolished by Thatcher in 1988, published a number of equality documents in the 1980s, including *Race, Sex and Class: 4. Anti-Racist Statement and Guidelines* (ILEA, 1983), and distributed the pamphlets to all of its schools. (For an analysis of the political climate in the years of the radical Right, see, for example, Hill, 1989, 1997; see also Jones, 2003; Tomlinson, 2005).
 10. This was all part of a concerted radical Right attack on teacher education that was assumed to be a hotbed of Marxism (see Hill, 1989, 1994, 2001, 2007a; see also Cole, 2004d, pp. 150–163). This legacy continues to this day. For example, the term “trainee” rather than “student teacher” relates to the radical Right notion that teacher *training* is not a theoretical enterprise, but a combination of love of subject and practical skills. For similar reasons it is the *Training and Development Agency* that oversees teacher education. However, progressive equalities legislation (see Equality and Human Rights Commission Website, 2010) has required departments of education in universities, university colleges, and colleges to verse their student teachers in equality issues (for suggestions on promoting equality in the primary/elementary school, see Hill and Helavaara Robertson (2009), and for ideas for the secondary/high school, see Cole (ed.) (2009).
 11. Gillborn (2008, p. 133) is careful to stress his awareness that his analysis could be seen as disrespectful to the Lawrence family’s ongoing battle for justice, and of victories won along the way. He underlines that this is neither his intent, nor, he hopes the outcome of his analysis, and lists a number of such victories (ibid., pp. 133–134). “The Lawrence Inquiry,” he notes, “has delivered considerable advances and holds out the possibility of further progress, but it is a start not an end” (ibid., p. 135).
 12. “PC” or “Political correctness” is a pernicious concept invented by the radical Right, which, to my dismay, has become common currency in the U.K. and the U.S. The term was coined to imply that there exist (Left) political demagogues who seek to impose their views on equality issues’ in particular, appropriate terminology, on the majority. In reality, nomenclature changes over time. Thus, in the twenty-first century, terms such as “negress” or “negro” or “colored,” nomenclatures that at one time were considered quite acceptable, are now *generally* considered offensive. There are some exceptions. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, some people still use the nomenclature “negro.” In addition, as pointed out in the Introduction to this volume, the NAACP retains “colored” in the title of its organization. Egalitarians are concerned with *respect* for others and, therefore, are careful to acknowledge changes in nomenclature, changes

that are decided by oppressed groups themselves, bearing in mind that there can be differences among such oppressed groups. Thus, for example, it has become common practice to use “working class” rather than “lower class”; “lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender” rather than “sexually deviant”; “disability” rather than “handicap,” “gender equality” rather than “a woman’s place.” Using current and acceptable nomenclature is about the fostering of a caring and inclusive society, not about “political correctness” (Cole, 2008a, p. 142–143).

13. There will also be increased privatization, and, as with all other public services, there will be cuts. As far as privatization is concerned, all English primary and secondary schools will be encouraged to become academies; that is, state-maintained but free of local authority control and independently run and open to control by private companies. In addition, there will be “free schools,” “all-ability, state-funded schools, set up in response to parental demand.” These schools will also be academies, and are modeled on U.S. “charter schools” (see later in this chapter). Although the government has talked about protecting schools, in reality the cuts will have a devastating effect on schools. Attacks are already being made on additional funding outside the core schools budget, and there will be a total real reduction in the Education Department’s spending of 3 percent by 2014 to 2015. Teachers are facing a pay freeze and cuts to pensions (Darke, 2010). Clearly all this will have a major financial and demoralizing impact on both students and teachers. Gove has commented about the closure of playgrounds: “[p]lay has to make its contribution to tackling the deficit” (cited in Orr, 2010, p. 10). As suggested in chapter 1 of this volume, we are witnessing a qualitative shift in the sense of a generalized offensive against the working class with economic restructuring going further than even Thatcher dared (Orr, 2010, p. 12).
14. Gloria Ladson-Billings (2006, p. viii) describes CRT “chronicles” as constructed narratives in which evidence and other forms of data are embedded. For a critical appraisal of the CRT concept of “chronicle” written from a Marxist perspective, see Cole, 2009a, pp. 50–51.
15. In his 1995 writing, in opposition to these three forms of multiculturalism, McLaren (pp. 126–144) outlined the central features of what he called “critical and resistant multiculturalism.” He described this as “a resistance post-structuralist approach to meaning...located within the larger context of postmodern theory (ibid., p. 126). According to McLaren, critical and resistance multiculturalism “stresses the central task of transforming the social, cultural, and institutional relations in which meanings are generated” (ibid.). Resistance multiculturalism “doesn’t see diversity itself as a goal but rather argues that diversity must be affirmed within a politics of cultural criticism and a commitment to social justice” (ibid.). Like post-structural and postmodern analyses in educational theory in general, there is much talk of social change and social justice in McLaren’s mid-1990s analysis, but no concrete suggestions for societal change. Elsewhere (Cole, 2008a, chapter 5) I have examined the work of some leading poststructuralists/postmodernists. I argue that, while many questions are asked, and there are many claims for moving toward social change and social justice, no specific indications are given except at the local level. One of the great strengths of Marxism is that it allows us to move beyond appearances and to look beneath the surface *and* to move forward collectively: local, nationally, and internationally.

16. The term “ideal type” is associated with the work of the sociologist Max Weber. It is an analytical construct that allows us to see similarities in different approaches to a given topic.
17. The above analysis by McLaren and his co-writers, summarized here, is considered in more detail in Cole, 2009a, pp. 65–71.

5 Twenty-First-Century Socialism and Education in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela

1. A common criticism leveled at Marxism, as we saw in Note 5 of chapter 1 of this volume, is that it is inherently “violent.” As we also saw in Note 5, Engels, like Chávez, believed that that education could play a role in a peaceful transformation of society.
2. “Middle class” is used here in the sociological sense of relatively rich people in relatively high-status jobs. A distinction needs to be made between sociological and Marxist usages of “social class.” Sociologists such as Max Weber use the term to describe people according to status, occupation, and earnings. For Marxists, the working class consists of *all* those who need to sell their labor power to survive rather than living off the labor power of others (see Appendix 1 to chapter 1 of this volume). Both Weberian and Marxist definitions have their advantages. For example, the Weberian definition allows us to differentiate between the working conditions, including income, of those working in a given society at a given time, or over time. The Marxist definition reminds us that those who sell their labor power are all workers, even though within a given society and from one capitalist society to another, some are more privileged than others.
3. The “consensus” entailed a package of policies aimed at extending markets further into areas previously run by governments, its rhetoric being that multinational private enterprises were better at protecting the public interest than “the inept governments” of Latin America and the Caribbean (Victor, 2009). The “Washington Consensus” “prescribed privatization of public services, widespread deregulation, lifting of tariffs, unrestricted investment flows, and free access of large corporations to public contracts and domestic markets” (ibid.). Maria Paez Victor (2006) has noted how the “Consensus” spectacularly failed the people by stunting the growth of income per person in the region (it fell from 82 percent to 9 percent to 1 percent and increasing the number of poor by 14 million, while at the same time bringing corresponding spectacular success for capitalism in the form of \$1 trillion in profits from Latin America for U.S. banks and corporations. As Victor (2009) argues, the U.S. historically has played, and continues to play, a major role in political and economic events in Latin America. However, as she puts it, “US hegemony was not easy and did not come without a price for Latin America.” Since the end of the nineteenth century, she points out, the U.S. has “invaded, overthrown, and destabilized [*sic*] governments in the region about 90 times.” Indeed, every one of the twentieth-century dictatorial governments in Latin America (and the Caribbean) has been backed by the U.S. (Victor, 2009).
4. As we shall see later in this chapter, Chávez has consistently expressed pride in his indigenous and African roots.
5. The Venezuelan working class should not be viewed as constituting a traditional industrial proletariat, as detailed, for example, in the discussion of

- Lenin in chapter 1 of this volume. Some 60 percent of Venezuelan workers are involved in the informal economy (street vendors and so on), primarily in the barrios from where Chávez draws his support (Dominguez, 2010).
6. Liberation theology began as a movement within the Catholic Church in Latin America in the 1950s, achieving prominence in the 1970s and 1980s. It emphasizes the role of Christians is aligning themselves with the poor and being involved in the struggle against economic, political, and social inequalities. In Chávez's view, "[t]he people are the voice of God" (cited in Sheehan, 2010). Chávez is referring to the Venezuelan revolutionary masses. Two advocates of liberation theology, Fals Borda and Paulo Freire, as guiding educational theorists and practitioners, are discussed later in this chapter. See Note 2 of Appendix 2 to chapter 1 of this volume for some comments on Marx's views on religion.
 7. For a discussion of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Socialist Internationals, see chapter 1, pp. 20–32 of this volume.
 8. That Bolívar helped liberate Venezuela from the Spanish in the nineteenth century has already been noted. Morazán attempted to transform Central America into one large and progressive nation, also in the nineteenth century. Maurice Bishop was a Marxist revolutionary and prime minister of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada from 1979 to 1983. Augusto Sandino was a Nicaraguan revolutionary and leader of a rebellion against U.S. military presence in Nicaragua between 1927 and 1933.
 9. Chávez's reference to this "huge responsibility" is reminiscent of Engels' reference to "the momentous act" that the working class is "called upon to accomplish," but without the same implication of inevitability (see chapter 1, pp. 23–24 of this volume), and *with* the foresight of mistakes made by others in the past. It is true that scientific socialism was originally led by white European men (see chapter 1 of this volume for a discussion), and as such has been described as Eurocentric (see Note 1 of chapter 1 of this volume for a refutation). There then followed, however, anticolonial developments in Asia and Africa and elsewhere that were by definition not Eurocentric. Chávez is correct to assert that the current epicenter of socialist struggle is in Latin America, and in particular, Venezuela, where as noted later in this chapter, people of color, of which Chávez is a prominent example, are central, if contested, players.
 10. As noted in the Introduction to this volume, Lenin characterized capitalist democracy as the process by which oppressed workers are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class will represent them and repress them in parliament. In an interview in which she explains the centrality of the communes—created not by the government but "by the people for the people," the aim being to build socialism on a permanent basis —o the success of the revolution, Antenea Jimenez (2010) argues that "the advance of participatory democracy is irreversible," and that there is no going back to "representative democracy."
 11. It should be reiterated here, however, that, for (neo-)Marxists, the state represents more than "the government," and includes the various apparatuses of the state, repressive and ideological as outlined by Althusser. These various apparatus will have to be won over to, in order to "convert a counter-revolutionary state into a revolutionary state." It should also be pointed out that there is no single (neo)-*Marxist theory of the state*. Notwithstanding some

communist parties historically (e.g., those associated with Euro-communism when the Stalinist regimes still existed in Europe) that advocated the parliamentary road to socialism, the general Marxist and neo-Marxist position is that the capitalist state has to be overthrown in order to move toward socialism. With respect to capitalist states in general in the twenty-first century, this becomes even more apparent as, in the current crisis in capitalism, these states bail out the international banks at the expense of the working classes of the world, and play more and more the role of an executive committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie (Marx and Engels (1847) [1977], p. 37; Beams, 2010). Some earlier neo-Marxist theories of the state in capitalist society where the state is seen as “relatively autonomous” from the economic base (e.g., Poulantzas, 1972) do not hold water in the current climate.

12. “Cumbe” is the name given to liberated spaces created by liberated slaves (cited in Martinez et al., 2010, p. 221).
13. The fieldwork at this school was carried out on my behalf by Edward Ellis. I am most grateful to him for this. The subheadings in this section of the chapter reflect the main issues and concerns that arose in Ellis’s interviews.
14. Venezuelanalysis.com, in its own words:

is an independent website produced by individuals who are dedicated to disseminating news and analysis about the current political situation in Venezuela. The site’s aim is to provide on-going news about developments in Venezuela, as well as to contextualize this news with in-depth analysis and background information. The site is targeted towards academics, journalists, intellectuals, policy makers from different countries, and the general public.

6 Implications for Multicultural Antiracist Socialist Practice in Educational Institutions

1. I use the term “other Left radical” to describe those teachers who are against the values of capitalism and wish to use their role as teachers to promote a more equal world, but do not identify themselves as Marxists. This could be, for example, because of a lack of awareness of what being a Marxist entails; it could be because they have internalized a distorted view of Marxism; or because they embrace a different Left thought system such as anarchism (for a discussion of the principle tenets of anarchism, see, for example, Ward, 2004; Marshall, 2010).
2. A common response from students and others is likely to be a rejection of Marxism. See Cole, 2009a, pp. 115–132, where I raise some common objections to Marxism, and attempt to respond to them from a Marxist perspective.
3. The following discussion of Learning Without Limits (LWL) draws on Cole, 2008b, pp. 453–463; for a response from one of the LWL team members, and a reply from myself, see Yarker, 2008, pp. 464–469.
4. It should be pointed out, however, that the LWL paradigm, as formulated by Hart et al. 2004, is lacking, in my view, in two major interrelated respects. First, implicit in the paradigm seems to be an accommodation with social democratic politics, and a reluctance to make connections with capitalism—local, national, or international. This means that while LWL promotes the

achievement of the working class, a noble aim in itself, this promotion is (by default) within the confines of a global system—capitalism. Second, the notion of empowerment in LWL is confined to pedagogy to enhance individual and collective (academic) achievement and excludes a consideration of emancipatory *content* that can increase the class consciousness of the working class. This critique of Learning Without Limits is developed in Cole, 2008b. I would like to reiterate that my critical appraisal of Hart et al. (2004) as a whole should be viewed very much as a development of, rather than a rejection of, their work.

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