

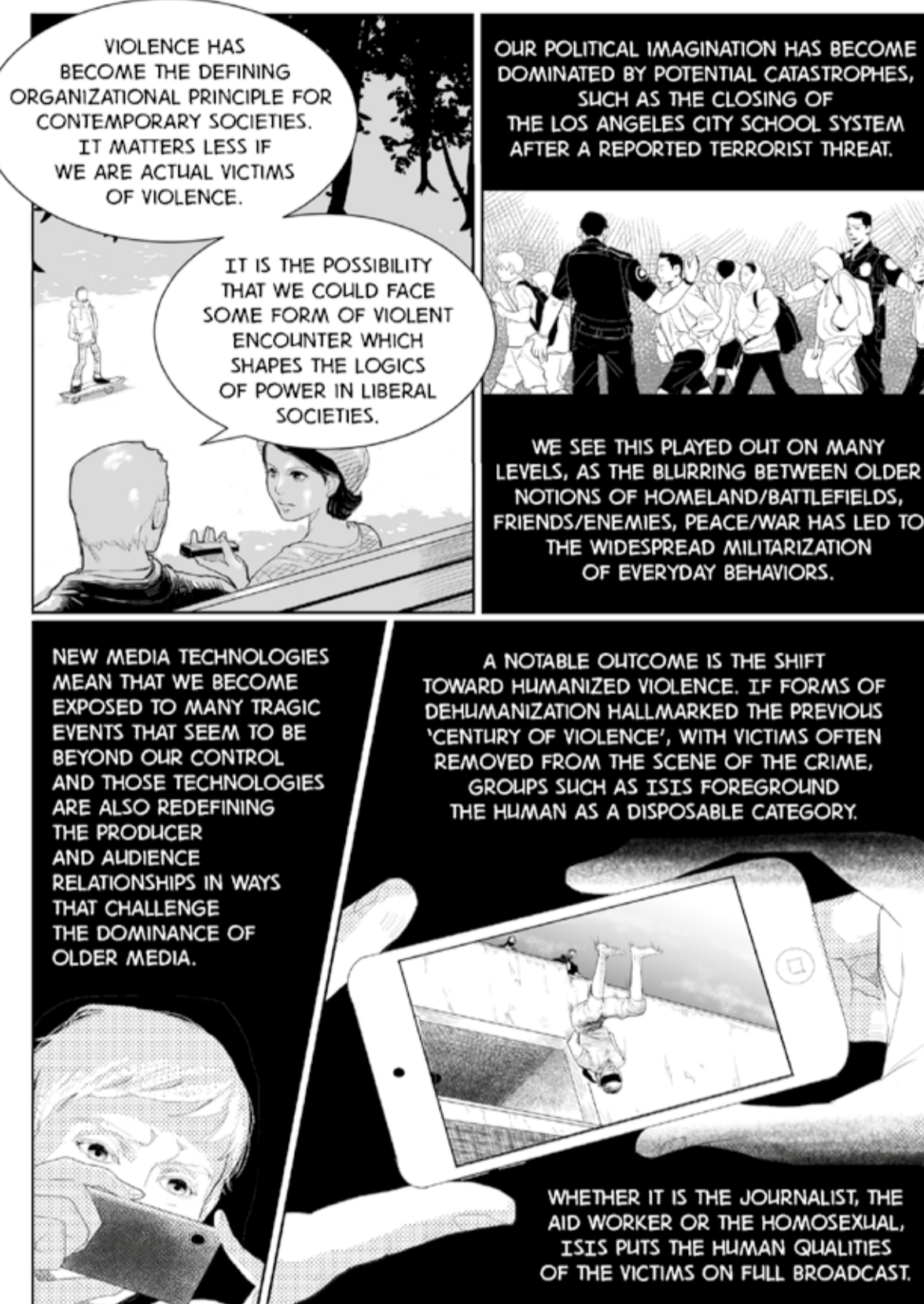
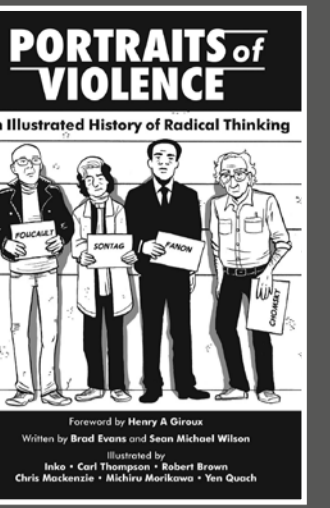


# Brad Evans

## Thinking Against Violence

illustrated by Inko

This poster is an adapted extract from the book *Portraits of Violence*  
written by Brad Evans and Sean Michael Wilson,  
and illustrated by six graphic artists.  
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**New Internationalist**



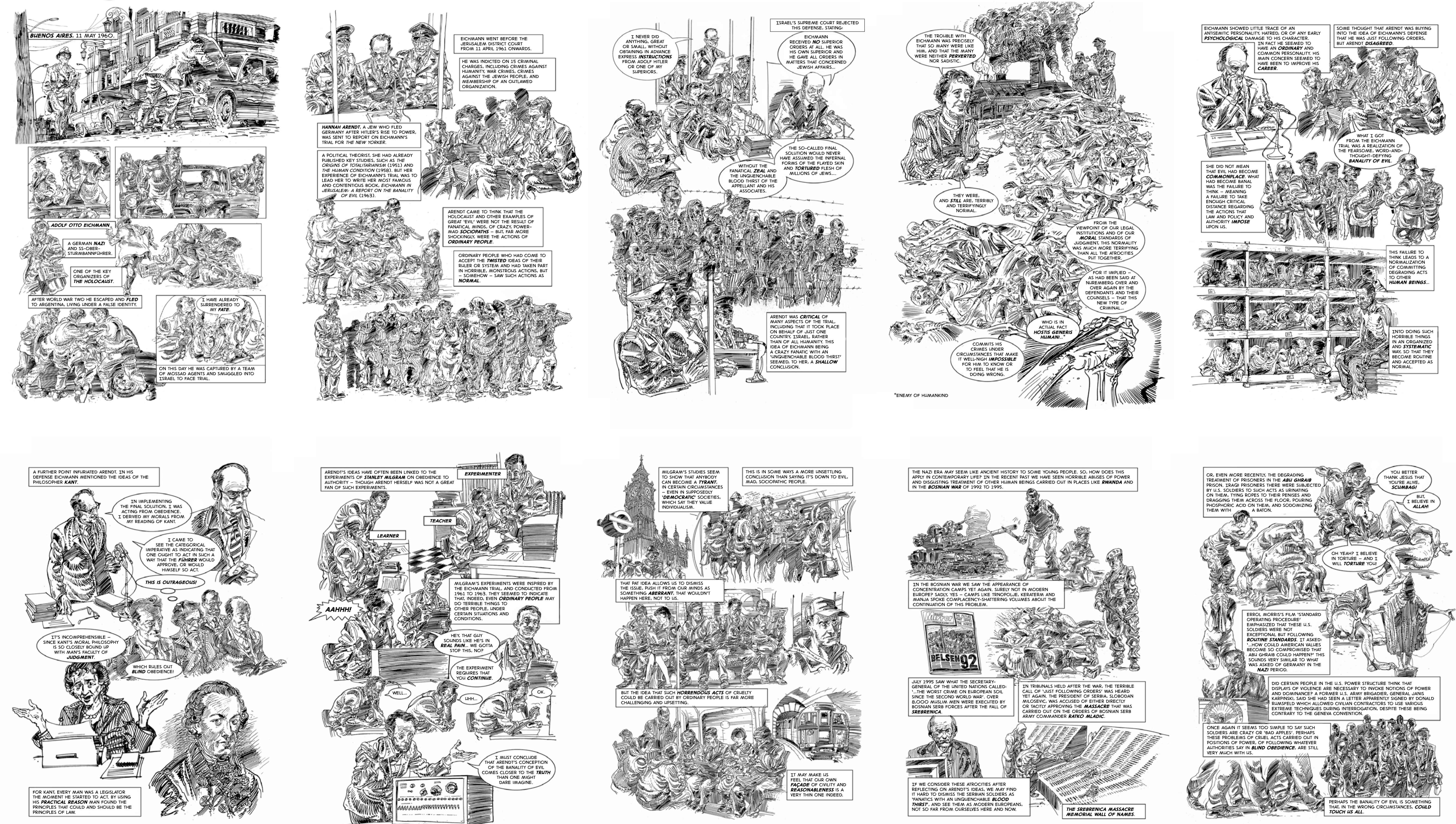
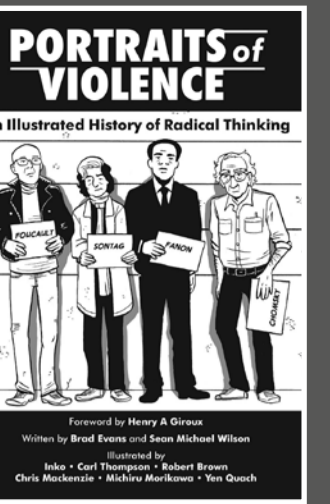


# Hannah Arendt

## The Banality of Evil

illustrated by Chris Mackenzie

This poster is an adapted extract from the book *Portraits of Violence* written by Brad Evans and Sean Michael Wilson, and illustrated by six graphic artists. [newint.org/books](http://newint.org/books) New Internationalist



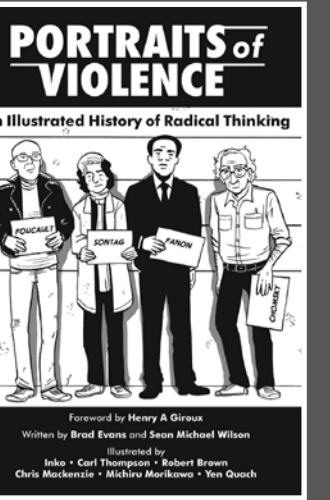


# Frantz Fanon

## The Wretched of the Earth

illustrated by Carl Thompson

This poster is an adapted extract from the book *Portraits of Violence* written by Brad Evans and Sean Michael Wilson, and illustrated by six graphic artists. [newint.org/books](http://newint.org/books) **New Internationalist**



FRANTZ FANON WAS A FRENCH-EDUCATED PSYCHIATRIST AND EXISTENTIAL HUMANIST WHOSE WRITING HAS BEEN HUGE INFLUENTIAL IN POST-COLONIAL STUDIES, AFRICAN LITERATURE AND NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AROUND THE WORLD.

HE WAS BORN IN 1925 IN THE CARIBBEAN ISLAND OF MARTINIQUE, AT THAT TIME PART OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE (AND STILL AN 'OVERSEAS REGION OF FRANCE'). ALTHOUGH THE WHITE POPULATION WAS ONLY A VERY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION THEN, THEY DOMINATED THE BEST POSITIONS, WITH BLACKS OCCUPYING THE LOWEST STRATA.

HE JOINED THE FREE FRENCH FORCES AND A CONVOY GOING TO CASABLANCA. ON THE WAY HE WAS ANGERED BY THE BLACK MALE VOLUNTEERS BEING HELD IN THE DARK HALL OF THE SHIP, LIKE SLAVES.

HE FOUGHT IN MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND FRANCE ITSELF, DISTINGUISHING HIMSELF.

IN 1953 HE GOT A GOOD POSITION AT THE BILDA-JOINVILLE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL IN COLONIAL ALGERIA, WHERE HE STAYED UNTIL 1957. THERE HE BROUGHT IN ASPECTS OF HUMANISTIC PSYCHIATRY, FOR EXAMPLE ENCOURAGING THE ACTIVE AGENCY OF THE PATIENTS. HOWEVER, HE CONTINUED TO SUFFER RACIAL PREJUDICE FROM COLLEAGUES.

IN 1954 THE ALGERIAN WAR BROKE OUT, AND OVER ITS 8 YEAR BLOODY COURSE, RIVEN BY GUERRILLA TACTICS, VIOLENT INTERNAL CONFLICT AND TORTURE ON BOTH SIDES, A MILLION OR MORE PEOPLE WERE KILLED. MANY FRENCH, AFTER RECENTLY LOSING THE COLONY OF INDO-CHINA, FELT STRONGLY ABOUT MAINTAINING ALGERIA AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF FRANCE.

THE COMMON IDEAL OF COLONIES WAS OF SUPERIOR WESTERNERS CIVILIZING MORE BACKWARD AREAS, OF DOING SO TOUGHLY, BUT BASICALLY WITH GOOD INTENTIONS; OF THE NATIVE PEOPLE BEING 'NOBLE SAVAGES' - INFERIOR, BUT NOT BEYOND REDEMPTION.

FANON WAS A KEY FIGURE WHO CHANGED THAT IMAGE INTO SOMETHING MORE REALISTIC, AND BRUTAL. HE FOCUSED ON THE VIOLENCE INHERENT IN THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.

\*CONGO LABOURERS WHO FAILED TO MEET RUBBER COLLECTION QUOTAS WERE SOMETIMES PUNISHED BY HAVING A HAND CUT OFF BY THEIR BELGIAN OVERLORDS.

THROUGH HIS WORK WITH COLONIZED PEOPLES HE SAW THAT THEY WERE OFTEN SUBJECTED TO VIOLENCE - PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL. THIS RESULTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF VARIOUS NEUROSES, SUCH AS AN INFERIORITY COMPLEX OR THE DESIRE TO BE WHITE.

ALSO A DEGRADING OF THE CULTURE OF THE COLONIZED; OFTEN REPRESENTING THEM AS INFERIOR, SUCH MODES OF REPRESENTATION AS FOUND IN THE CASTA (RELATED TO THE WORDS RACE AND CASTE) PAINTINGS FROM MEXICO OFTEN DEPICTED A CLEAR HIERARCHY OF RACE: THE OCCIDENTAL WHITES AT THE TOP, CRIOLLO NEXT, AND ALL THE WAY DOWN TO THE NATIVE BORN INDIANS, SOME OF WHOM EVEN APPEAR OUTSIDE OF THE STRUCTURE.

IN WWII VICHY FRENCH SAULS WERE BLOCKADED ON THE ISLAND, AND THROUGH A TOXIC MIXTURE OF GLOBAL IMPOTENCE AND LOCAL POWER THEY TURNED TO BEHAVING IN A VERY OPPRESSIVE WAY TOWARDS THE LOCAL PEOPLE, INCLUDING VIOLENT ABUSE AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT.

THIS AFFECTED THE TEENAGE FANON, WHO BECAME DISGUSTED WITH COLONIAL OPPRESSION. HE WAS NOT AFRAID TO FIGHT BACK.

AT 19 HE DECIDED TO JOIN IN THE WAR DESPITE FRIENDS ASKING WHY HE WAS JOINING A WHITE MAN'S WAR, WITH ALL SERIOUSNESS HE REPLIED: 'WHEREVER THERE IS INJUSTICE, OR AN ASSAULT ON HUMAN DIGNITY OR THE SPIRIT OF HUMAN KIND IS THREATENED I WILL BE THERE AND FIGHT TO THE DEATH AGAINST THAT.'

NOW THEY TAKE OFF THEIR MASKS AND BEHAVE LIKE AUTHENTIC RACISTS!

WHEN HE CAME TO UNDERSTAND THAT MOST OF THE MENTAL ILLNESS HE TREATED DURING THAT TIME RESULTED IN SOME MANNER FROM THE OPPRESSION OF COLONIALISM - IN BOTH THE TORTURED AND THE TORTURERS!

HIS SYMPATHIES LAY MORE WITH THE REBELS.

FANON, VIA HIS EXPERIENCES AND HIS INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES, DEVELOPED THE IDEA THAT COLONIALISM WAS A SYSTEM OF VIOLENCE BASED ON DIALECTICAL RACIAL ENMITY. THAT IS, ON THE DYNAMIC OF HOSTILITY BETWEEN TWO OPPOSING RACIAL GROUPS.

COLONIALISM CREATED A SYSTEM OF LOGIC THAT WAS BASED ON VIOLENCE.

ANY COLONY TENDS TO BECOME ONE VAST FARMYARD. ONE VAST CONCENTRATION CAMP WHERE THE ONLY LAW IS THAT OF THE KNIFE.

IT WAS HERE THAT HE FORMULATED THE IDEAS LATER EXPRESSED IN HIS BOOK *THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH* (1961) (FRENCH: *LES DAMNÉS DE LA TERRE*), AN ANALYSIS OF THE DEHUMANIZING EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION UPON INDIVIDUALS AND NATIONS, AND THE PATH TO LIBERATION.

FRANTZ FANON

IN 1952, FANON WROTE HIS FIRST BOOK, *BLACK SKIN, WHITE MASKS*. AN ANALYSIS OF THE DAMAGING PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM UPON BLACK PEOPLE, THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RACISM AND THE DEHUMANIZATION OF COLONIAL DOMINATION.

THIS CREATES A VIOLENT RECIPROCITY BETWEEN THE COLONIZED AND THE COLONIZERS.

FANON, THINKING LIKE A PSYCHIATRIST ABOUT THE NEUROSES CREATED BY COLONIALISM, NOTED THAT VIOLENCE WAS LIKE A KIND OF 'TREATMENT'.

AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, VIOLENCE IS A CLEANSING FORCE. IT BIDS THE COLONIZED OF THEIR INFERIORITY COMPLEX, OF THEIR PASSIVE AND DESPAIRING ATTITUDE.

BEING ONE MEMBER OF A POWERFUL AND LIFE-CHANGING FORCE ALLOWS THE INDIVIDUAL TO FEEL AT LAST THAT HE IS NOT ONLY MASTER OF HIS OWN FATE...

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE 1961 EDITION OF *THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH* WAS BY FRENCH PHILOSOPHER JEAN-PAUL SARTRE. SUCH A WELL-KNOWN WRITER MAY HAVE HELPED PROMOTE THE BOOK BUT IT HAS ALSO CAUSED SOME CONFUSION AS TO THE MAIN MESSAGE.

EUROPEANS, YOU MUST OPEN THIS BOOK AND ENTER INTO IT. AFTER A FEW STEPS IN THE DARKNESS YOU WILL SEE STRANGERS GATHERED AROUND A FIRE: COME CLOSE AND LISTEN, FOR THEY ARE TALKING OF THE DESTINY THEY WILL MEET OUT TO YOUR TRADING CENTERS AND TO THE HIRED SOLDIERS WHO DEFEND THEM.

SARTRE'S PREFACE GLORIFIES VIOLENCE BEYOND FANON'S WORDS OR WISHES... DESPITE THE DOCTRINE OF LIBERATORY VIOLENCE, FANON, THE MAN, DEEP DOWN HATED IT.

CRITICISM OF SARTRE'S INTRODUCTION SHOWS THAT FANON'S VIEWS ON VIOLENCE WERE NOT AS SIMPLE AS A LITERAL READING MIGHT SUGGEST. THE 'VIOLENCE AS PURIFICATION' ELEMENT CAN BE SEEN AS A WARNING, NOT A PROMISE. A WARNING OF ABUSES LIKE THE VIOLENT DESTRUCTION OF PERCEIVED ENEMY CULTURES.

THE PROCESS OF WINNING INDEPENDENCE VIA VIOLENCE CAN BE POLLUTING, IT CAN END UP REPRODUCING THAT WHICH YOU ARE FIGHTING TO ESCAPE. CREATING A POST-COLONIAL MESS IN WHICH USING VIOLENCE TO ASSERT AUTHORITY BECOMES NORMALIZED, WITH TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES.

THESE ARE THE INDIGENOUS MAYA MOVEMENT, THE ZAPATISTAS OF CHIAPAS, MEXICO, IS ANOTHER RECENT EXAMPLE, CONNECTED TO THIS MORE SUBTLE READING OF FANON.

THE ZAPATISTAS, UNLIKE THE ISLAMIC INSURGENTS, HAVE NOT RELIED ON NEAT DIALECTICAL OPPOSITIONS IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY THEIR REVOLUTIONARY AIMS.

INSTEAD, THE ZAPATISTAS FIRST DECLARATION OF LA REALIDAD, 1996, CALLED FOR: 'A NEW IMAGE OF THE WORLD THAT IS NOT AN IMAGE INVERSE TO, AND THIS SIMILAR TO, WHAT IS ANNIHILATING US.'

BY SHOWING A COMMITMENT TO 'DIFFERENCE' THEY REFUSE TO GET CAUGHT UP IN SOME VIOLENT DIALECTIC THAT SEES THE WORLD IN CRUDE BINARY DISTINCTIONS.

BEHIND OUR BLACK FACE, BEHIND OUR ARMED VOICE, BEHIND OUR UNNAMED NAME... WE ARE THE SAME SIMPLE ORDINARY MEN AND WOMEN THAT REPEAT THEMSELVES IN ALL RACES. THAT PAINT THEMSELVES IN ALL THE COLORS OF THE WORLD... IN THIS CORNER OF THE WORLD WE ARE EQUAL BECAUSE WE ARE DIFFERENT.

IT SEEMS THAT THE ZAPATISTAS' STRATEGY DOES NOT SEEK TO LEGITIMIZE VIOLENCE IN ORDER TO RECLAIM SOME GLORIOUS MAYA PAST, HENCE, WITHOUT CONTINUING THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE, THEY HAVE SHOWN THE POWER OF FORGIVENESS, DESPITE THE HISTORY OF PERSECUTION.

THE FIRST TASK FOR ANY NEW POLITICS IS TO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US ALL, SO WE ASPIRE TO A POLITICS OF TOLERANCE AND INCLUSION.

ZAPATISTA SUBCOMANDANTE MARCOS: THIS CAN, WE BELIEVE, HELP BUILD BRIDGES WITHOUT CEASING TO BE DIFFERENT, SO THAT WE CAN HAVE A WORLD IN WHICH MANY WORLDS FIT...

HE HAS SEIZED THE SOURCE OF HIS ILLNESS AND RIPPED IT FROM SOCIETY. HE IS CURED, AND HEALTHY WITH THE EXHILARATION OF ACTION.

PERHAPS CAUGHT UP IN THE PASSION OF THAT TIME, FANON'S WORDS ARE ALSO FIERY.

TO TOUCH MY READER AFFECTIONATELY, OR IN OTHER WORDS IRRATIONALLY OR SENSUALLY, FOR ME WORDS HAVE A CHARGE. I FIND MYSELF INCAPABLE OF ESCAPING THE BITE OF A WORD, THE VERTIGO OF A QUESTION-MARK.

SO, VIOLENCE WAS A MEANS OF CATHARSIS AND LIBERATION FOR COLONIAL PEOPLES.

SARTRE ALSO INSISTED THAT COLONIALISM DEGRADED NOT ONLY INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS BUT FRANCE AS WELL (AND BY EXTENSION, BRITAIN, THE USA, SPAIN, ETC.).

LIKE ROSA PARKS POLITELY, BUT FIRMLY REFUSING TO CHANGE SEATS ON A SEGREGATED BUS IN THE 1950S.

OR THE LONE PROTESTER IN THE TIANANMEN SQUARE PROTESTS OF 1989.

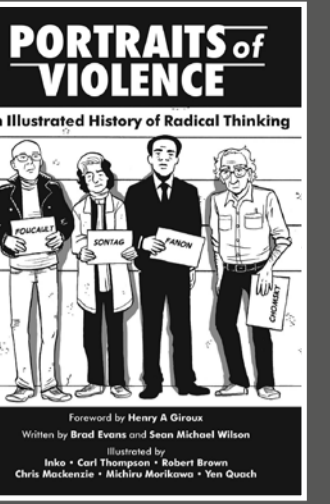


# Paulo Freire

## The Pedagogy of the Oppressed

illustrated by Inko

This poster is an adapted extract from the book *Portraits of Violence* written by Brad Evans and Sean Michael Wilson, and illustrated by six graphic artists. [newint.org/books](http://newint.org/books)  
**New Internationalist**



**PAULO FREIRE (1921-97)** IS SEEN AS ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF CRITICAL PEDAGOGY. HIS IDEAS HAVE HAD FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS.

— **THOUGH THEIR POLITICAL IMPORTANCE AND HIS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THOUGHT IS OFTEN UNDER-APPRECIATED.**

HE WAS A BRAZILIAN EDUCATOR WHOSE BOOK, *PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED*, WAS ONE OF THE FIRST TEXTS TO CHALLENGE TRADITIONAL IDEAS ABOUT EDUCATION. IT WAS SOMETHING OF AN EXTENSION TO FRANTZ FANON'S *THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH* IN FOCUSING ON THE LEGACY OF COLONIALISM, AND ON THE NEED TO CHALLENGE ITS INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS.

FREIRE THOUGHT THAT EDUCATION WAS AT THE HEART OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. 'POST-COLONIAL' POPULATIONS SHOULD HAVE AN EDUCATION WHICH IS ACUTELY AWARE OF THE HISTORY OF OPPRESSION, DEMANDING NEW SYSTEMS OF THINKING RATHER THAN A CONTINUATION OF THE CULTURE OF THE COLONIZER.

FREIRE WAS BORN IN 1921 TO A MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILY THAT FELL INTO POVERTY DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE 1930S. THIS AFFECTED HIM GREATLY.

I DIDN'T UNDERSTAND ANYTHING BECAUSE OF MY HUNGER. IT WASN'T LACK OF INTEREST... MY SOCIAL CONDITION DIDN'T ALLOW ME TO HAVE AN EDUCATION.

EXPERIENCE SHOWED ME THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS AND KNOWLEDGE.

FREIRE STUDIED LAW AND PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF RECIFE FROM 1943. HE CHOSE NOT TO PRACTICE LAW, BUT TO TEACH IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. LATER HE WORKED WITH THE ILLITERATE POOR, INCORPORATING MARXIST IDEAS WITH ANTI-COLONIAL NARRATIVES, AND BLENDED THEM WITH THE LIBERATION TEACHINGS BEING PROMOTED BY THE CHURCH IN LATIN AMERICA.

IN 1961, HE BECAME DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL EXTENSION OF RECIFE UNIVERSITY AND APPLIED HIS UNUSUAL TECHNIQUES OF EDUCATION, TEACHING 300 SUGAR-CANE WORKERS TO READ AND WRITE IN JUST 45 DAYS.

HE ALSO HELPED TO SET UP MANY 'CULTURAL CIRCLES' WITH BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT APPROVAL.

BUT THE 1964 MILITARY COUP IN BRAZIL ENDED THESE EXPERIMENTS AND FREIRE WAS EVEN IMPRISONED.

AFTER HIS RELEASE HE WORKED IN CHILE FOR THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC AGRARIAN REFORM MOVEMENT AND PUBLISHED HIS FIRST BOOK IN 1967 - *EDUCATION AS THE PRACTICE OF FREEDOM*.

WELCOME TO HARVARD

IN 1969, AFTER *PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED* WAS PUBLISHED (1968 ORIGINALLY AND 1970 IN ENGLISH) HE WAS OFFERED A VISITING PROFESSORSHIP AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

INCREASINGLY RESPECTED FOR HIS IDEAS AND HIS COMMITMENT, FREIRE WENT TO GENEVA TO WORK AS A SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL ADVISOR TO THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

AS PART OF THIS HE HELPED MANY COUNTRIES TO IMPLEMENT POPULAR EDUCATION AND LITERACY REFORMS TO OVERCOME WHAT HE SAW AS THE 'CIRCLE OF SILENCE', DOING IMPORTANT WORK IN THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND MOZAMBIQUE.

IN 1980 HE WAS FINALLY ALLOWED TO RETURN TO BRAZIL. HE SUPERVISED THE ADULT LITERACY PROJECTS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY THERE AND IN 1988 THEY MADE FREIRE THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION FOR THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO.

**Freire volta, para 'reaprender o Brasil'**  
FREIRE RETURNS, TO 'RELEARN BRAZIL'

IN 1991 THE PAULO FREIRE INSTITUTE WAS SET UP IN SÃO PAULO.

HERE CONGREGATE SCHOLARS AND CRITICS OF PEDAGOGY, IN A PERMANENT DIALOGUE THAT FOSTERS THE ADVANCEMENT OF NEW EDUCATIONAL THEORIES AND CONCRETE INTERVENTIONS IN REALITY!

FREIRE DIED IN 1997.

SO, WHAT IS 'CRITICAL PEDAGOGY'? IT ATTEMPTS TO HELP STUDENTS QUESTION AND CHALLENGE THE BELIEFS AND PRACTICES THAT DOMINATE THEM. A SIMPLE AIM, WITH RADICAL CONSEQUENCES!

EDUCATION EITHER FUNCTIONS AS AN INSTRUMENT WHICH IS USED TO FACILITATE INTEGRATION OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION INTO THE LOGIC OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM AND BRING ABOUT CONFORMITY...

OR...

IT BECOMES THE PRACTICE OF FREEDOM, THE MEANS BY WHICH WE DEAL CRITICALLY AND CREATIVELY WITH REALITY AND DISCOVER HOW TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF OUR WORLD.

FREIRE WAS AWARE THAT CRITICAL PEDAGOGY WOULD BE SEEN AS DANGEROUS BY RULING ELITES, RELIGIOUS EXTREMISTS AND RIGHTWINGERS BECAUSE IT TRIED TO EDUCATE STUDENTS TO BECOME CRITICAL AGENTS WHO ACTIVELY QUESTION AND ANALYZE COMMON IDEAS. EDUCATION WAS, AFTER ALL, HE INSISTED, THE MOST IMPORTANT FORM OF POLITICAL INTERVENTION!

SOME RIGHTWING, CONSERVATIVE-MINDED, PEOPLE MIGHT SAY:

YOU ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN THIS SO-CALLED 'CRITICAL PEDAGOGY' SO YOU CAN BRAINWASH YOUNG PEOPLE INTO THINKING LIKE YOU.

NO.

THE AIM IS NOT TO MOLD A GENERATION OF LEFTWINGERS, BUT TO HELP DEVELOP CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS, TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO THINK AND DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES.

FOR WHAT REASON WOULD CONSERVATIVES ASSUME YOUNG PEOPLE WOULD ALL CHOOSE LEFTWING IDEAS? THEY DON'T SEEM TO HAVE MUCH FAITH IN THE VALIDITY OF THEIR WORLDVIEW. PERHAPS THEY THINK THEIR IDEOLOGY CAN'T WIN IN A FAIR FIGHT!

A FURTHER POINT IS THAT CRITICAL PEDAGOGY WOULD NOT SUDDENLY CEASE IN A SOCIETY DOMINATED BY SOCIALISM OR ANARCHISM.

OK, WE HAVE GOT OUR SOCIALIST UTOPIA. GOOD STUFF...

SO, I GUESS THERE IS NO NEED FOR CRITICAL THINKING ANY MORE, HUH?

THE IMPORTANCE OF HELPING TO FOSTER CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS IN THE NEXT GENERATION SHOULD ALSO GO ON IN A LEFTWING-DOMINATED SOCIETY.

LEADERS, LEFT OR RIGHT, WHO INSIST ON IMPOSING THEIR DECISIONS, DO NOT ORGANIZE THE PEOPLE - THEY MANIPULATE THEM.

THEY DO NOT LIBERATE: THEY OPPRESS.

A TRULY LIBERATING PEDAGOGY CAN'T BE DISTANT FROM THE OPPRESSED OR TREAT THEM AS UNFORTUNATES TO BE LED. THE OPPRESSED MUST BE THEIR OWN EXAMPLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THEIR REDEMPTION.

WHAT IS NEEDED IS A PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN THOUGHT. SOMETHING THAT IS CONSTANTLY AWARE OF THE SOURCES OF EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION - WHATEVER COLOR OF FLAG IT WRAPS ITSELF IN.

HENRY A GIROUX IS A WELL-KNOWN SOCIAL CRITIC AND EDUCATOR WHO, INSPIRED BY FREIRE, INTELLECTUALLY AND PERSONALLY, HAS CONTINUED TO DO IMPORTANT WORK IN A SIMILAR VEIN.

GIROUX INSISTS THAT EDUCATION IS CENTRAL TO LIBERATION POLITICS. IN HIS WORK *THE UNIVERSITY IN CHAINS* HE TOOK FOCUSED ASPECTS OF CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AND APPLIED THEM TO THE UNIVERSITY SECTOR.

GIROUX REMINDS US THAT PRESIDENT EISENHOWER ORIGINALLY INCLUDED 'ACADEMIC' IN THE DRAFT OF HIS FAMOUS 1961 SPEECH ON THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL-COMPLEX, BUT LATER WITHDREW THE WORD.

FOR GIROUX, IN THE POST-9/11 WORLD THERE IS AN INCREASING ASSAULT BEING WAGED ON UNIVERSITIES, ESPECIALLY ON YOUNG STUDENTS, BUT ALSO ON STAFF. THIS CAN BE ACCOUNTED FOR BY THE MILITARIZATION, CORPORATIZATION AND MARKETIZATION OF EDUCATION, WHICH AIMS TO DESTROY CRITICAL AWARENESS OF THE ABUSE OF POWER TODAY.

STILL, EISENHOWER CLEARLY RECOGNIZED THAT THE ARMS INDUSTRY, THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT, AND THEIR CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORTERS REPRESENT A GREAT DANGER TO THE UNIVERSITY IN ITS CAPACITY AS 'A FOUNTAINHEAD OF FREE IDEAS AND SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY'.

CRITICAL THOUGHT IS INCREASINGLY VIEWED AS A THREAT TO THE DOMINANT POLITICAL ORDER - AND WITH GOOD REASON!

AS PAULO ALWAYS SAID, EDUCATION IS THE 'PRACTICE OF FREEDOM', BY WHICH WE LEARN HOW TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF OUR WORLD.

BY BECOMING ENSLAVED BY THE FORCES OF MILITARISM AND CORPORATE INTERESTS, ACADEMIA HAS LOST ITS CLAIM TO INDEPENDENCE AND ITS ROLE IN FOSTERING CRITICAL LEARNING AND IN THE DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC SPHERE IN GENERAL.

WHAT WE ARE SEEING NOW IS, AS JOHN ARMITAGE PHRASED IT, A 'HYPERMODERN MILITARIZED KNOWLEDGE FACTORY'.

IN THE U.S. WE'VE GOT HUNDREDS OF MILITARY INSTITUTIONS AND UNIVERSITY SITES WITH PENTAGON FUNDING.

WHERE YOUNG PEOPLE DEVELOP THE VALUES OF THE 'WARFARE STATE', IN PREPARATION FOR SERVICE TO 'DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES' OF THAT STATE.

**STAND TO ATTENTION! MARCH! SALUTE!**

THIS ABUSE AND DOMINATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE BY THE MILITARY/CORPORATE SECTOR GOES LARGELY UNCHALLENGED BY ACADEMICS, AND BY SOCIETY IN GENERAL.

THAT SHOULD CONCERN US A LOT.

THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES 2006 REPORT SEEMED TO BE SAYING THAT: 'THE NATION MUST CULTIVATE YOUNG TALENT AND ORIENT NATIONAL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND EDUCATION SYSTEMS...' IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE INTERLINKED GOALS OF EXPANDING GLOBAL MARKETS FOR U.S. CORPORATIONS AND OF VICTORY IN THE WAR ON TERRORISM.

GIROUX WENT INTO THIS FURTHER IN ANOTHER BOOK IN 2013, *AMERICA'S EDUCATION DEFICIT AND THE WAR ON YOUTH: REFORM BEYOND ELECTORAL POLITICS*. HE FOCUSES ON HOW OUR EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS SYSTEMATICALLY FAIL YOUNG PEOPLE.

Market deregulation

Patriotic and religious fervor

I CAN SEE FOUR FUNDAMENTALISMS AT WORK HERE:

Instrumentalization of education

Militarization of society

THIS IS THE SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE. AMERICAN SOCIETY AT WAR WITH ITS YOUTH. THE VIOLENCE, INCLUDING SCHOOLS CHURNING OUT DRONE-LIKE, DEBT-RIDDEN EMPLOYEES FOR THE MARKET, IMBUED WITH AUTHORITARIAN VALUES, INURED TO VIOLENCE BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. REFUSE TO CONFORM AND GET EATEN BY NEOLIBERAL SHARKS - OR, IF BLACK OR BROWN, GET THROWN TO THE PENAL SYSTEM.

BUT GIROUX IS POSITIVE, SEEING THE UNIVERSITY AS STILL CAPABLE OF RAISING IMPORTANT QUESTIONS, OF ENCOURAGING CRITICAL THINKING AND ACTIVELY ENGAGED CITIZENS.

WE HAVE TO ELIMINATE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF THAT HATEFUL FUNDAMENTALISM.

WE CAN DO THIS THROUGH A PEDAGOGY THAT EMPHASIZES AN ETHOS OF TRUST, COMPASSION, SOLIDARITY AND JUSTICE.

YOUNG PEOPLE CANNOT INHERIT A FUTURE MARKED BY FEAR, MILITARISM, SUICIDE BOMBERS AND A WORLD IN WHICH THE VERY IDEA OF DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN EMPTIED OF MEANING.

CREATING ALTERNATIVE FUTURES REQUIRES SUSTAINED INVESTMENT IN ATTESTING THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE, TAKING EDUCATION SERIOUSLY, HARNESSING THE POWER OF IMAGINATION AND EQUIPPING GLOBAL YOUTHS WITH THE CONFIDENCE THAT OUR WORLD CAN BE TRANSFORMED FOR THE BETTER.

BOTH GIROUX AND FREIRE URGE A BASIC BUT RADICAL ACTION: THAT EDUCATORS SHOULD TAKE BACK THE CAMPUS, UNITE WITH STUDENTS AND WORKERS TO FORM A NONVIOLENT, REBELLIOUS NEW PEDAGOGY THAT HELPS BUILD DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY FROM THE GROUND UP.