

THE PHILANTHROPIC TRANSFORMATION OF  
SURPLUS-VALUE: FROM ALABAMA TO EAST AFRICA

by

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Any attempt to approach African historical developments through the concept of Pan-Africanism must necessarily provoke scrutiny and debate. The meaning of this concept can vary. It has, in fact, varied depending on the specific political and social forces at play within and around the complex web of the African world, specifically as pertains to the underlying goals and assumptions associated with African unity. It is this which makes any application of the term both compelling and misleading. This is no less true in Kenneth King's seminal work on educational philanthropy and colonialism.<sup>1</sup> Pan-Africanism, in this work, is applied in the narrow sense of "educational pan-Africanism."<sup>2</sup> The complexity of the political implications of Pan-Africanism intrude into this application mainly because, in King's words, "many East Africans and American Negroes insist on regarding education as an essentially political matter."<sup>3</sup> King gives the intent of his work as "describing the complex inter-relationships between Africans, American Negroes, and their white sponsors in education."<sup>4</sup> In this way, a history is presented which appears as the creation of influential figures involved in shaping educational policy. This history is predominantly a record of instances in which these personalities come in conflict with one another at the expense of a more profound exploration of the different social forces which these persons represent. King's study, therefore, ends where the most fundamental questions only begin to surface.

The aim here is not to attempt to achieve in several pages what was not accomplished in a volume of nearly three hundred pages, but rather, to begin to focus on the transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism within the imperialist context in which it resides. Our scope and intent, however, are limited to identifying the origins and aims of the principal strategies formulated by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the leading philanthropic organization associated with the institutions and personalities explored in the work cited above.

While King's work may be regarded as a useful source of background material on the Phelps-Stokes Fund and its main advocate, Dr. Jesse Jones, it plants many an unresolved question in the reader's mind. For example, why did Phelps-Stokes assume that Africa should learn from the example of the American South? Why did it see relationships between African-Americans and Africans as "dangerous"? and why was it interested in using education to "immunize" them against politics?<sup>5</sup> Such questions cannot

be answered by a history which attributes developments merely to the initiative of certain key individuals. A more profound knowledge of history is attained when events and their actors are located within the broader historical picture of which they are part. We have found here, then, a mere point of departure for an analysis of the role of philanthropy within the political-economy of colonialism in the United States and East Africa.

If we agree that the history of modern East Africa, at least on one level, is the history of the expansion of capital,<sup>6</sup> its eventual "multilateralisation" following the Second World War with the crisis of British capitalism, the ascendancy of U.S. imperialism and the establishing of neo-colonialism,<sup>7</sup> the significance of Phelps-Stokes' involvement in East Africa must also be seen in these terms. Consequently, placed in its proper historical context, the Phelps-Stokes Fund was one of numerous Northern philanthropies in the United States during this period.<sup>8</sup> It was founded on and practiced the dominant educational and political philosophy of the times, in the role of lending support to the maintenance of U.S. internal colonial capitalism in the South, the eventual entrenchment of U.S. imperialism abroad and the installing of neo-colonialism.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund was founded in 1910 in accordance with the will of Caroline Phelps-Stokes, a descendant of British Puritan settlers, a long line of Christian welfare and Bible Society founders as well as colonial governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Her grandfather, Anson G. Phelps, is noted to have aided in the establishment of the Republic of Liberia while president of the New York Colonisation Society.<sup>9</sup> As stated in her will, the Fund was to be used 'for the erection or improvement of tenement house dwellings in New York City for poor families of New York City and for educational purposes in the education of negroes (sic) both in Africa and the United States, North American Indians and needy and deserving white students.'<sup>10</sup> At the time of its founding, the Fund's general policies were stated as follows: 1) "to make careful surveys of conditions and thorough adaptations (emphasis added) of efforts to the needs observed"; 2) to financially support "social forces" which are "strategic"; 3) to encourage movements concerned with fostering cooperation between "racial and national groups" since "strife is a result of misunderstanding"; and 4) to make use of the Fund "without distinction of class, race or nationality."<sup>11</sup> These four points are consistent with twentieth century liberalism, based as this was on the coalescence of Christian values and modern science, and which became the sustaining ideology of U.S. capitalism as it was called upon to temper the United States' major social contradictions, those of race and class.

This ideology permeated both the "progressive political," as well as the "progressive reform" movement in education, which

drew from the philosophy of its chief ideologue and practitioner, John Dewey.<sup>12</sup> Dewey and his followers believed that education could and should be used to produce more efficient and effective workers for the growing industrial capitalist economy. Universal schooling, which would both train people in the needed vocational skills and teach obedience to the state and industrial order, would lead to a more efficient and thus, it was believed, a more just society. This kind of reform never questioned the validity of the existing economic structures, but rather tried to mold people to fit into the system in order to eliminate resistance.<sup>13</sup> Phelps-Stokes made it clear in its report that this pragmatic approach toward education and its application in the U.S. formed the basis for the educational objectives and adaptations it suggested for East Africa, especially in regard to industrial education.<sup>14</sup>

"Owing to the acuteness of race relations in the U.S.,<sup>15</sup> the elimination of an over-riding source of conflict, "racial strife," became the almost exclusive focus of the Fund despite its stated objective of serving all "needy and deserving" people. This contradiction is not surprising when viewed in the context of U.S. internal colonialism. Like colonialism everywhere, class conflict was manifested in racial terms so that non-whites came to pose the greatest threat to the maintenance of colonial domination once European immigrants had been "assimilated" or effectively taught to identify their interests with the interests of the colonial capitalist state. Regardless of the difference in the level of development of capital in the U.S. and East Africa, the political parallels between colonialism in both places are clear. This is precisely because both are part of the world process of the expansion of capital which is based on colonial exploitation and racial oppression. The type of work done by the Phelps-Stokes Fund both within the U.S. and in East Africa helps to illustrate this point.

Among Phelps-Stokes' numerous activities in the U.S., the work of the Survey of Negro Education in the South and the Inter Racial Committee (IRC), in particular, was cited as the source of inspiration and legitimization for Phelps-Stokes' involvement in Africa.<sup>16</sup> The Survey, begun in 1913 and undertaken with the participation of the U.S. Bureau of Education, testified to the increasing recognition that "cooperation," or collaborative class interest of liberals with the state, was needed to formulate an effective strategy for dealing with the pressing need for a skilled labor force, particularly in the South. *The New York Evening Post* regarded the Survey as

*the first complete picture which the country has had of just what is being done to train the backbone of the South's labor supply to work according to twentieth century standards of productivity...*

*to produce not only for their personal needs,  
but for a surplus for the nation.*<sup>17</sup>

These concerns were not to differ qualitatively from those justifications given for the need for educational reform in East Africa, where colonial capitalism, while not operating at the level of advanced industrial capital, needed to extract manual labor from predominantly peasant populations, as well as to produce a class of collaborators. This latter concern can be seen in Uganda in the 1920's where the expansion of the peasant economy required both a "developed economic infrastructure" and a "social infrastructure" to facilitate indirect rule.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile in Tanganyika, the Governor

*proposed widespread adoption of the principle of indirect rule.... He knew that the schools would have to supply a trained administrative class, and therefore, although he thought African education should be largely agricultural, he favored the special schools for sons of chiefs.*<sup>19</sup>

However, it was in Kenya, whose government was dominated by settler interests, where vocational education was most clearly preferred over academic education. In the earlier period, Kenyan peoples were reluctant to attend school because "education was sometimes viewed [and rightfully so] as some sort of labour contribution"<sup>20</sup> to the colonial state. By the time the Phelps-Stokes Commission visited Kenya in the 1920s, political movements of the African people had been successful in forcing the government to make some concessions towards, at least, an increase of education if not an improvement. "Government policy at the time seemed to...foster African education only at the lowest agricultural level and in the technical and vocational trades."<sup>21</sup>

The Inter Racial Committee (IRC), founded in 1919, was recognized by the East Africa Commission as proof of the usefulness of liberal reform in meeting the challenge of Afro-American resistance to colonial oppression in the U.S., and thus served as an example for Phelps-Stokes' work in Africa. Phelps-Stokes had been interested in fostering "race harmony" initially in the cities of the South and later in Northern cities, since "demands made by Negro labor along with all other labor and the unrest of the period were interpreted to be proofs of dangerous Negro aggression."<sup>22</sup> A call for "cooperation of all elements of the community" in each state for the "elimination of conditions that make for racial misunderstanding," was seen as essential if "unrest" was to be effectively eliminated.<sup>23</sup> The more cooperative African-American community leaders were quoted to substantiate claims of acceptance of this neo-colonial solution by their people. It was this kind of substantiation which was successful in convincing the faltering British authorities, to take seriously the suggestions of some "farsighted" missionaries<sup>24</sup> since

in East Africa, "racial misunderstanding" and "unrest," of course, could be seen in the growing opposition to colonial rule which was part of general "post-war demands of colonized peoples for self-determination."<sup>25</sup> In the case of Kenya, the Native Welfare Association whose function was to "allow Africans to assume a much greater responsibility than hitherto for their affairs," was said to have been "stimulated by the American commission (IRC)."<sup>26</sup>

More parallels emerge between Phelps-Stokes' work in the U.S. and in East Africa when we look at what the Survey revealed of the conditions under which education was dispensed in the South and its resultant signaling of a need for an alliance of the state and liberal forces behind private foundations. The Survey's revelations reflected the failure of the true emancipation of Africans in the U.S. There existed wide divergences in per capita public school expenditures for white and African-American children. Although there were widespread Northern missionary efforts to support private schools, this was not sufficient to meet the need for education.<sup>27</sup> When the Survey concluded that "the masses of the colored people cannot be educated in private schools but must be educated mainly in public or tax-supported schools,"<sup>28</sup> the state was advised that it could no longer afford to ignore the education of this sector of the population, in the same way that American missionaries had convinced the colonial states in East Africa to allow the Phelps-Stokes Fund to conduct its study. To African-American leaders in the South, the thoroughness of the Survey and its seemingly favorable conclusion did not disguise its true role, that of serving the Northern industrialists.<sup>29</sup> As in the case of all such "surveys" undertaken by liberals on behalf of the capitalist state, the question remains one of who is ultimately in control. That is, in whose interest are such "studies" undertaken and towards what ends? These are the fundamental questions whose answers reveal how and why neo-colonialism has been established.

Given the conditions of life imposed by colonialism, it is not surprising that sectors of a colonized population would capitulate to the lure of a neo-colonial alternative. In the case of the U.S., the philanthropies seemed to offer a broader concept of education to African-Americans in the South compared to the earlier missionary education,<sup>30</sup> or for that matter, to no formal education at all. The philanthropies represented a force emerging from and serving the economic system of the times. They were by no means anti-Christian. On the contrary, they fully recognized the value of the Church's earlier contributions to education in maintaining their mutual interests with the state. Yet in an increasingly secularized society, liberals saw the need to propagate, by means of science, the very same Christian values which have always allied with capitalism. This is one way in which the much hailed liberal concept of educational adaptation

was applied. The Phelps-Stokes Fund is quite clear on this point.

*The world is more indebted to missionaries and missionary boards than historians have been able to appreciate. Missionaries both at home and abroad have been working out methods which governments must now adopt, adapt and develop in dealing with all grades of mandatory arrangements. This is not to maintain that missionaries have not made serious mistakes and often been narrow in their conception of their work.... They have been pioneers and as pioneers have achieved the successes and made errors always involved in new ventures.*<sup>31</sup>

By seizing upon the missionary experience and pointing out its shortcomings while at the same time recognizing that it has served and could continue to serve its own class interests, Phelps-Stokes was attempting to assure the colonial state that a three-way alliance under liberal leadership would be most effective in educating Africans in a manner which would enhance the future of capitalist exploitation of the colonies.

*Mandatory commissions and colonial bureaus (sic) will more and more find the educational activities of private funds and missionary boards a rich field of suggestions, types and methods for realization of their responsibilities.*<sup>32</sup>

Missionaries in turn had expressed support for philanthropic work which upheld Christian beliefs. One missionary characterized Tuskegee as "essentially a creation of the Christian spirit though not connected with any Christian denomination."<sup>33</sup> And this achievement was used as further evidence supporting Phelps-Stokes' involvement in Africa. Of course, such continuity had been possible through the application of the neo-colonial strategy of forming collaborators such as Tuskegee's founder Booker T. Washington, who had been educated by missionaries in the South and who held that "labor is a spiritual force."<sup>34</sup> This belief formed the ideological basis upon which industrial and vocational education for African-Americans was developed by B.T. Washington. He was able then to dominate African-American education for thirty years despite opposition from people such as W.E.B. DuBois, who saw this type of education for what it was: "narrow" and "too predominantly economic in objective."<sup>35</sup>

Just as the results of B.T. Washington's influence at Tuskegee had been presented as a model of "Negro" success in the U.S., so too the neo-colonial strategy of dispensing "Negro education" was projected to the rest of the world as a successful and acceptable approach to dealing with African resistance to colonial cap-

italism. It is no wonder, then, that the British would consider U.S. advice on educational policy when faced with increasing resistance in its own colonies. The Phelps-Stokes Education Commission's report on East Africa<sup>36</sup> is a response to this need, as well as a foreshadowing of the U.S.'s increasing role in Africa, not only on a political-economic level, but also on an ideological one. Through education, American pragmatism has contributed substantially to the efficacy with which neo-colonial puppets have been prepared. Just as the U.S. has managed to temporarily stem the tide of revolution within its own borders through the use of education as one of its main ideological weapons, so too new methods of education were "adopted" and "adapted" to aid in countering revolution on the African continent.

Phelps-Stokes stated that its major objective was to make a contribution to "world peace," or as this term historically has come to signify, capitalist hegemony. In the quest for "race harmony" both at home and abroad, it is obvious that "world peace" was not merely seen as an external concern, but first and foremost as an internal one. This is a direct response to the victory of the 1917 Soviet Socialist Revolution and is stated quite succinctly.

*...just as a chain is as strong as its weakest link, so not even the dominant civilisation in Europe and America can be counted upon to endure so long as people anywhere are weak as the result of ignorance or any other cause. Just as commerce knows no boundaries, so epidemics, whether of disease or of Bolshevism, or of warfare between groups, quickly spread from country to country, and can only be controlled by modern science and an enlightened public opinion.<sup>37</sup>*

It was, then, the challenge of communism, rather than the genuine desire for "world peace," which was at the base of the Fund's "altruism," yet no attempt was made to disguise what was disproportionately, self-interest. Rather, a call was made to colonial governments to "observe Christian precepts" at the same time that it strengthened capitalist control.<sup>38</sup> Interestingly enough, this view bares less resemblance to McCarthy style anti-communism than it does to the call by liberals today for the U.S. to halt its support of South Africa on the basis that this would ultimately work against U.S. interests. They see this happening in the form of discrediting the U.S. both in Black African countries and within African-American communities, thus increasing the possibility for anti-imperialist revolutions in Africa and within the U.S. In their refusal to question U.S. imperialism, their class interests are maintained. That this ideology has survived from the days of Phelps-Stokes' founding,

utilizing the very same line of argument, testifies to its ability to draw strength from its symbiotic relationship with capital. This strength and continuity is illustrated by Phelps-Stokes' correct reading of the forces which would have to be controlled if capitalist hegemony were to survive in Africa. In 1925, the political challenge of Africa was viewed in the following manner:

*The power of climate, the lure of resources, and the migrations of peoples are superior to the artificialities of political or economic expediency and compromise. These great natural forces and conditions will ultimately determine the place of population and their political and social status. Happy then the statesmanship that discerns the realities and helps direct the tides into channels that make for permanency in human development.*<sup>39</sup>

While these strategists understood relatively early the power and necessity of a scientific approach to history and politics, it was to take most historians until the 1960s to put forth the notion of the centrality of Africa's internal forces in the development of her history. Once this stage was reached however, the "African initiatives" school, like all bourgeois scholarship,<sup>40</sup> continued to work against the total liberation of colonised peoples. The view that capitalism was an externally imposed system in Africa, and thus not central to a correct understanding of her history,<sup>41</sup> at its best serves as an apology for continuing capitalist exploitation in its capacity as a reliable source of historical obscurantism. While providing an abundance of empirical information about African societies for the benefit of the ruling class interests, this perspective discourages the development of a theoretical framework which can be used to unravel the "complexity"<sup>42</sup> of this history. The effect of this approach to history is that it suppresses the kind of knowledge required to kindle the process of social transformation.<sup>43</sup> The refusal or inability to make the necessary connections between the external and the internal forces at work which can lead to an understanding of the totality of the historical process leaves room for the forces of capitalism to act. This is possible, as is shown in Phelps-Stokes' approach, precisely because the major difference between bourgeois and progressive science becomes clear in determining who controls it and for what purposes.

Having correctly identified an understanding of the internal social and natural forces as primary to affecting change, Phelps-Stokes accordingly turned much of its attention to Africa's agricultural potential, particularly the "cultivated acreage potential in temperate areas free of disease and good for settlers."<sup>44</sup> Central to the question of Africa's agricultural future

was, of course, that of land and labor. In the case of Kenya, with its relatively large settler population, these questions necessarily translated into a concern for "racial harmony," the familiar phrase found throughout Phelps-Stokes' report on its activities within the U.S. While the Commission's view that the demands of white settlers, which posed the possibility of the genocide of African peoples, paralleled the reality of the extermination of native peoples on the North American continent, this view was sustained by capitalist concerns rather than humanitarian ones. It is based on the fear that a labor void would make exploitation of the continent's natural wealth more difficult, if not impossible.<sup>45</sup> In as much as this was an oversimplification resulting from a lack of understanding of the types of African political and economic systems and their great diversity as opposed to those of American native peoples, there is some legitimacy to this view given the historical developments in Kenya during this period. The period just prior to the Commission's visit was marked by increasing resistance to, and organized movements by Africans against colonial capitalist exploitation. The widespread famine and epidemics from 1918-19, the oppressive labor laws from 1918-1920, and the reduction of wages along with an increase in taxation all contributed to the conditions which led to organized resistance.<sup>46</sup> The presence of settlers and the corresponding land alienation also contributed to the anti-colonial movement during the inter-war period. Africans lost control of the land which they occupied and were increasingly reduced to squatters as the African population expanded within the limited area it could occupy.<sup>47</sup> The colonial state was preoccupied, throughout this period, with this growing amount of squatters who needed to be transformed into laborers. It thus began to allocate money to missions to encourage their educational work.<sup>48</sup>

Both the strength of the African resistance and capitalist demands worked against an outcome in Kenya which would have paralleled that of the Native American peoples. Rather, what happened there resembled most closely the fate of African-Americans. Resistance was temporarily crushed while capitalism survived. Education was to serve as a means by which resistant elements were either brought into the system or neutralised. The appearance of Phelps-Stokes on the scene in this strategic period says much about U.S. concerns, regardless of whether any of the Commission's recommendations were actually applied.

One important way in which education was to be used in East Africa, according to Phelps-Stokes, was the spreading of Western cultural influence which, as a superstructural element of the capitalist system, played a major role particularly in counteracting "oriental" influence. Phelps-Stokes believed that if Africans were to be used as a labor force they would have to be taught to look favorably upon the "occident" if they were not to

be won over by the "orient."<sup>49</sup> This is both in relation to Islam and to the presence of Asians in East Africa. To this end, the foothold gained by Christian missionaries was a useful base on which to expand Western influence and underlies Phelps-Stokes' decision to visit Christian rather than predominantly Islamic areas in Africa. Islam was not considered very widespread in this area of Africa, leaving room for Christian dominance. As it turned out, this view applied most directly to the situation in Kenya. However, the real basis for an alliance between Africans and the "orient" was not merely religious or cultural, but political and economic. The possibility of an alliance between radical African movements and Asians led to the founding of Alliance High School by the Protestant Alliance in 1926 in Kenya in an effort to "create an African leadership independent of Asian control"<sup>50</sup> and thus more easily controlled by missionary interests. It is not clear to what extent this decision was directly influenced by Phelps-Stokes' recommendations, but it clearly reflects the same thinking.

We have seen that Phelps-Stokes' East Africa Commission followed quite closely the general approaches and policies of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in the U.S., yet the method of "adaptation" required that conditions peculiar to Africa be recognized and that appropriate policies be formulated. The school was to play a more crucial role in the African society due to the lack of capitalist institutions which could take on the many tasks of social control. No longer was overt violence, in the view of Phelps-Stokes, to be suited to advancing colonial capitalism to new levels. As in the U.S., education was to mask violence with coercion, but it was to be more complete, taking over functions which up to this time had been carried out by African institutions which did not readily respond to the needs of capital. A pragmatic approach to challenging social conditions created by advancing capital and African resistance led Phelps-Stokes to conclude,

*...historically the proportion of exploitation and slavery has been all too large. British government leadership should promote cooperation.... The most essential condition of such cooperation is a widely planned system of education -- education for the native to deal effectively with his environment, education of others to recognize the potentialities of the Natives.*<sup>51</sup>

This "widely planned system of education" in reality was not a move towards the democratisation of education *per se*, but rather part of a strategy for aid in capitalist development. Surveys were made of African societies and their institutions in order to ascertain which aspects should be maintained or replaced depending on their usefulness to the promotion of capitalist develop-

ment. In Kenya, it was found that "from an educational point of view the nomadic tribes of the Northern Frontier District are of little significance for the near future, the Natives of the coast area are historically of considerable importance," while the "tribes of the South Western section" are important to the question of land tenure because this is where most settlers are found.<sup>52</sup> Clearly, "education" was to be provided to those peoples who were considered strategic to the questions of both land and labor.

The Land Tenure Commission Report of Kenya of March 1922 provided the basis for Phelps-Stokes' East Africa Education Commission's conclusion that the land question had been resolved. While it was recognized that the amount of land allocated to "native reserves is limited" both commissions agreed that through education Africans could learn to make more efficient use of their land.<sup>53</sup> This faith in education as the solution to the admitted problem of land shortage resulting from settler colonialism might seem to clash with Phelps-Stokes' observations of the poor conditions under which Africans lived. In reality, it is an expression of a pragmatic resolution to the contradiction in Kenya and could thus only lead to self-serving proposals. The high child and adult mortality rates were, therefore, cited as obstacles to increasing production, rather than as one of the results of exploitation.

As the commission's report states:

*...from the point of view of the labor needs of the colony the loss of human life is most wasteful. The great potentialities of Kenya Colony will never be realized until the health of the Native people is sufficient to guarantee the normal increase of the population.*<sup>54</sup>

This stated opposition to forced labor revealed that colonial violence was viewed merely as a hindrance to a more efficient use of labor. Nothing was done to disguise its true interests in humanitarian rhetoric. This type of argument was apparently more effective if the British colonial government was to accept its recommendations as realistic and practicable. With this aim, then Phelps-Stokes put forth the analysis that

*As a permanent policy the discouragement of Native production cannot be defended by sound economics. In a long view the real solution of any adequate labor supply is in the normal increase of population and the effective use of labor.*<sup>55</sup>

Not surprisingly, the underlying motives of this policy bear striking resemblance to those of Peace Corps policies in neo-

colonies today. As heirs to the same ideology, which upholds the same interests, these endeavors initiated and carried out by the liberal sector of the ruling class, cannot be expected to challenge the basis on which colonial and neo-colonial exploitation and oppression are built. They merely provide a cosmetic solution which can never question imperialism, a system which provides the material basis for the very existence of these authors and their deeds.

This discussion has focused primarily on Phelps-Stokes' activities in the U.S. and Kenya in order to draw out parallels which are necessary to a picture of Phelps-Stokes' historical significance, in the process of transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism where the settler factor led to a similar political outcome as in the U.S. South. Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, of course, presented their own specific challenges to colonial education policy makers and were dealt with accordingly, always with the concept of "adaptation" in mind. What is significant about Phelps-Stokes is its overall aim whether in the U.S. or in Africa. This was, as we have seen, to smoothen over some of the grossest evidence of colonial exploitation while enhancing the functioning of capital on higher levels.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race, Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa*, Oxford University Press, London, 1971.

<sup>2</sup> King, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 258.

<sup>6</sup> Although the focus here is on the external forces which have shaped history, it is not our intention to diminish the importance of the internal forces, that is, the actions of African peoples in what is understood as essentially a dialectical process. It is recognized that the strategies of metropolitan capital have inevitably been formulated and applied with the understanding that African people have constituted a force to be reckoned with, and thus controlled. This is quite evident in the colonial state's use of violence, (Lonsdale, J. and Berman B., "Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial

State in Kenya, 1895-1914," *Journal of African History*, 20 (1979), pp. 487-505.)

<sup>7</sup> Mamdani, M., *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1976, pp. 221-3.

<sup>8</sup> While the Phelps-Stokes Fund was not founded until the twentieth century it was representative of numerous large educational foundations which appeared from Reconstruction to World War I. Franklin, J.H., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, A. A. Knopf, New York, 1963, p. 378.

<sup>9</sup> Jones, T.J., *Educational Adaptations: Report of Ten Years' Work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1910-1920*, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>12</sup> Karier, C. J., "Liberalism and the Quest for Orderly Change," *The History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring 1972, pp. 57-77.

<sup>13</sup> Cohen, D. K. and Lazerson, M., "Education and the Corporate Order," *Socialist Revolution*, Vol. 2, No. 2, March-April 1972, pp. 47-72.

<sup>14</sup> Jones, T. J., *Educational Adaptations*, pp. 40-41. The Phelps-Stokes Education Commission came into being in 1919 with the request by missionaries in West Africa that the Fund should carry out a survey there under the leadership of Jones who had, at this time, himself been thinking about focusing more attention on Africa. Also see King, K., *Pan-Africanism and Education*, especially p. 55-56.

<sup>15</sup> Jones, T. J., *Educational Adaptations*, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. T. J. Jones, a sociologist and the Fund's "Educational Director in Charge of Racial Groups," directed both the survey with the U.S. and the surveys done in West, East and Central Africa and headed the Fund's Commissions to Africa. Throughout his reports, praise for American success in dealing with "racial strife" by improving "Negro Education" forms a continuous thread. See also King, K., *Pan-Africanism and Education* for a background on Jones' research activities at Hampton Institute and the development of "an education theory appropriate to Negro people" based on nothing less than 'scientific' racism, p. 27.

- 17 Jones, T. J., *Educational Adaptations*, citing *The New York Evening Post*, p. 34.
- 18 Mamdani, M., *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*, p. 158.
- 19 Furley, O. W., "Education and the Chiefs in East Africa in the Inter-War Period," *Transafrican Journal of History*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan 1971, p. 62.
- 20 Furley, p. 24.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 76.
- 22 Jones, T. J., *Educational Adaptations*, p. 92.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- 24 Mamdani, M., *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*, p. 160. Under the influence of American missionaries who had convinced Phelps-Stokes to apply the U.S. experience in 'Negro Education' to Africa, British missionaries suggested to the colonial government that religious education should serve to counter the 'disruptive' effects of education which could threaten the 'social order'. [quoted from Oliver, Roland, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*]. Mamdani points out that in this way, the missionaries had allied with the state in practicing 'indirect rule'.
- 25 King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, p. 55.
- 26 Jones, *Educational Adaptations*, p. 99.
- 27 Franklin, J. H., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, A. A. Knopf, New York, 1963, pp. 377-405.
- 28 Jones, *Educational Adaptations*, p. 31.
- 29 Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 377-405.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 378.
- 31 Jones, *Educational Adaptations*, p. 24.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

33 Ibid., p. 25.

34 Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, p. 384. Also see King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, for an extensive background on Tuskegee and 'Negro Education' in the South, especially pp. 5-57, 128-149 and 177-211.

35 Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, p. 387. Also in King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, it is pointed out that although DuBois had, in an earlier period, supported "industrial" training because of its contribution to "black economic self-sufficiency," by the 1930s it was clear that DuBois "was not merely accepting Washington's emphasis on economic realities, but [was] positively embracing black separatism as the only way to give the economic programme life.... DuBois never accepted the view of Jesse Jones.... The school, he was certain, could not change society:... 'the school has but one way to cure the ills of society and that is by making men intelligent.'" pp. 255-257.

36 Jones, *Education in East Africa*, Phelps-Stokes Commission Report, 1925.

37 Ibid., p. xiii.

38 Ibid., p. xiii and xiv.

39 Ibid., p. 4.

40 Bernstein, Henry and Depelchin, Jacques, "The Object of African History: A Materialist Perspective II," *History in Africa: A Journal of Method*, Vol. 6, 1979, p. 26.

41 Temu, Arnold and Swai, Bonaventure, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique; Post Colonial Historiography Examined*, Zed Press, London, 1981, p. 82-87.

For a detailed critique of the African Initiatives approach evident in the work of Iliffe, John, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge University Press, 1979, see in particular the section dealing with the trade thesis of state formation, p. 84.

42 Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 3.

43 Contrary to the dominating influence of bourgeois his-

torigraphy which holds that "objectivity" is of highest regard, without recognizing that the kinds of questions posed in historical research limit this "objectivity," Walter Rodney was much more objective about the role and duties of historians when he admitted that they must respond to the historical needs and desires of oppressed peoples." ...a people's demands at any given time change the kinds of questions to which historians are expected to provide answers. Today the masses of African people seek 'development' and total emancipation." Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Howard University Press, Washington, D.C., 1974, p. 56.

44 Jones, *Education in East Africa*, p. 3.

45 Ibid., p. 4.

46 Ogot, Bethwell A., "Kenya Under the British, 1895-1963," in Ogot, (ed.), *Tamani*, New Ed., Nairobi, 1973, pp. 267-269 and Sorrenson, M.P.K., *Origins of European Settlement in Kenya*, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 292-293.

47 Tignor, Robert L., *The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Kamba, Kikuyu, and Maasai from 1900 to 1939*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1976, p. 32.

48 Ibid., pp. 110-111.

49 Jones, *Education in East Africa*, p. 6.

50 Ogot, B., "Kenya Under the British, 1895-1963," p. 270.

51 Jones, *Education in East Africa*, pp. 101-102.

52 Ibid., p. 85.

53 Ibid., p. 105.

54 Ibid., p. 106.

55 Ibid., p. 107.

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