NATIONALISM AND REGIONALISM IN SOUTH AMERICA:
IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR EDUCATION

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I. Purposes of Education

1.- Introduction.-

World unity is becoming more and more an important objective to be followed by all nations with the purpose of securing an environment of international security and enduring peace. But for education to become the basic element of understanding it must be based on the principle of equality for all men and women both politically and socially.

As long as the majority of the people of the world are subject to hunger and disease with no opportunity for progress, it will be very difficult to secure peace for mankind.

It must be realized that international misunderstandings arise out of conflicts originated by national interests. Paradoxically, the nations function as the centers of social and cultural integration subject to a unitary political structure, but at the same time they are the centers of power to promote misunderstandings, global dividedness and finally international conflicts.

To develop a fraternal attitude amongst peoples, it is necessary to identify the problems which affect the biological and thus the spiritual integrity of man. Within this context, education has to play a decisive role to mold public consciousness and the social behaviour of people throughout the world. In a sense, it becomes essential to let our youth know that happiness
cannot be the joy of a few but must be a goal to be sought through cooperation
and broad understanding of the fact that abundance here and famine there
contribute to create a sense of superiority for a few and of hatred and envy
for the majorities.

Nationalism is a Nineteenth-Century phenomenon based on the doctrine
of the sovereign nation-states within an international system of equal, free
and self-determining nationalities, each organized into its state and living
peacefully side by side in harmonious mutual relations. This liberal concept
of nationalism is in contrast with the rise of aggressive and imperialist
national policies.

In South America nationalism has a different origin for it arose as a
result of local power structures supported by the military and landowners
whose basic interest was the maintenance of economic and political privileges.
This fact is historically the opposite of the great idealism that led Bolivar
and Sucre to liberate from Imperial Spain what are now the Andean Countries
(Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia) and San Martin and O'Higgins
to liberate the Southern Part of South America (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and
Paraguay) from Spanish rule. The case of Brazil is different for it arose
directly as a nation closely identified with Portugal by language and culture.

2.- The Aims of Education.-

To acquire an understanding of nationalism and chauvinism in the
educational processes in Latin America it is necessary to analyze certain
features of education within the framework of cultural, social, economic and
political developments.

It is relevant to recognize that underdevelopment is a socio-cultural
structure which characterizes a specific society, but in spite of this there
are certain features which are common to the underdeveloped countries.

Man is the only living being that possesses conceptual capacity and therefore he occupies a unique position as the arbiter of the development of life on our Planet. Human intelligence has the support of the capacity of man to reason, based on an agile exercise of his knowledge acquired through experience and the use of logic.

It must be recognized that man within his cultural environment cherishes his way of life and believes that his culture is the best. This condition inhibits a society to accept change. The contemporary problem of our Western Civilization is whether man can "rediscover" the basic human and social values of our civilization and whether we are as a democratic society capable of applying historical understanding to political action.

An educational system serves to prepare the individual for the function he or she is to assume within a society. Within this framework, the task is that of inculcating in children and youths those attitudes and values that are dominant in a society.

Western morality includes responsibility, love, tenderness, patriotism, industriousness, honesty, etc. based upon the center of social stability that is the family. However, the question is whether Western morality includes cooperation and an affective attitude towards peoples foreign in their customs to our own.

The answers to these questions must be based upon a renovated understanding of ethical values and the recognition of the fact that humanity, regardless of cultural traits, has the same needs, frustrations and aspirations.

Within this context what we need is to design a system of education to cure the ailments of society: Illiteracy, diseases, famine and war. It
must be recognized that, while the cultural and economic gap between the rich and the poor has been narrowing within the European Continent and North America, the gap between these countries and those of Africa and Latin America and part of Asia is widening. The fact is that these Third-World Countries demand not only political independence, but also a standard of living approaching that of the rich countries. The situation is that about seventy-five percent of the human population is unwilling to accept a standard of living which is only about ten percent of that of the peoples of the most industrialized countries. The United States with about five percent of the World population produces approximately thirty percent of the World's goods.

With this background, it is within intelligent comprehension that a process of education cannot be designed to produce well-informed men and women ignoring that culture is essentially activity of thought supported by a spontaneous receptive capacity to beauty and the comprehension of the significance of the surrounding environment. In our modern world, the basic purpose should be to build through education men and women who possess culture and expert knowledge framed within a sense of solidarity and cooperation for the betterment of our fellow beings. After all, genuine intellectual development is self-development, a goal which can be attained only within a system of education in which learning is characterized by fresh ideas, permanent initiatives and creativity.

The scientific achievements of the Twentieth Century should lead man to solve the problems of hunger and disease. We must be able to demonstrate that it is possible to raise the standard of living in the underdeveloped countries without recourse to coercitive regimentation.

To achieve this objective it is important to stress the responsibility of society in relation to the utilization of the resources available. The
demographic pressure is indeed a limiting factor for social and economic progress, particularly when the areas of arable land are limited and the poorer segment of the population have larger families. This social problem cannot be solved on a short-term basis because it is closely related to culture and religion.

The advent of Protestantism within South America is playing a very significant role in changing the attitude of the poorer segment of people for they are subject to processes of informal education which are upsetting the traditional social structure.

What we need within the underdeveloped countries is a cultural revolution based on a protest against inert ideas, to integrate our immediate world with the new conceptions of reality. In this context, to teach a small part of a large number of subjects is a useless exercise due to a deficient perception of disconnected ideas. The ideas introduced to our children must be few to the extent that they can relate what they learn to their own experiences and gain early an understanding of the fact that general ideas provide an integrated comprehension of the events which are part of their daily lives. A fundamental purpose of both formal and informal education must be that of embuing in children and youths a sense of equality, cooperation and respect for human beings regardless of their color, level of education, religion and social status.

Our world of culture and science is extraordinarily dynamic; therefore, an essential part of modern education must be the acquisition of a capacity and ability to utilize knowledge, a quality which has been optimized in the Advanced Countries and neglected in the Third-World Countries. To sum up, education is one important aspect in solving the problems of cultural, social and economic underdevelopment.
II. Historical, Cultural and Educational Background

1.- Introduction.-

It is essential to call attention to the elements which have contributed to shape the features of education in South America and to pinpoint the problems which must be solved in order to correct the stagnation of social progress.

The historical and cultural background of the peoples of the World determines the specific characteristics of education. Thus, the differences of emphasis on certain aspects of education within the continents of Europe, Africa, Asia and North and South America.

In Europe with the advent of Protestantism the individual was no longer dependent upon the rituals of the Church but upon the guidance of his own conscience. The new interpretation was founded on ethical terms. The purpose was to cultivate reason over faith, the primacy of conduct over the organized system. Within this new social environment, education acquired a new meaning and served the purpose of strengthening humanism, a doctrine which supported the belief that religion should function for the good of mankind and not for the benefit of the organized church. The social and political outlook was universal although the peoples were conscious of belonging to different cultures.
Peoples grown up in this cultural environment settled in what is now the United States and, overwhelmed by the vastness of the New Country, developed a deep sense of togetherness and a pragmatic attitude which permeated every aspect of life including education.

In South America, on the other hand, the situation was quite different because of the direct influence of the Catholic Church on the cultural structure of society. The Catholic Religion had the purpose of serving God with the express belief that to be poor is a noble quality. Within this environment there was no need to gain an education designed for progress. Education was subordinated to the overall cultural and political traits developed within the Region subject to the direct influence of Spain and Portugal. German minorities have had in the present century a significant influence on the development of education at all levels in Chile and Brazil.

It is desirable to call attention to the elements which contributed to shape the features of the problems which confront the development of modern education in South America.

2.- Colonial Latin America (1500-1800).-

Intelectual thought in Colonial Latin America was dominated by Imperial Spain, a country which imposed on the colonies scholastic philosophy and a feudal social structure subject to the teachings of the Catholic Church. Within this social and economic environment, education was designed for the elite. About eighty to ninety percent of the population had no access to education and the few that had, studied subjects such as Religion, Grammar, Arithmetic, History and Geography. Secondary education was designed primarily for the training of candidates to become priests. The few that had no major interest in religious affairs were trained to become government officials and burocrats.
It is interesting to emphasize that Colonial Education was of the same quality as that provided by Spain to its own youth and if we consider that the peoples of America were just being born into European Civilization, the work carried out by priests and monks was all the more deserving since it was as efficient as possible in the period and under the circumstances given.

Spain understood that in order to assimilate the Indians it was necessary to evangelize and to teach them, at least on an elementary level and this was done by missionaries. Priests and monks taught the Indians the language of Castille, the Catholic Religion, agricultural methods, arts and crafts, music, song and dances. They made an effort to make Christians out of the natives, by studying their language and customs and by teaching them the language and the customs of Spain.  

On the other hand, due to an exaggerated effort of evangelization and not out of wickedness, the temples, monuments and traditions of the native Indians were destroyed.

In the towns and cities founded by Spain there were elementary and practical schools, charity schools that were free for Indians, mestizos and whites. These schools were training centers that produced masons, painters, sculptors and musicians. Many of the monumental cathedrals in South America were built by native artists trained by the Spaniards.

The Spaniards also founded exclusive schools with various objectives. These institutions functioned as extensions of the convents and subsisted on donations from the neighbors, contributions of the monks themselves and the tuitions of the pupils. They were neither free nor within the reach of the common people because, in addition to the payment of tuition, a number of personal requirements had to be fulfilled: To be legitimate children and of pure Spanish descent. Nevertheless, common people could occasionally enjoy the privilege of this type of education.
There were also schools for Indian nobles, sons of chieftains, for mariniers and for mestizos of both sexes who aspired to enter a convent.

Eighteen universities were founded by Spain in Latin America, the first three were those of Santo Domingo, Mexico and Lima. Later, in the Seventeenth Century, five more were established and in the Eighteenth Century, ten. They were organized like those of Spain and even if they did not really bear fruit, they did contribute toward the progress of the colonies. In addition to the classic humanities: Greek, Latin and Aristotelian philosophy, law and native languages were also taught. Medicine was taught at various universities, even though it was not really considered a science since healings involved religious ceremonies and it was thought that epidemics could be fought with processions and the belief in miracles.  

Although scientific achievements were few, during Colonial times there were renowned men in all the branches of knowledge known at the time, which give a clear idea of the enthusiasm for the study of science. The teaching of exact and natural sciences was introduced in Latin America at the end of the Eighteenth Century and throughout the Nineteenth. Inspite of this development, general education did not benefit at all. These men had a universal concept of culture and thus they supported internationalism.

3. - Republican South America (1800-1900).-

From 1810 to 1840 all of the South American countries, except the Guianas and Brazil, gained independence from Spain and thus became republics. Bolivar and San Martin, the great liberators of the South American countries from Spanish domain, preached with great devotion the need to educate the people and to develop culture. These ideals had the broad support of
intellectuals who were fully acquainted with both the French and American Revolutions and who promoted liberation movements at the end of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Centuries.

The great political aim of Bolivar was to create a strong state based on a closely-knit political and economic integration of the Department of the South (Ecuador), Nueva Granada (Colombia) and Venezuela. This strong state was the "Gran Colombia" which was founded in 1821 and which disintegrated in 1829 due to personal ambitions of a few Venezuelan generals who fought for independence from Spain under the leadership of Bolivar, but abandoned Bolivar's integrationist doctrine, creating the Republic of Venezuela. Likewise, the Department of the South in 1830 decided to become independent as the Republic of Ecuador.

The Southern Countries of South America gained independence from Spain under the leadership of San Martin and Bernardo O'Higgins between 1810 and 1820. San Martin's purpose was to create a nation integrated by the provinces of the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata (Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay and Argentina). This integrationist policy also failed because of the ambitious attitudes of local politicians and the military who decided to create the Republics of Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina. Chile gained independence from Spain under the leadership of O'Higgins in 1918.

The case of Brazil is different because Don Juan, the Prince Regent who was the head of state of Portugal, in order to escape imprisonment by Napoleon's soldiers who had invaded his country, established his government in Brazil. However, once Napoleon's occupation of Portugal was over, he was forced by his people to return to Portugal in 1821. He left behind his son Peter as the Regent of Brazil. In September 1822, Peter declared the independence of Brazil, assigning to himself the title of Emperor. But the doctrine of
Republicanism gradually gained strength to the extent that in 1889 Brazil became the Federal Republic of the United States of Brazil. The Emperor was then sent back to Portugal where he died soon after his arrival.

The great political problem which was originated by these processes of independence was the lack of definition of the borders of the new countries. This situation was used to justify the creation of the national armed forces and the development of local policies designed to strengthen the ambitions of local politicians.

It should be emphasized that the new republics had the same origin and the same language and religion and thus a common cultural heritage.

Education in South America developed within this social and political environment of defending "the territorial integrity of the republics" and exercising aggression with the purpose of gaining territory from the neighboring countries.

Within this period primary schools were organized under the supervision of the Catholic Church and also by the governments but under the strong influence of the Church. Roughly twenty percent of the youth had access to primary education.

It is interesting to stress that Bolivar understood the value of science for the social and economic development of the new countries. In 1826 he organized the Central Universities of what are now Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, although the Colombians later changed the name of theirs to "National University of Colombia".

In the Southern part of South America, National Universities were organized in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Paraguay.

The purpose of higher education was to train public servants, professionals in the fields of law, medicine and civil engineering and a few scientists.
Promising young men were sent to study in Europe, particularly in France and Spain. A few distinguished naturalists, pharmacists and physicians of the Nineteenth Century received their academic training abroad.

These advances in the educational process had no impact on the social development since the political structure was designed to maintain and strengthen the privileges of a minority composed of landowners, administrators and in some cases, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. These people considered themselves superior because they were either native Spaniards or of Spanish descent. Within this context, the tutorial system of education was reserved for them and the public schools were open to the common people.
III. Nationalism as a Political Doctrine

With the advent of nations in the Eighteenth Century, political philosophers and intellectuals in general have considered the problems of internal politics and government as the really important questions. Systems and theories of political structures have therefore centered around the respective units of government (states, nations, republics) considered in isolation from and independent of their international political framework.

With the rise of the sovereign states there emerged the ideal of a system of equal, free and self-determining nationalities, each organized into its own state and living peacefully side by side in harmonious mutual relations. This theory corresponded roughly to the democratic ideal of equal, free and self-determining individuals in the domestic realm. But when nationalism proved to be less peaceful and harmonious than idealists had forecast, rationalism in world affairs assumed the form of internationalism, a theory which corresponded to the growing structural integration of international society in the fields of technical communications, economic and financial exchanges and internationalist movements in the cultural and political fields which paralleled these developments.

Nationalism in this sense is an Early-Nineteenth-Century phenomenon with France as the state created by the French Revolution that established the people as a self-conscious unit. Foreign attacks on the French Revolution created the nation-in-arms and thereby French nationalism. Thus, a revolution
which was at the outset cosmopolitan in aims and aspirations soon underwent a shift in emphasis towards nationalism. The struggle against foreign interference and for the liberation of oppressed peoples which appeared to be conducted in the interests of all mankind was soon transformed into a struggle for the rights of France in the course of which liberated peoples were forced to remain "free" under the surveillance of French imperialism.  

This was the kind of philosophy and political thought adopted by the South American intellectuals and liberators which was gradually lost by the rise of local interests which were identified with the territorial units (Virreinatos, Real Audiencias, etc.) which Spain had organized in order to govern the Colonies.

With this background, it is evident that nationalism in South America is not identified with different cultural heritages, but is based on artificial geographic divisions created by local politicians to exercise political and economic power. The fact is that excessive lip-service has been paid to integration without achieving any positive results. Such integrationist organizations as ALALC (Latin American Association of Free Trade) and the Pact of Cartagena designed to achieve economic integration of the Andean countries have been to date static organizations with no positive results and the Andres Bello Covenant on cultural affairs for the Andean countries (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia) has not accomplished any real cultural integration.

These difficulties directly affect the educational processes with the strengthening of nationalistic interests which upset both the educational and the cultural integration. Within this environment, the adoption of the same textbooks in the schools of the Andean countries is difficult in the area of science and unthinkable in the area of geography and history. Moreover, there is strong lobbying by local teachers and politicians in the ministries of education to ensure that only textbooks authored by nationals are used in the
public schools.

To summarize, it is clear that nationalism in South America is not identified with different cultural heritages, but developed as a consequence of maintaining the political powers of oligarchies who converted the artificial geographic divisions between neighboring countries into the central question to gain the support of the peoples and thus, on behalf of nationalism, maintain their privileges.
The two World Wars had a direct impact on South America because of the immigration of Europeans to all countries of the Region, particularly to Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela. The immigrants included qualified professionals in the fields of engineering, chemistry, medicine and biology and scientists who were incorporated as professors in the universities. The above countries gained greatly from these immigrations for their universities were improved academically to the extent of achieving significant advances in the medical sciences, biology, chemistry and physics. The Argentine scientists Bernardo Houssay and Luis Federico Leloir were awarded Nobel Prizes for their contributions in the fields of physiology and biochemistry, respectively.

Education at all levels subject to a nationalistic approach gained significant impetus in South America up to about 1950. Distinguished pedagogues of various European countries contributed to the improvement of the teaching of the exact and social sciences at all levels of education and the national governments offered their political and financial support to the fulfillment of this endeavor.

It should be noted that in the decades of the Thirties and Forties the most distinguished scientists visited Argentina and Brazil including Einstein, Heisenberg, Schrödinger, Oppenheimer, and others. It ought to be mentioned that Ortega y Gasset developed a good part of his philosophy in Argentina. The contributions of distinguished European scientists to the Argentinian
universities were very significant since scientific research became a fundamental activity of the university and thus Argentina was integrated into the international scientific community.

During the Second World War most of the South American countries accumulated huge amounts of money from the exportation of raw materials to the United States and Great Britain and in the decade of the Seventies the highly industrialized countries offered loans generously to the governments as well as to private enterprises. The enormous amounts of money available were not used to resolve the problems of education and public health, but instead were misused to buy weapons and to create the corrupt new social class of the "newly rich" who did not care to contribute to improving the living conditions of the people.

The finest opportunity to resolve the problems of massification of education and to improve its quality was lost. In most South American countries teaching continues to be expository requiring recitation-type response from the pupils. The irrelevance of the curricula has been ascribed to the continued reverence for the encyclopaedic tradition, whose dominant feature is a uniform curriculum centrally prescribed and geared towards training professionals who will end up as government burocrats.

It is interesting to note that at "The Caribbean Consultation on Education for All" held in Kingston, Jamaica November 22 to 24, 1989, a major decision was taken: "The recognition of the importance of basic education as the cornerstone of further and continuing education". The central idea is that the curriculum would take into account the uniqueness of individual schools, local culture and economic needs and would involve the participation of the community in its formulation.10

Basic education, then, seems to hold out good prospects in Latin America for catering to the needs of a considerable number of primary school pupils
who up to now are subject to conventional education and so disenchanted that they become the drop-outs of the system.\textsuperscript{11}

Symptoms of social and economic crisis were felt strongly after the Second World War in the three temperate countries (Argentina, Chile and Uruguay) as well as in Colombia and Peru with the appearance of subversive groups which were beyond the control of the national authorities. This problem was aggravated by a weakening political process which affected the whole Region with the result that in the three decades from 1950 to 1980 the constitutional forms of government were replaced by military dictatorships which were incapable of correcting the economic policies and instead contributed to worsen the economic situations to the extent of leading these countries to bankruptcy.

The social environment was mature for violence. Subversive groups emerged which confronted the military forces in the hope of gaining political power. Under these conditions, human rights were not respected and many citizens disappeared. As a result, the educational systems at the secondary and university levels were upset because the students participated actively in public demonstrations.

Furthermore, the educational process suffered a serious set-back due to massification which was brought about by the sudden increase of the student population caused by a significant increase in the birth-rate, by the migrations toward the urban centers and by the drastic reduction of infant mortality due to the extensive use of antibiotics. Not a single one of the South American countries was prepared to meet this challenge with the result that the quality of education deteriorated.

The exercise of rampant nationalism grew immensely as a result of the deliberate promotion of a false patriotism with the purpose of deviating public attention from the critical social and political issues confronting the
South American societies. The situation was particularly difficult in Argentina and Peru where organized terrorism challenged the military dictatorships with the result that the overall social structure was upset. It is well known that "Sendero Luminoso" in Peru has altered very seriously the normal life of the rural populations where schools have been closed, thus hampering the government efforts to reduce illiteracy which affects about eighty percent of the rural population.

In general, the allocation of funds for education varies between twenty-five and thirty-five percent of the national budgets, but inflation and devaluation and the financial bankruptcy originated by mismanagement of the economies has diminished the real value of these funds. As a consequence, a significant number of children do not have access to primary education. The desertion at all levels of education has reached very critical levels, particularly in the country schools due to the fact that children have to abandon school to help their parents as agricultural laborers.

High-school education has a humanistic flavor weakened by encyclopaedic teachings based on an erudite approach. Higher education has reached respectable levels in Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Venezuela. Scientists from these countries have made significant contributions in the medical and biological sciences. The contributions in the fields of mathematics and physics by Argentine and Brazilian scientists are recognized internationally. In these countries, higher education has been influenced very strongly by the American and German experiences of integrating teaching and research. Thus Spain has lost her influence on the universities of these countries.

The critical problem of the institutions of higher learning within the region is that they are becoming obsolete because of their rigid structures and the lack of renovated manpower and material resources.
The decade from 1980 to 1990 has meant political progress for the South American peoples because of the fact that in all of the countries democratic governments emerged as the result of free elections. There is a common feeling that these new governments do understand the magnitude of the economic and social problems and the need to improve the levels of education according to a philosophy of integration.
V. The Challenge to Education

The present situation of South America with a population of 240 million people is critical in so far as education is concerned because of the huge number of children and youth that must be educated, the lack of well-defined educational policies and the economic crisis brought about by the foreign debt.

To understand the magnitude of the educational problem in South America it is important to examine some statistical information on population\(^{13}\) (Annex, Tables 1 and 2). The data given in Table 2 of the Annex indicate that on the average the percentage of the total population of South America under fourteen years of age is characterized by the statistics given in Table 1 below.

| TABLE V-1.- Percentage of the Total Population of South America Under Fourteen Years of Age |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|                                               | 1980              | 2000              | 2025              |
| \(\bar{x}\):                                  | 38.2%             | 33.7%             | 28.5%             |
| \(S\):                                       | ± 7.0             | ± 8.0             | ± 7.0             |
| Overall Population Under                       | 97,000,000        | 130,000,000       | 156,000,000       |
| Fourteen Years of Age                         | ±17,800,000       | ±30,800,000       | ±38,000,000       |

I have adopted the classification of the South American countries in three groups based on geographical, historical and social considerations. Although no emphasis has been placed on ethnic traits, the fact is that the a) three countries (Argentina, Chile and Uruguay) included under the heading of
Temperate South America are more closely identified with Europe because of the influence of strong European minorities from Italy and Germany on the modern social and cultural development of these countries.

b) The **Andean Countries** (Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela) constitute one group because of their geographical characteristics, their strong historical links and similar social and cultural traits. Finally, I

c) have included Brazil and Paraguay in the same group with Guyana and Surinam because of the fact that they are typically **Tropical Countries**, although they are of different historical and cultural origins, but sharing natural resources of similar characteristics.

The statistical data presented in Table 1 of the Annex represent the forecast of the growth of the population of South America which, on the average, will increase from 240 million in 1980 to 560 million in 2025, that is, within forty-five years. However, what should be a matter of the greatest concern for the South American policy makers is the percentage of the total population which is under fourteen years of age. The information on this topic is given in Table 2 of the Annex and expressed in percentages in Table 1 above.

The overall population of South America under fourteen years of age will increase from 97 million in 1980 to 156 million in 2025. This information stresses a fact which, I am afraid, has not been taken into account by the education planners. It should be noted that the population under fourteen years in the three countries with "temperate climate" tends to level off within the period from 1980 to 2025 whereas in the four tropical countries classified as "Other Countries" within this same period this population will increase by a factor of 1.5 and in the Andean Countries by a factor of 2.0.

With this background, the critical problems which complicate the development of education in South America are: 14,15
a) The population migrations from the rural areas to the urban centers. In 1980 about sixty percent of the population was located in the urban areas whereas in the year 2000 it is expected that the migrations towards the cities will reach eighty-four percent of the rural population.

b) About forty percent of the total population live precariously bordering on the limit of absolute poverty. Forty million people live under conditions below the critical level of poverty with no sanitation nor education.

c) The unusually high expenditures for "national defense" which vary from twenty to thirty percent of the national budgets in addition to the "reserved expenses" which may reach the same levels are a severe burden on the national economies.

d) At present forty-nine million children attend primary school. Six and a half million children eligible for schooling have no means of satisfying this elementary need for education; and

e) The illiterate population in 1990 runs about fifteen percent of the total population which amounts to almost fifty million people.

The mass migrations of people with little or no education from the rural areas to the cities indeed represent a formidable problem. The supply of tap water and other basic facilities are adversely affected, very serious sanitary problems originate and the proper use of the limited school resources is upset, bringing about massification and improvisation. The net result is the deterioration of the quality of education.

The very low standard of living of an important segment of the population causes malnutrition, diseases and changes in social behaviour. Under these conditions, education is severely affected because of the deficient performance of the children and youths at the primary and secondary levels and the increase of school desertions.
It is indeed distressing for a society not to have the financial resources to provide schooling for all of the children eligible because of the misuse of money in endeavors which are foreign to national progress.

The illiterate population is a burden for social, cultural and economic development. Some efforts have been made within the Region to educate these people through informal programs of education transmitted by radio and television. The limiting factor is that only seventy and twenty-nine percent of the total population, respectively, have access to these media.

The limited economic resources that the South American countries assign to meet the urgent need of educating enormous numbers of children and youths are aggravated further by the useless expenditures in the acquisition of weapons. South America accounts for about 6.2 percent of the total imports of weapons of the Third-World Countries with an expenditure of over 10 billion dollars per year paid to the Soviet Union, the United States, France, Germany, England, Israel, Brazil and others. The support for this policy is based on preaching the need to protect the national borders, to maintain the internal social order, etc.

This tragic problem will be solved only through a profound change of attitude of local politicians and through fundamental changes in the systems of education. The need to open new avenues of cooperation in education is an urgent matter. Its solution will depend primarily on the evolution of international politics. A healthy sign in South America is the wider participation of the common peoples in the decisions taken by the national governments which of necessity will have to adopt integrationist policies in education.

The great challenge to the governments and peoples of South America is that by the end of this Twentieth Century 61 million children will have to be educated at the primary level; 23 million youths at the secondary level and 8 million people at the university level.
VI. Beyond Nationalism and Towards Integration in Education

Historically the national policies in South America have been designed to strengthen nationalism as a doctrine of self-preservation based on the deification of national personalities who gained political stature because of their participation in the Wars of Independence from Spain and their contributions as social and political writers and in the building of nationalistic doctrines.¹⁸,¹⁹

Truly, the lack of a clear definition of the borders separating the various republics has been the stronghold of the national policies developed by the South American countries. The political thought within this framework has directly affected the definition of the philosophy of education which is based on the following principles discussed below:

a) The love of country symbolized by the Flag and the National Anthem;

b) The identification of the territorial integrity of each country;

c) The reverence for national figures: Heroes, writers and politicians;

d) A sense of cultural and political self-sufficiency and

e) Fear of foreign interventions.

The economic and political crises which affect all of the South American countries very deeply are actually the bonding force to unify their efforts once they realize that there is no solution to their common problems by unilateral actions.
Principle a) will continue to be the active element of national identity once it is realized that it is the unifying element within each nation. The effect on education will be that the study of history at all levels will invariably continue to be along nationalistic lines although there is an opening to integrate it with the historical developments in neighboring countries.

Principle b) is perhaps the one which has been used to feed political ambitions and to maintain military forces which otherwise would not be able to justify their existence. The design of educational policies has been dependent on the strengthening of territorial issues which have been the support of rampant nationalism.

Again, it turns out that foreign debt and the need to improve the standard of living of the people of South America are forcing the governments to overcome nationalistic sentiments in favor of cultural exchanges and the design of educational policies based on the recognition that the future will depend primarily on the capacity to cooperate and work together with the common neighbors.

Principle c) requires some elaboration in order to understand the impact of national figures on political thought. After independence from Spain, the peoples of South America were under the effervescence of liberation and yet governed either by civil or military dictatorships that had no respect for civil rights.

The intelligentsia integrated by poets and writers as well as politicians and university students has been promoting integration since the last century and has denounced the insensitivity of the wealthy minorities and framed the literature about the miserable levels of life of large segments of the population.

Thus it becomes evident that Principle c) is culturally desirable since it relies on the contributions of writers who have produced literature of pro-
found social content within the framework of an integrationist philosophy.\textsuperscript{22} Principle d) is a genuine manifestation of national pride based on the need to find a positive response to the definition of national identity.

Principle e) is indeed the most negative of all for it prevents integration and feeds nationalistic feelings based upon misoriented political groups who promote militaristic adventures and the spending of huge amounts of money for the acquisition of weapons.

There is no doubt that the definition of national identity has been a critical issue within the political and social framework of Latin American societies. Thus educational policies have been designed to create in children and youths the conviction of belonging to a nation that has its own symbols such as the Flag, the National Anthem, National Heroes, the geographical configuration of the Country, the idiomatic expressions developed locally, and so forth.\textsuperscript{23}

A key role in the creation of a new attitude is being played by the international means of communication such as radio and television. The new generations understand that, regardless of national identities, they belong to the same culture, that they speak the same language and that their heredity is fully identified with Western Culture.\textsuperscript{24,25} The case of Brazil is no exception for the language difference is not significant to its identification with the Iberian tradition and its integration with the Spanish-speaking South American countries.

The urgent need to solve the problems originated by human, animal and plant diseases, by the deterioration of the environment and by the deficient exploitation of natural resources which affect the various countries, is contributing decisively to a drastic change in the design of national policies in favor of integration, particularly in the field of education. It is realized that there is no way out unless new educational policies are developed based
on the principle of mutual trust and on the recognition that the failure of the integration policies will adversely affect the future of all of the South American countries.

In America there is The Organization of American States which is a political and cultural organization created at the end of the Nineteenth Century with the purpose of integrating all of the countries of the Western Hemisphere. The contributions of this organization, the oldest of its kind in the World, to international law are very significant for it recognizes the equality of all nations, the principle of no-intervention and the peaceful solution of international controversies.

This organization has promoted outstandingly the cultural and educational integration based upon international meetings of educators, sociologists and natural scientists. At the present time, there are multinational research projects in education, agriculture and science under way with the financial and technical support of the Organization of American States. The exchange of educators and scientists is having a healthy influence on education once it is realized that the modern world needs to develop policies of integration in order to secure lasting peace and thus put science to work for the benefit of mankind.

The overall answer lies in our will and capacity to educate our children, youths and men and women of all ages with a sense of duty to live together working for one World for all mankind.

A fundamental aspect of civilized life is the respect for human rights which has been a subject of great concern in Latin America. The social structure left by Spain and Portugal was not adequate for the exercise of democracy although the political thinkers had preached the social and political equality of all citizens.
The constitutional covenants of all of these countries recognized the rights of man based on the tradition of the achievements of the French Revolution. There is, however, a great difference between the declarations based on a formal democracy and the consequences derived from the arbitrary practices of governments originated by the will of the armed forces or the oligarchies. For many years there have been included in the curricula of the primary and secondary levels of education subjects such as Ethics and Sociology designed to teach our youths the value of freedom and participative democracy.

The processes of liberation from the abuses of power have been very slow due to the opposition of the strong political and economic minorities who with the support of the military are against change. The participation of the university students in politics has contributed significantly to arouse the masses who demand a share in the political decisions taken by the governments. It is significant to stress that programs of informal education on civil matters have been effective in turning the apathy of the people into political action.

A factor of significance to achieve success in the field of human rights has been the international pressure exercised both by democratic governments and the media as well as the actions taken by the national and foreign democratic parties. Personal contacts among intellectuals and political leaders of the countries of the Region constitute the bonding force for the formulation of international policies in the fields of culture and education based on the democratic ideals of equality, justice and the exercise of responsibility.

To end this essay, I believe that "human nature contains no specific war instinct as does the nature of harvester ants. There is in man's make-up a general aggressive tendency but this, like all other human urges, is not a
specific and unvarying instinct; it can be molded into the most varied forms. It can be canalized into competitive sports, as in our own society, or as when certain Filipino tribes were induced to substitute football for head-hunting. It can be sublimated into non-competitive sports like mountain climbing, or into higher types of activity altogether, like exploration or research or social crusades."27 This is the great question for modern man. Our choice is clear, either we educate ourselves or perish together ignoring the possibility of living in peace always searching for truth, beauty and goodness.
TABLE 1.- Population of the South American Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.- Temperate South America</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>27,030,000</td>
<td>33,222,000</td>
<td>39,058,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>11,104,000</td>
<td>14,934,000</td>
<td>18,758,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>2,924,000</td>
<td>3,448,000</td>
<td>4,108,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>41,058,000</td>
<td>51,604,000</td>
<td>61,924,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.- Tropical South America</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>a.- The Andean Countries:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>5,570,000</td>
<td>9,724,000</td>
<td>19,525,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>25,794,000</td>
<td>37,999,000</td>
<td>51,718,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>8,021,000</td>
<td>14,596,000</td>
<td>25,725,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>17,625,000</td>
<td>30,703,000</td>
<td>56,036,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>15,620,000</td>
<td>27,207,000</td>
<td>42,846,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>72,630,000</td>
<td>120,229,000</td>
<td>195,850,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b.- Other Countries</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>122,320,000</td>
<td>187,494,000</td>
<td>291,252,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>3,168,000</td>
<td>5,405,000</td>
<td>8,553,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>883,000</td>
<td>1,238,000</td>
<td>1,620,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>388,000</td>
<td>698,000</td>
<td>1,097,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>126,759,000</td>
<td>194,835,000</td>
<td>302,522,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Totals:</strong></td>
<td>240,447,000</td>
<td>366,668,000</td>
<td>560,296,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 2.- Population Under Fourteen Years of Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\bar{x} = 29.2_{\pm 3} \\
\bar{x} = 26.5_{\pm 0.8} \\
\bar{x} = 22.7_{\pm 0.6}
\]

Population:
- Argentina: 11,988,000
- Chile: 13,675,000
- Uruguay: 14,057,000

#### 2.- Tropical South America

##### a. The Andean Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\bar{x} = 42.3_{\pm 1} \\
\bar{x} = 38.7_{\pm 5} \\
\bar{x} = 31.6_{\pm 6}
\]

Population:
- Bolivia: 30,722,000
- Colombia: 46,528,000
- Ecuador: 61,888,600

##### b. Other Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\bar{x} = 43.3_{\pm 6} \\
\bar{x} = 35.9_{\pm 7.7} \\
\bar{x} = 26.6_{\pm 4.3}
\]

Population:
- Brazil: 54,760,000
- Paraguay: 69,945,700
- Guyana: 80,470,800


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