

Periphery of education and the sociometabolism of capital in Angola: The failure of the political emancipation of the working class from 1975 to the present



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ABSTRACT

This article is a space in which the issues related to Education in the Angolan capitalist periphery are debated, as an ideological instrument by which the sociometabolism of capital becomes real, always with the imperatives of making the political emancipation of the working class fail, knowing that dialectically, the worker is not only a reason for exploitation of the capitalist class, It's also his biggest problem.

Keywords: Education in the Angolan periphery, Political emancipation, Capitalism-work.

1 INTRODUCTION

This article is a space in which the issues related to Education in the Angolan capitalist periphery are debated, as an ideological instrument by which the sociometabolism of capital becomes real, always with the imperatives of making the political emancipation of the working class fail, knowing that dialectically, the worker is not only a reason for exploitation of the capitalist class, It's also his biggest problem.

For the explanation or debate, recourse was made to historical-dialectical materialism from the vulgar relationship that many authors make between capital and labor in capitalist society, and that the material space of analysis is Angolan society – a periphery lacking rigorous studies – to extract its particularity, making a connection between its singularity and the universality of the capitalist system.

The debate takes place with the aim of deepening or understanding the fundamentals of the failure of the educational system (which will mean not detailing the failures of Education itself in Angola), only to go in search of what makes Education what it is today and, consequently, its relationship with the political emancipation of Angolans.

The Angolan worker is here termed as such, but from those who were part of the liberation movement of Angola, intellectuals (many of them former slaves and colonized by the Portuguese), all who make up the subalternized class with immense difficulties of access to public policies, workers in the sense of an expanded notion, which Ricardo Antunes presents.



An expanded notion of the working class, then, includes all those who sell their labor power in exchange for wages, incorporating, in addition to the industrial proletariat, the wage earners in the service sector, also the rural proletariat, which sells its labor power to capital. This notion incorporates the precarious proletariat, the modern, *part-time* subproletariat, the new McDonald's proletariat, the hyphenated workers of which Beynon spoke, the outsourced and precarious workers of the freeze-dried companies of which Juan José Castillo spoke, the wage workers of the so-called "informal economy", who are often indirectly subordinated to capital, in addition to the unemployed workers, expelled from the productive process and the labor market by the restructuring of capital and who hypertrophy the industrial reserve army, in the phase of expansion of structural unemployment (ANTUNES, 2009, pp. 103-104).

Because it is a periphery, Angola, is mediated through public policies, whose ideology aims to reproduce the current order, always with the aim of making the working class, a passive social subject in history. Knowing that Education is integral and integrating this totality, in the face of barbarism, have Angolan workers always been passive since the liberation movement of Angola? Have there been remarkable achievements in the processes of political emancipation since 1975? Were the strategies to confront capitalist barbarism misguided? What is at the basis of the educational system and, by its character in the Angolan periphery, makes real the failure of the political emancipation of the working class? It is these issues that drive the debate.

2 IDEOLOGICAL DECADENCE AND AFFIRMATION OF CAPITALIST BARBARISM IN ANGOLA

Angola is a country socioeconomically governed by the capitalist mode of production – a dependent capitalism – since the process of colonization that faces a certain working class (that of the revolutionaries against the settlers), whose conquest of political emancipation was expressed in the independence of the country, in 1975, through capitalist accumulation, which took over this periphery, and gave way to an ideological decadence, Exemplarily repeated by the decadence of the bourgeoisie after the French Revolution. This decadence entails the totality of the philosophical, educational, cultural, aesthetic, scientific ideological conditions of existence, as well as a whole worldview subservient to the order of contemporary capital, which update the Angolan reality in the twenty-first century.

Bourgeois philosophical thought (which has manifested much since the Enlightenment movement) has undergone fundamental metamorphoses, taking into account the determinations that have compelled it to be what it was and is today.

According to Lukács, the evolution of bourgeois philosophical thought takes place in three stages. In the first, which runs until 1848, the classical bourgeois philosophy develops: "it is this epoch that gives rise to the highest expression of the conception of the world of the bourgeoisie..." "This is how its character of universality and its role as leaven of the sciences are manifested, which allows it to discover so many new perspectives". In this period, with the bourgeoisie embodying the ideals of progress of the whole of society, its thinkers uphold the full knowability of the world and maintain a great independence from the ideological demands of their own social class, to the extent that their intellectual exercise is based on the admission of the immense historical task to be fulfilled by the bourgeoisie; this enables them to critique



from within the most deleterious characteristics of the bourgeois world, and, moreover, makes their theoretical mistakes stem from the very necessity of the "heroic illusions" awakened in the run-up to the French Revolution. (...) From 1848, with the autonomous entry of the proletariat into the political scene, the bourgeoisie went on the defensive: no longer assuming the universal values of society, but only expressing its petty particular interests, it saw its cycle of progressive action come to an end and was compelled to compromise with the remaining reaction to confront the working class. Then begins the second evolutionary period of his philosophical thought which, extending to the emergence of imperialism (around 1880/1890), operated under the aegis of decadence. The changes that the original bourgeois philosophical project undergoes are remarkable: the belief in the power of reason transform into agnosticism (manifested in both positivism and neo-Kantism) and reflection abandons the great socio-historical themes to become a "gatekeeper" of the sciences: its role is limited to vigilance "so that no one dares to draw conclusions from the economic and social sciences that could discredit the system" (NETTO, 1978, p. 17-18).

In the mid-twentieth century, many of those who made up the working class of the African continent, especially those who were part of the Portuguese colonies, thought and felt the need for an independent continent. This was for the

(...) The ideas of the early theorists that influenced the awakening of anti-colonial revolutionary consciousness in Africa, as is well known, came from two African nationalist currents: Blackness and Pan-Africanism. Both appeared with the aim of rehabilitating the black-African identity, for the recovery of a personality considered destroyed, inferiorized and discredited (SON, 2017, p.19).

It is in the range of these that are located fundamental Angolan party movements, such as the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), all were and are part of the working class. Since the regime of colonial exploitation, due to external and internal pressures, would not remain, taking into account the factors that conditioned the independence force, which envisioned a future Angolan state, according to Feijó (2017:221), on November 11, 1975 (the official date of Angola's independence), the Constitutional Law (LC) of Angola came into force, approved by the Central Committee of the MPLA (Government party). The same author explains that,

"The theoretical and political foundations of the LC rested on the postulates of Marxist-Leninist conceptions of the State and Law. In essence, the Marxist-Leninist theories on the State and the Law were accepted as an instrument in the hands of the working classes, especially the working classes, destined to impose a democratic-revolutionary dictatorship and the political unity of state power, since it is the latter that has the possibility of embracing, with its influence, all the relations existing in society, which would attribute to it a universal character. (FEIJÓ, 2017:221).

This author makes us realize the conquest of power and with it the political societal project, which rejects the capitalist socioeconomic formation, the formation that oppressed the working class through Portuguese colonialism, and the previous state was Portuguese, which Angola integrated as an overseas province. The MPLA, on the other hand, being a single party, which represents the workers,



is called "Labor Party" (VIEIRA, 2007, p. 94), because it aims to realize the needs of the workers, in a deceptively socialist social formation.

The revolutionary practice, the ideology evident in this project, was very far from what the Marxist-Leninist theories advocated, mainly, that is, that Marxian theorization was never applied to the conduct of the destiny of Angolans. The intention was for the means of production to be under the regime of state ownership, controlled by the working class, fighting private property, the heart of capitalism.

Marx thus shows the existence of two types of revolution, different in everything: the political revolution and the social revolution. The distinction that first emerges from view is that the first, however significant it may be, is characterized by a well-determined partiality: it alters the form of the state, the form of class domination, without extinguishing the domination itself, leaving untouched the material foundations of it. The second destroys these foundations and replaces them with others, thus eliminating their political complements (COTRIM, 2007, p. 65).

Everything indicated that the State would face the social question with the official assumption of socialism, with all the possible misconceptions that the word socialism carried and remains to the present day in the country. It needs to be pointed out that, despite the misconceptions that the word socialism carries, still the working class, which won national independence ideologically, represented the workers, to the extent that it tried to manage – only tried – the social wealth at the disposal of all, with the State being the sole owner of the means of production, which the working class controlled. It is a model of government whose main objective is to reduce social inequalities as much as possible. But this government, by what is the nature of a government subservient to the production and reproduction of the state, a modern state, directly or indirectly oriented by capitalist complexes, is composed of groups of social individuals who are personifications of capital.

However, in relation to the Marxism Leninism adopted by the MPLA, there is a historical justification for this. It is noteworthy that the modern Angolan nationalism that erupted in the 50s (century. XX), having its peak in the 60s, came at a time when Europe was still living under the ghosts of the end of World War II, where the fascist and racist regimes of Europe had been defeated. It was a time when communist regimes presented themselves as credible alternatives and above all had a clear policy on colonialism, that is, they were in favor of the independence of the peoples still under colonial rule. This set of elements was favorable to Angolan intellectuals, many of whom became faithful interpreters of Marxist-Leninist ideology and partly because these countries supported with arms and money the struggle of many African countries such as Angola. (VIEIRA, 2007, p. 95).

By imperatives of the failure of the socialist bloc in the world, which supported under the most diverse forms, such as material, war, financial, and ideologically the intellectuals and workers of the MPLA-Single Party, who won the independence of Angola, witnessed socioeconomic and political crises, flagging the truth according to which, a mode of production is not installed or is not assumed with Decree, Law or with an official corporate project. In this case, one would have the hypothesis (to



be explored in the near future) according to which, the Angolans who won national independence, and formed the government that persists to this day, in the first Republic applied the ideology that had to do with socialism, but who were trapped in a dictatorship of the Single Party, a sign that they learned well what the supporters with ideology called Marxist-Leninist understood/misinterpreted the Marxian theory, whose category "revolution" became the center of the misconception. Before long, there was an economic crisis.

What would be the main way out of the economic crisis? Turn to international financial institutions. How? In a one-party climate? The MPLA/Government was forced to radically change the theoretical and political foundations of the Constitutional Law towards a democratic state based on the rule of law for two reasons. According to Feijó,

"The MPLA/Government could not fail to confront two situations: i) the economic reforms and the way out of the economic-financial crisis passed through an agreement with the international financial institutions, max the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), and these would require, in return, not only an economic liberalization, but also the political liberalization and democratization of society; ii) political negotiations with UNITA would necessarily end with the recognition of UNITA as a political party in a two-party or multi-party framework." (FEIJÓ, 2017:252)

The democratic system was installed in the country, when from January 14 to 25, 1992, the 1st Multiparty Meeting was held, with the presence of 26 political-party formations, but that the same party of the MPLA continued to lead the destinies of the country, winning the first elections of 1992, and continued with those of 2008, 2012, 2017 and, the most recent of 2022, (a party that has ruled the country for 47 years).

It is precisely by the escape, in a pseudo-history, that the workers who were once slaves and indigenous during the Portuguese colonization, in an Independent State, became local bourgeois, who represent the international bourgeoisie, for the production and reproduction of capitalist barbarism in the periphery that is called Angola.

Over the last 3 decades, at a much slower pace than the legal-political regime, our socioeconomic formation is changing, but within the same order; In certain aspects, with economic growth, the advance of industrialization, conservative modernization (promoted from "top" to "bottom"), our socioeconomic formation has already changed a lot and has even assumed qualitatively new characteristics, although contradictorily coexist in the same country modes of production with more remote characteristics. What, however, is going on with the capitalist mode in Angola? Do you show signs that you are about to undergo some qualitative change? Is it about to be modified as a whole? In vain, the impatient revolutionaries who in the hustle and bustle of the proclamation of independence, incited by petty-bourgeois haste thought they envisioned a "great crisis" of the capitalist mode of production in Angola. In reality it was only the crisis of the capital of colonialism; and everything indicates that this mode of continuous production is quite strong (MONTEIRO, 2020, p.280)



It is possible to perceive Lukács' thought on ideological decadence in bourgeois society, to the extent that that category, according to the same author cited by Monteiro (2020, p. 281), designates the spiritual state of the bourgeoisie after 1848, understood as being the,

[...] liquidation of all the attempts previously made by the most notable bourgeois ideologues to understand the true driving forces of society, without fear of the contradictions that could be clarified; This escape in a pseudo-history constructed at will, interpreted superficially, deformed in a subjectivist and simple sense, is the general tendency of ideological decadence (LUKÁCS apud MONTEIRO, 2020, p. 281).

According to the ideological decadence of the bourgeoisie since 1848, by the pressure that the working class carries out when it gains political consciousness of the social question and becomes a class for itself and therefore, "it is only possible to know something if we insert it in the history of its formation, that is, in the process by which it became what it is, so is also consciousness, it does not 'be', it 'becomes' (IASI, 1999, p. 14)", in this space it is assumed the hypothesis¹ that, in Angola, decadence is a process fundamentally led by the MPLA (its main leaders), a group of former workers who idealized representing all Angolan workers, those who became local bourgeois (with greater expression, since 1992, when the ruling party made alliance with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) to confront the discontents and demands of the subalternized workers, and repeating, further, that in a differentiated way the exploitation of labor power that colonial capitalism had carried out.

The Government of João Lourenço (2019), in a speech records that "to bring its program to a successful conclusion, the Angolan Government knows that it is not alone. We count on the technical assistance of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, from whom we also benefit from financing", it represents no other nature than one of the personifications of capital, and that is, of financial capital, making real the "uncontrollable system of socio-metabolic control" that capital has become (MESZÁROS, 2002).

The collapse of public policies in Angola (economic policies, education policies, health, social protection, housing, wage policies, employment policies) means the expansion of the expressions of the social question in the first, second and third republics, which have carried out capitalist barbarism since its origin, is a crisis in itself, and only what they can do and episodically reduce them.

The political dimension of the social question, when captured by the working class to confront the bourgeoisie, is the same (working) class that tends, in more generalized cases, to confront any act of fascism created by the bourgeoisie, being that "when the capitalist economy collapses and the working class marches to power, then the capitalists turn to fascism as the way out" (HUBERMAN, 1936, p. 322).

¹This hypothesis will be developed in future studies, as it is a very serious commitment to apprehend the historical processes of the metamorphosis of class consciousness in the MPLA Government (during the 47 years in power).



It is under such barbarism that Education, even more in the peripheral or dependent context of capitalism as the case of Angola, becomes one of the expressions of channeling of bourgeois ideology, since it is also through this channel that the globalization of bourgeois values is made possible, so that the capitalist system is produced and reproduced as a universalized socio-metabolism. The failure of the working class only occurs when the only horizon that directs such a stratum occurs when the ultimate goal becomes political emancipation and not human emancipation, since political emancipation does not present ontological conditions capable of putting an end to the capitalist mode of production.

3 EDUCATION THAT MANAGES THE WORKFORCE, POLITICIZES AND DEPOLITICIZES WORKERS IN ANGOLA

The socio-metabolism of capital that Meszáros (2002) deals with, in his masterful work "Beyond Capital", makes us realize that Education is the most effective instrument in and for the management of the workforce, as well as for the expansion and reproduction of the dominant ideology and, therefore, the same Education is an expression of politics, which aims to mediate the social relations of production between the capitalist and working classes for the production and reproduction of the exploitation of labour power.

The capitalist system has developed in such a way that by having politics as one of the instruments of its action, it develops a certain freedom that limits the freedom of the workers, by the relations of property (...). Politics must be conceived as an activity whose ultimate purpose is its own annulment, through the fulfillment of its determined function as a necessary phase in the complex process of positive transcendence (MESZÁROS, 2012, p. 147).

In the work of the same author "Education beyond capital", the fundamental vocation of Education in bourgeois sociability is explained.

Institutionalized education, especially in the last 150 years, has served – as a whole – the purpose of not only providing the knowledge and personnel necessary for the expanding productive machine of the capital system, but also generating and transmitting a framework of values that legitimizes the dominant interests, as if there could be no alternative to the management of society, either in the "internalized" form (i.e., by properly "educated" and accepted individuals) or through a structural domination and hierarchical and relentlessly imposed subordination (MÉSZÁROS, 2008, p. 35).

As an ideological instrument for the management of the workforce in contemporary Angola, Education should only be perceived, apprehending the socio-historical determinations of the workforce in Angola, as a commodity. Of course, these historical determinations relate properly to the rise of the capitalist mode of production. With the emergence of the capitalist mode of production between the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries (MARX, 2013; Huberman, 1936; DOBB, 1983), while free labor



emerges in Europe through the revolutions, which build modernity, free labor in Angola is only made official in the 1960s, of the twentieth century.

Nothing more logical, considering that the revolutions that have taken place since the sixteenth century, by consolidating liberal democracy as the dominant political regime, have brought with them freedom as an indispensable element of a struggle for the replacement of monarchical absolutism by a society based on "free competition", where free labor is only its greatest exponent (MONTEIRO, 2020, p. 153).

If the end of slave labor marks the legitimation of a certain freedom of Angolans in the colonial era, what is the greatest exponent of this freedom and when does it occur in Angola? It is about free labor, which is based on the buying and selling of labor power. When does it happen? Monteiro (2016), explains that,

"The implementation and acceleration of wage labor in the 1960s and early 1970s, which boosted the growth rate of the economy, are accompanied by the industrialization of production and the creation of routes for the flow of products (railways), a process that for the colonial capitalist will mean economic growth and for the indigenous Angolan meant intensification of the exploitation of labor by wage earners with negative consequences for him Monteiro (2014:93)."

Based on the analysis of the universality of bourgeois society, it is possible to observe the delay in the bases of freedom that appears as synonymous with political emancipation in Angola and, that Education – which is bourgeois from the colonial era to the present – appears in this context as a weapon, which when configuring the subjective dimension of the working class, In the sense of having access to the conditions of citizenship, as a category that makes it possible to raise labor rights and, therefore, empower workers in the field of political emancipation, it also depoliticizes the same workers to the extent that it becomes a selective policy – let us try to analyze how is the access to academic and professional training in public policies, which are of a universal character, but that by the discourse of the "scarce resources" disseminated by the economism of public action, only those considered fit for this are selected.

Not all workers have access to the same policies, because they must compete among themselves and only the best (the best workers or children of the workers are those who have assimilated values and principles of bourgeois reproduction) enter the education system. Therefore, Education, as a policy, is an ideological instrument of the bourgeoisie for the formation of the consciousness of citizenship, as if it were the final alternative of humanity and the highest that the human-generic can experience.

Full citizenship=limited freedom=capitalism. That is, full citizenship is a category that can only exist in capitalism. This is because, even when it refers to social rights, it does not fail to do so from the point of view of the political dimension. To be clear: the right to work can only exist within capitalism. In socialism, as Marx says, work will not be a right, but the expression, which need not be guaranteed by law, of the first and fundamental human need, that of self-activity. (TONET, 2001, p.8.)



Depoliticization takes place in various ways, which contribute to prevent workers from organizing through their class consciousness, and in the separation or conversion of workers already organized into isolated social individuals, considering that citizen consciousness is sufficient for them (that is why everyone is a citizen as if what unites them is not the condition of workers, but rather, the values of citizenship that are bourgeois).

Also looking at Education as an instrument of workforce management in Angola, a condition that politicizes and depoliticizes the working class, leads, for example, to the dimension of professional training, which is a type of formal education, when it constitutes one of the policies that channel the ideology of employability, to the extent that, each time the Ministry of Public Administration, Labor and Social Security includes a part of young people in the wage system, another part (especially the largest) is excluded from it. It should be noted that in the current Angolan capitalist mode of production,

To train to be a professional is to shape the workforce. Therefore, by giving a certain form to the work required by the labor market, professional training (...) is based on the processes of the productive restructuring of capital by the imperatives of rationalization (which is manifested by its superior model – Toyotism), whose object of molding is expressed by the fragmentation, precariousness and relentless flexibilization of the subjectivity of labor, engendering a working class with precarious possibilities of political emancipation. (MATEUS and MONTEIRO, 2021, p 63).

Thus, the weakening of the subjective dimension of the worker becomes the element to be produced and reproduced, when he must be forced to consume knowledge and technologies, which make him have access to the labor market.

The domination of the working class in the formative process is so inexorable that by Toyotism, that is, by the evaluation of the total quality in the process of productive restructuring, the workers as candidates for professional training, can only choose required courses, those already guided, planned to produce surplus value (MATEUS and MONTEIRO, 2021, p. 67).

The choice of courses in Angola is guided by the State, through the National Program for the Training of Cadres, as a strategy to give direction to the capitalist productive system. For example, the National Development Plan (2018-2022), stressed that one of its goals was that, by 2020, 100% of students would have vocational vocational guidance through the Offices of Insertion in Active Life, to achieve the following objective of the plan:

Ensure a greater exchange between students and companies, promoting the insertion in the labor market, through the dynamization of the Offices of Insertion in Active Life (GIVA) of the Technical Medium Institutes and increasing the participation of students in curricular internships.(MEP, 2018, p. 82)

As for vocational training, the report reports that of all the estimated young people, 5.9% of men and 3.4% of women, have already done some vocational training, respectively. It is verified how



the State and the private sector have become spaces of competition for professional training:(INE, 2020, p. 41)

Taking into account the results obtained, we can consider that 58.9% of the population presents the private sector as a place of vocational training, while 14.1% present the public sector as a place of training. There is also a group of individuals who had as a place of professional training the churches, the workshops, others, NGOs and the population that did some professional training respectively (INE, 2020, p. 42).

It is not enough to graduate from any course! What kind of vocational training do young people choose, believing that it can make it easier for them to compete in the labour market?

With regard to the percentage data of the young population of 15-34 years of age, according to the type of professional training, the area of information technology stands out in the different age groups where the age groups 20-24 years of age and 15-19 years present the highest percentages with about 40% and 38% respectively.

Cooking/decoration/pastry and electricity are the following professional trainings, and for cooking/decoration and pastry the predominant age group is 20-24 years old with 19%, followed by 15-19 years old with 15%. With regard to electricity, the data show a greater predominance in the 25-29 year old group with 17% and followed by the 15-19 year old and 20-24 year old group with 10%.

The less popular formations are the locksmithing/foundry and others consisting of a group of professions such as welding, plate beating/painting, carpentry/crafts, as can be seen in graph 3.8. Among young people, in general, computer science and cooking are the most sought after professional training, with more than 30% and 10% respectively (INE, 2020, p. 43).

What subjective conditions of the worker are captured in the twenty-first century?

Table 1: New Job Skills

New practical and theoretical knowledge	Capacity for abstraction, decision and communication	Qualities related to responsibility, attention and interest in the work
COGNITIVE SKILLS BEHAVIORAL SKILLS		

Source: Alves (2007)

In fact, these are values accredited by the capitalist productive system through the model of rationalization of Toyotist labor, to better control the labor force.

The fundamental concern of Toyotism is with the control of the subjective element in the process of capitalist production, that is, with the "capture" of the subjectivity of labor by the production of capital and with the "manipulation" of the consent of labor through a broad set of organizational, institutional and relational innovations in the commodity production complex, characterized by the principles of "automation" and "self-activation", or even, *by just-in-time/kan-ban*, the polyvalence of the worker, teamwork, lean production, CCQ's, Total Quality programs, worker involvement initiatives, the engaged insertion of workers in the production process. (CORIAT apud ALVES, 2007, p. 247)

Note the State's concern to guarantee education and vocational training policies so that the workforce is shaped for career qualification, which can satisfy the social needs of workers, also through employment policies, whose counterpart is to exclude the workforce that is considered unnecessary:



TABLE 1: Analysis of key employment indicators by age groups, 2021

Indicators	IV Quarter 2019	III Quarter 2020	IV Quarter 2020	Quarterly change (%)
Population aged 15 and over				
Economically active population	14.551.833	15.321.544	15.497.110	1,1
Employed population	9.924.675	10.112.899	10.749.488	6,3
Unemployed population	4.627.158	5.208.645	4.747.622	-8,9
Inactive population	1.901.356	1.622.052	1.617.482	-0,3
Activity rate	88,4	90,4	90,5	0,1
Employment rate	60,3	59,7	62,8	5,2
Unemployment rate	31,8	34,0	30,6	-9,9
Inactivity rate	11,6	9,6	9,5	-1,3
Population aged 15-24 years				
Economically active population	4.813.148	5.157.180	5.223.304	1,3
Employed population	2.095.957	2.248.041	2.335.065	3,9
Unemployed population	2.717.191	2.909.139	2.888.238	-0,7
Inactive population	1.090.945	940.861	943.127	0,2
Activity rate	81,5	84,6	84,7	0,2
Employment rate	35,5	36,9	37,9	2,7
Unemployment rate	56,5	56,4	55,3	-2,0
Inactivity rate	18,5	15,4	15,3	-0,9
Population aged 18 and over				
Economically active population	13.160.142	13.805.453	13.927.512	0,9
Employed population	9.405.475	9.501.361	10.137.043	6,7
Unemployed population	3.754.667	4.304.092	3.790.469	-11,9
Inactive population	1.172.478	868.129	941.762	8,5
Activity rate	91,8	94,1	93,7	-0,4
Employment rate	65,6	64,8	68,2	5,3
Unemployment rate	28,5	31,2	27,2	-12,7
Inactivity rate	8,2	5,9	6,3	7,1

Source: INE, 2021

4 EDUCATION IN THE ANGOLAN PERIPHERY: THE FAILURE OF THE POLITICAL EMANCIPATION OF WORKERS AS A BOURGEOIS PROJECT

The periphery linked to Education, in this space, raises a complex, a material condition, a concrete expression of the universalized capitalist mode of production, whose Angolan singularity apprehends its particularity of dependent and, therefore, peripheral capitalism, as a mediation of channeling political, economic and social domination/exploitation (of the centers over the countries of the Third World) (HINKELAMMENTERT, 1970; FERNANDES, 1975).

The periphery, as a geographical-material category, which expresses less developed capitalist productive forces and relations of production (if one has as reference the centers of capitalist production), is one of the historical dimensions that characterizes Angola, when considering this country as a constitutive part of the international market, whose commodity, par excellence, in the process of exploitation is the labor force that in the colonial era were treated as indigenous or assimilated, but that today, even though they are citizens in the civilizing sense of the term, they are exploited in the same way, and what differentiates the current exploitation from the old one is free labor.



It is considered that peripheral capitalism is one of the material conditions of the universalized capitalist system, and therefore, the periphery is a product of this system, whose ontological centrality is concretized by the superexploitation of labor power (MARINI, 1973). The periphery is one of the most blatant material conditions of the capitalist system that explains the overexploitation of labor power in societies classified as Third World by the character of their economy dependent on the economy of the center.

What mediations enable the functionality of the Angolan periphery to the contemporary mode of production? This occurs through the functionality of the personifications of capital by its political and economic dimensions. In addition to the old forms of coexistence, the crises arising from the Second World War boosted new lines of political and economic coexistence involving some institutions: – in politics, *the United Nations / UN*; in the economic sphere - with the Bretton Woods agreements, *the World Bank / WB and International Monetary Fund / IMF* - (NETTO and BRAZ, 2006), engender the so-called "National Development Plan" that has as its critical foundation, the management of the cycles of crisis of capitalism – since there is no capitalism without crisis – of which the Angolan State is part.

Without neglecting to consider the good intentions and some achievements made by the educational policies in the first republic (1975-1991), the failure of the political emancipation of the working class (and here it refers both to those workers/intellectuals who won independence in Angola, and to the workers who currently face the social question tinged by the periphery) begins with the assumption of a socialist societal project (a mistaken prognosis about capitalism) that it does not account for its infeasibility, both theoretically and because of the objective conditions imposed by the globalization of the capitalist system.

After realizing the unviability of socialism, in 1990-1991, the crystallization of the failure of the political emancipation of the workers is marked, when the government in power assumes to defend imperialism, maintaining contact with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The party that fought to expel the colonial capitalist state, and proclaimed independence under the banner of socialism, this time seeks to remain in power no longer facing the imperialism of capitalism that it previously criticized; on the contrary, it relies on it to help you minimize and not solve social problems (MONTEIRO, 2020, p. 292).

Is Education, as a policy and ideology, which aims to configure or give a certain form of consciousness to the workers, processualized by these mediations to reproduce bourgeois society in the Angolan periphery? Monteiro (2020) points out that the mediations of social policies, as is the case of Education policy, appear through mediations of ideopolitical discourses, governance programs, projects designed to face the expressions of the social issue through:

- The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development;



- The Africa 2063 Agenda – The Africa we want. Common Strategic Framework for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development for the First Decade (2014-2023);
- The Millennium Development Goals;
- The 2015 Millennium Development and Development Report;
- The National Development Plan 2013-2017 and 2018-2022;
- The Partnership Framework between the Government of Angola and the United Nations System 2015-2019;
- The MPLA's 2017-2022 Government Program
- The speeches given by the President of the Republic (MONTEIRO, 2020, p. 23)

It is from this web of national and international documents that engender social policies, depending on the development model that a given State adopts. The National Development Plan (2018-2022 of Angola) result of the objectives of the Long-Term Strategy Angola 2025 (which includes the great national consensus – Agenda 2030 of the United Nations), and the commitments legitimized by the elections of 2017 (Government Program 2017-2022), as well as the current National Development Plan (2023-2027) denote a development model, which by its peculiarity of submitting to Western ideology, produces and reproduces social policies that express the crystallization of the periphery, since it is by making itself peripheral that the policies of domination and subordination will identify the ideology of globalization as if the states of the first world were on par with the states of the third world, as in the case of Angola.

And, this universe of objectives and goals appears in the projects of past governments, since 2012,

If we compare the speeches of Moreira and Salazar, in colonial times, with the anecdotal electoral promise of the MPLA to "Produce More and Distribute Better", which served as the motto of the MPLA Government program for the period 2012-2017, suffraged in 2012, we perceive similarities in the understanding of the expressions of the social question, understood then only as a problem that is explained in the scarcity of production of goods and services (MONTEIRO, 2020, p.280).

The scarcity of goods and services in education policies is the expression of the deprivation of social wealth produced by the working class in Angola. And, this wealth, in a materially peripheral space is always taken as the property of the local bourgeoisie (Angolan capitalists) and, of the international bourgeoisie, to exploit the labor force.

Therefore, the crisis of capital never ends and is compensated by the increase of production by the sacrifice of the workers.

The crisis of capital is understood as a scarcity that must be overcome by increasing production. The expressions of the social question are above all explained as in colonial times and in the proposal of the Social Doctrine of the Church as a moral question linked to distribution, which is badly done, but which is overcome with its correctness. The question



that arises is: how can there be fair distribution in a system that survives by appropriating the value of labor? (MONTEIRO, 2020, p.280).

The poor quality of the educational system carries a bourgeois rationalization, which ends up weakening the working class, so that it has little chance of achieving political emancipation.

If political emancipation, which is a dimension peculiar to modern sociability by liberalism, is not realized, the workers of the periphery cannot easily access the dimensions of struggles against the bourgeois class, and it is a sign that the educational system that is oriented, since the formation of the UN, has the vocation of making the working class dependent on the international division of labor.

The right to education has always been part of the agenda of the Angolan government (and is currently enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic), although carrying functional ills to the socio-metabolism of capital. For example, point 4 of the current Basic Law of the Education System stresses that "the payment of registration, attendance to classes, school supplies and other charges, in Secondary Education, are the responsibility of parents, Guardians or students themselves, in case of majority" (ANGOLA, 2020, p. 1). It means that the state has divested itself of some responsibilities for managing education policies for the working class – it is an expression of neoliberalism. According to Paxe (2014) the multiple determinations that have made the educational system today are related to:

- end of the war, understanding that it demanded high budgets, destroyed public structures between schools and forced the mass adhesion of young people to the army to the detriment of other areas such as the exercise of teaching. It also produced thousands of internally displaced people among the population;
 - The expansion of the number of rooms as a result of the construction of new schools and the rehabilitation of those destroyed by war or lack of maintenance;
 - The action of international organizations that demand the reform of Education have contributed to at least respond to the challenges related to access to Education;
 - Efforts to improve the progression of students within the education system, which contributes to a decrease in failure and dropout rates;
 - growth and diversification of the population with special learning needs.
- In opposition, other factors continue to present themselves as challenges to the realization of the right to education, namely:
- The Portuguese language as the only language of instruction, which continues to condition the learning of many students in the system. This challenge imposes as a demand the teaching of local languages and in local languages and the promotion of bilingual education, given that the official status of the Portuguese language is considered as the official language of the country.
 - The existence of many schools in precarious conditions and the overcrowding of classes.
 - The qualification of teachers, both in initial and continuing training.
 - The logistics of didactic materials.
 - The indices of the population still have to attend to the prevention of school dropout.
 - The inequality within the educational system between the regions of the country, boys and girls, due to the financial income of citizens.
 - The rates of illiteracy.
 - Poverty indices among the population
- (PAXI, 2014, pp.192-193).

It is exactly this educational system that shapes the face of Education in the Angolan capitalist periphery, a system that despite the theoretical limitations that Paxi (2014) presents in his study, makes



it evident that the social question, or the socio-metabolism of capital makes real the system of Education, as being an ideological instrument by which the political emancipation of the working class is projected to fail and the workers must accompany this to continue fighting.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In Angola, the current order is questioned as a new commitment and, therefore, it becomes premature to make final considerations about the debate that took place during the discussion of the theme "PERIPHERY OF EDUCATION AND THE SOCIOMETABOLISM OF CAPITAL IN ANGOLA: the failure of the political emancipation of the working class".

The regression to the legacy of labor rights is manifested, fundamentally, by what Marini (1973) calls the overexploitation of the labor force in Third World countries, such as Angola.

It is precisely through a precarious education, being from the periphery, that the political dimension of the workers is allowed to immerse itself in the validity of dependent capitalism, both for what Fernandes (1975) emphasizes to be realized by the forms of external domination and to occur what Hinkelammert (1970) calls political, economic and social forms of exploitation.

It is from the totality of the forms of domination and exploitation that Education will imprint its ontology – marked by the precariousness of the political dimension of the workers, who cease to claim their rights: it is a constitutive part of the way in which the socio-metabolism of capital becomes a fetish for the workers.

Faced with the socio-metabolism of capital, from the end of the twentieth century to the present, many strategies have been carried out by the national liberation movement, as by the government (MPLA), which has risen since 1975, whose project of society has not favored the working class, to the extent that it does not have objective and subjective conditions to make an effective break with the capitalist mode of production.

Daily life has shown that carrying out processes of political emancipation in a space that only favors the ruling class – the capitalist periphery – is a struggle that must continue, but that produces and reproduces failures and barbarism, when in the same periphery, the leaders who were workers, today, are bourgeois who represent the international bourgeoisie and carrying the ideology that only reproduces forms of consciousness that the workers are subjected to assume in order to survive.



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