

Appendix cont'd

Nation	1 GDP/C	2 % Non- Primary	3 GINI (i)	4 GINI (l)	5 Trade Comp.	6 Part. Cons.	7 Comm. Cons.
Portugal	400	66.5	—	—	-0.068	—	25*)
Sierra Leone	159	25.2	—	—	-0.108	65.7	82.7
S. Africa	590	70.5	—	—	-0.386	—	—
Spain	600	67.2	—	0.780	-0.131	—	35*)
Sudan	103	14.2	—	—	-0.718	14.4	69.7
Sweden	2487	89.9	0.42	0.572	-0.012	13.8	28.6
Switzerland	2301	92.5	—	0.498	0.152	15.8	28.5
Syria	228	43.0	—	—	-0.449	36.5	64.9
Thailand	129	18.0	—	—	-0.606	19.4	56.3
Turkey	279	28.8	—	—	-0.705	17.2	38.2
UAR	159	43.4	—	—	-0.275	50.8	63.0
UK	1790	96.9	0.38	0.710	0.424	10.8	22.2
USA	3536	95.0	0.36	0.705	0.101	20.2	15.6
Venezuela	971	67.7	—	0.909	-0.893	35.5	99.6
Yugoslavia	—	43.1	—	—	-0.045	—	—

Sources:

- GDP/Cap.: Hagen & Hawlyryshyn, 1969: Analysis of World Income and Growth, 1955—65, in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.18, No. 1 part II, October 1969.
- %Non-primary: The PRIO Nation Data File. Compiled from ILO and OECD sources. Year: 1967.
- GINI (i): Weisskopf, T. E. 1970: Underdevelopment, Capitalistic Growth and the Future of the Poor Countries. Preliminary Draft, Harvard University, April 1970.
- GINI (l): Russett, B. et al., *World Handbook of Social and Political Indicators*
- Trade comp.: Computed from, *UN Yearbook of International Trade Statistics*, 1967.
- Partner conc.: Weisskopf, op. cit.
- Comm. conc.: ibid. This variable and no. 6 are three years averages 1964—66, computed on the basis of data in the UN Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1967.

*) Estimate

CONSCIENTIZACAO AND THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

PAULO FREIRE, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Herder and Herder, 1970)

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*In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used. Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative.*¹

Freire is a Brazilian now in exile from his country. The *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is based on his work among peasants in Brazil and Chile. The essential concept in pedagogy is *conscientizacao*, 'learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality'. (p.19)² The oppressed, submerged in their oppressive reality, do not perceive themselves to be subjects capable of acting on the world to transform it. Only through combined reflection and action is it possible for the oppressed to emerge. As Fanon stated: 'It (decolonization) transforms spectators crushed with their inessentiality into privileged actors.'³

Praxis—the need for a unity of theory and practice in revolution and in education—is fundamental to *conscientizacao*. Here Freire's work seems to reflect the writings of Mao Tse-Tung: 'If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality . . . There can be no knowledge apart from practice.'⁴

Freire proposes two stages of pedagogy. The first stage is cultural action when the oppressed 'unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation'.(p.40) The second stage is post-

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1. 'Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution', 8 August 1966.
2. All references with page number in brackets refer to P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, unless otherwise stated.
3. F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, (Grove Press, Inc., 1963), p. 30.
4. 'On Practice', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, Vol. 1. (Foreign Languages Press, 1967) p. 300-301.

revolution when a 'permanent liberation' process must occur. This 'cultural revolution' is necessary to both remould the total superstructure of society, wherein 'remnants' of the past remain, and to develop the practice of permanent dialogue between the leaders and the people in order to consolidate the participation of the people in power, thereby defending the revolution against bureaucratic tendencies and cultural invasion.

Freire stresses the educational nature of revolution which depends in part on the methods used by revolutionary leaders to relate to the masses. Methods should be liberating, 'a pedagogy which must be forged *with*, not *for*, the oppressed.' (p.33) The leaders cannot preach to the people. President Nyerere made a similar point at the opening of Kivukoni College in 1961: 'You are not being trained as "leaders" who do all the thinking for others to follow blindly.'⁵

One problem is the class nature of the leaders, who are either themselves elite or else former members of the oppressor class:

... they almost always bring with them the marks of their origin: their prejudices and their deformation, which include a lack of confidence in the people's ability to think, to want and to know... Our converts... truly desire to transform the unjust order; but because of their background they believe that they must be the executors of the transformation. (p. 46)

In liberating education, both leaders and masses are active teachers and learners. Pedagogy denies the validity of the usual 'banking' systems of education, whereby the learners or masses are perceived as empty 'containers' to be filled up by the teachers. 'Generative themes' are developed together through dialogue that reflect contradictions in the lives of the people. The leader may portray these themes visually, at the beginning always at the levels of awareness of the people. The 'educatees' simultaneously become conscious of their 'limit-situations', seek ways to transform them, and also learn to read and write.

Freire does not mean that the teacher or leader has nothing to teach, but rather that he has something to learn as well:

They cannot sloganize the people, but must enter into dialogue with them, so that the people's *empirical* knowledge of reality, nourished by the leader's *critical* knowledge, gradually become transformed into knowledge of the *causes* of reality. (p. 129)

It is essential to understand what meanings are attributed to 'empirical' and 'critical' knowledge. Although Freire does not explicitly define the two, they seem to reflect the two types of knowledge distinguished by Mao as the 'perceptual stage of cognition' and 'logical' knowledge. The former relates to surface aspects and external relationships whereas the latter relates to 'the totality, the essence and the internal relations of things and discloses the inner contradictions in the surrounding world'.⁶

Many will claim that the 'dialogical' process must wait until after the revolution is victorious. Freire would argue:

In the revolutionary process the leaders cannot utilize the banking method as an interim measure, justified on grounds of expediency, with the intention of later be-

5. J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, (Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 122.

6. 'On Practice', *Op. Cit.*, p. 298.

having in a genuinely revolutionary fashion. They must be revolutionary—that is to say, dialogical, from the outset. (p. 74)

In *Towards Final Victory* (1969), Cabral describes how PAIGC⁷ carries out pedagogy in practice:

In our new mobilisation we avoided all generalisations and pat phrases... We started from the concrete reality of our people. We tried to avoid having the peasants think that we were outsiders come to teach them how to do things; we put ourselves in the position of people who came to learn *with* peasants, and in the end the peasants were discovering for themselves why things had gone badly for them.⁸

In 'Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art' (1942), Mao Tse-Tung discussed the process of teaching-learning between intellectuals and the masses: '... prior to the task of educating the workers, peasants and soldiers, there is the task of learning from them.'⁹

Fanon emphasized the significance of the relationship between leader and masses:

The men coming from the towns learn their lessons in the hard school of the people; and at the same time these men open classes for the people in military and political education.¹⁰

The political education of masses proposes not to treat the masses as children but to make adults of them.¹¹

The party should be the direct expression of the masses... In order to arrive at this conception of the party, we must above all rid ourselves of the very Western, very bourgeois, and therefore contemptuous attitude that the masses are incapable of governing themselves.¹²

Moreover, Fanon states that only after the people are aware of their interests and how these coincide with socialism can one talk of the 'responsibility' of the worker: 'Work presupposes liberty, responsibility and consciousness.'¹³

In Tanzania this concern for the involvement of the masses in the struggle for socialism and national economic autonomy is most clearly expressed in *Mwongozo*:

For people who have been slaves or have been oppressed, exploited and disregarded by colonialism or capitalism, "development" means "liberation". Any action that gives them more say in determining their affairs and in running their lives is one of development, even if it does not offer them better health or more bread. Any action that reduces their say in determining their affairs or running their lives is not progressive and retards them even if the action brings them better health and more bread... our main emphasis at all times should be the development of people and not things... The duty of our Party is not to encourage people to implement plans which have been decided upon by a few experts and leaders. The obligation of our Party is to ensure that the leaders and experts implement the plans that have been agreed upon by the people themselves.¹⁴

Paulo Freire's analysis of the pedagogy of the oppressed is a major contribution towards understanding the dialectical relationship between revo-

7. PAIGC—Political party: Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde.

8. A. Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle*, (Stage 1, 1969), p. 128-129.

9. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, Vol. III (Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 80.

10. *Op. Cit.*, p. 102.

11. *Op. Cit.*, p. 145.

12. *Op. Cit.*, p. 150.

13. *Op. Cit.* p. 153.

14. *TANU Guidelines*,—1971, Standard translation, *The Standard* February 22, 1971, paragraph 28.

lutionary leaders and masses and between theory and practice. It is unfortunate that another of Freire's books, *Educacao como Praticia da Liberdade*, is not yet published in English, for in it detailed description of methods used in 'literacy for cultural action' is given. For now, further discussion of pedagogy can be found in the article: 'The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom'.¹⁵

The consideration of relationships between the party and the masses is essential during the period of transition to socialism. It is so easy to be bewitched by the establishment of 'forms' of state or public control over means of production. The social relations of production underlying all such 'forms' must also be analysed. Charles Bettelheim, in his elaboration of this point, has stated: 'socialist relations of production can exist only to the degree that there is control by the producers over the conditions and products of their work.'¹⁶ Freire's pedagogy may help to show how the power of the people can be consolidated during the transition and afterwards.

There are three points of uncertainty in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* that I would like to analyse: (1) ideology; (2) political organization; and (3) the peasantry.

Freire is vague concerning 'which' ideology; this can lead to serious confusion in interpretation of his analysis. He stresses that education cannot be neutral — it is either for liberation or domination. He also talks of the fusion of the teacher's critical knowledge with the student's empirical knowledge; but that critical knowledge will reflect the ideology of the teacher, or the leader. Freire has stated elsewhere that ideology is the basis of all things — but which ideology is 'pedagogy' concerned about? Freire thinks and writes dialectically in a clear Marxist framework. The problem is, he seems to take it for granted that the reader accepts a similar position — and hence there is no need to be more specific. He writes as a member of the Third World and distinguishes between modernization, which represents economic exploitation and cultural invasion by imperialists, and development, which represents liberation of society into a 'being for itself'. Nevertheless, he does not clearly define either who historically the enemy is, or is now, or what to do with the enemy. Moreover, he stresses that the oppressed must liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressed must not take the place of the oppressors.

A dialectical view of contradictions would seem to lead to different conclusions, at least with regard to antagonistic as opposed to non-antagonistic contradictions. In 'On Contradictions' Mao talks about how the two aspects of a contradiction coexist and 'in given conditions, each of the two contradictory aspects transforms itself into its opposite.'¹⁷ Moreover, contradictions are perpetuated even though they may qualitatively change: 'Contradiction is universal and absolute, it is present in the process of development of all things

15. *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 40, Nos. 2 and 3, (May and August 1970.)

16. C. Bettelheim, 'More on the Society of Transition', *Monthly Review*, Vol. 22, 7, (December 1970,) p. 9. See reply from P. Sweezy in the same issue; also Bettelheim's 'On the Transition between Capitalism and Socialism' and Sweezy's reply in *Monthly Review* Vol. 20, 10, (March 1969.)

17. 'On Contradictions', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, Vol. I, p. 337.

and permeates every process from beginning to end.'¹⁸ During the transition it is necessary to 'oppress' the former oppressors, i.e. limit their freedom to oppress others once again.

If we go back to 'On Practice', it is clearly stated:

The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat.¹⁹

The second major characteristic is its 'practicality'. Freire has put into practice the second aspect but seems to avoid the first.

If the primary contradiction in the twentieth century concerns imperialistic international capitalism, the enemy is clear. The oppressed are not only intent on liberating that class enemy, they are intent on destroying 'it'. This is not to say that once the system of imperialism is wiped out there would not be liberation of the proletariat and victimized classes within capitalist-imperialist nations: 'to carry on revolutionary war is in fact to prepare the conditions for the permanent elimination of war.'²⁰ But the war is waged first.

Because Freire is not explicit on his own ideological position, his methodology can be coopted by the oppressors themselves. Freire gave a series of seminars while on a short visit to Dar es Salaam in September 1971. At one talk he stated himself: 'In (the) First World education (is) reduced to techniques — forgetting the ideology.'²¹ It is possible that this could happen to 'pedagogy'.

One preoccupation of Freire's which may help explain his vagueness on ideology is his concept of history and reality as being fluid, still 'becoming'. He rejects the 'overdetermination' of those Leftists who operate as if the future is pre-determined and thereby find an excuse not to dialogue with the people to make history. At the same talk, Freire mentioned that the objective of a dialogue should not be predetermined; a 'free posture' is assumed. Here again is another problem. Is having a 'free posture' compatible with having 'critical' knowledge of reality which enters in the dialogue?

Probably it is necessary to juxtapose liberating education with a conception of historical reality as being a dialectic between voluntarism and determinism. Huberman and Sweezy have stated:

Marxism is neither determinist nor voluntarist; or, if you prefer, it is both determinist and voluntarist, 'Men make their own history', wrote Marx in the second paragraph of the Eighteenth *Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 'but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen themselves, but under circumstances, directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past'. In other words, at any given time the range of possibilities is determined by what has gone before (determinism), but within this range genuine choices are possible (voluntarism) . . . the ratio of determinism to voluntarism in historical explanation necessarily varies greatly from one period to another.²²

Concerning political organization, the second point of uncertainty, Freire recognises in his book the need for organization. He distinguishes between

18. *Ibid*, p. 318.

19. *Op. Cit.*, p. 297 (emphasis my own).

20. 'On Contradictions', p. 339.

21. Talk at the Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam, 15 September 1971.

22. L. Huberman and P. Sweezy, 'Lessons of Soviet Experience' from *Introduction to Socialism*, (Modern Reader, 1968), p. 124-125.

organization for 'massification' i.e. the process of reducing the people to a manageable, unthinking agglomeration (p. 145) — or for liberation. In the latter case, the masses are a dynamic part of a 'critically conscious' organization. Probably more needs to be said on the kind of party structure necessary to provide a clear ideological line and to involve the masses in liberating *praxis*.

The third point is fairly specific. Freire's pedagogic methods refer to a peasantry typical of Latin America — products of a latifundia or feudal mode of production. In such a situation peasants have an immediate empirical understanding of contradictions — the immediate if not primary enemy is clearly identifiable. In Africa, many peasants are self-employed subsistence farmers who may perceive immediate needs but not necessarily the reasons for lacking them. As Cabral states in *Towards final Victory* 'this created a special difficulty in our struggle — that of showing the peasant that he was being exploited in his own country.'²³ The mixed nature of peasantry in Africa indicates that implementation of pedagogy of the oppressed requires specific modification. This is no real problem, in that flexibility and constant revision of techniques is central to Freire's concept of pedagogy: 'in the struggle this pedagogy will be made and remade.' (p. 33) The basic methodology of leaders and masses dialoguing together in cultural action and cultural revolution *is* necessary for authentic liberation anywhere.

Aside from the relevance of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* to the *praxis* of revolutionary leaders, it is also a major contribution for understanding the dynamics of the formal teaching-learning classroom situation. The 'banking' system of education whereby students are conceived as 'containers' to be filled by the omniscient teacher is all too familiar. Dialogue and problem-posing education for liberation is essential for developing consciousness and commitment in students and teachers. Given a clear ideological framework, it would seem to be directly relevant to the objectives of *Education for Self Reliance*: to develop self-confident, inquiring people able to think and act creatively to transform reality.

A final note: when Freire was asked whether he thought *Education for Self Reliance* was a 'liberating' education, he replied that on paper it looked 'liberating', but the answer could only be found in *praxis*. He said, 'The question is not *is* it, but *do* it'.²⁴

23. *Op. Cit.*, p. 128.

24. Talk at seminar jointly sponsored by the Institute and the Department of Education University of Dar es Salaam, 16 September 1971.

RURAL TRANSFORMATION IN CHINA

China: The Revolution Continued by JAN MYRDAL and GUN KESSLE. Translated by Paul Britten Austin (Chatto and Windus: London, 1971) 201 pp.

Report from a Chinese Village by JAN MYRDAL, illustrated by GUN KESSLE. Translated by Maurice Michael (Heinemann: London, 1965) 374 pp.

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Of the little that is known about the political system in China today, much is incomplete and distorted. Partly in an effort to remedy this situation, Jan Myrdal, a Swedish anthropologist, went to see for himself what was occurring in the Chinese countryside. Myrdal's explorations are recorded in two books; *Report from a Chinese Village* based upon a 1962 visit, and a follow-up study, *China: The Revolution Continued* written after a return to the same village seven years later.

Liu-Ling is a settlement of 50 families in northern Shensi in Yanan. Yanan is a relatively underdeveloped area in China. One reason Myrdal selected Liu-Ling was that it experienced early contact with communism. Mao Tse-tung established co-operatives there in the 1930's. Despite their contact with communism, the villagers required three decades before a truly socialistic system took root. Without making any claim for the objectivity of his choice of Liu-Ling or the representativeness or comprehensiveness of his information, Myrdal charts the villagers' development into committed socialists.

In both books, Myrdal uses a descriptive rather than an analytical technique. As he explains it, his approach is 'a repetition, with explanations, of what people told me.' (*The Revolution Continued*, p. 22) One advantage of this approach is immediacy. The reader, aided by Gun Kessle's sketches and photographs, can picture the physical plan of the village and the faces of the people. The accounts, however, are uneven — precisely because they depend upon the perceptions of the villagers themselves and because Myrdal re-arranges the

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