conference in Medien which was late 60s maybe, at any rate the head of the Council of Bishops in Latin America(11:13:52), their education head was a wonderful man, wonderful contribution, so we just took it for granted that Paulo was close enough to that, that theologically if he went off in some kooky way, they'd straighten him out which they would but he enjoyed it very much and he found a most congenial partnership.

[Off camera, 'would you like some water' 'yes that would be good thanks.' Stoney: next question you may want to give a little thought to was from your perspective what were his defining ideas? pause. I know that's a rough one]

Well a whole lot of answers to that one, heh, heh [drinks water, off camera statements] (11:14:50)

[Stoney: Do you remember Claudio Sesson? A young Brazilian at the time?]

Oh Claudio! Chekon we called him, yes, oh yes.

[Stoney, off camera:]

11:15:40 Have you seen the book *Seeing Education Whole*? it was the first conference we had and this was the report the World Council had a hard time with and we had Claudio's cartoons throughout and Pete Seever's song what they would learn in school today and Jacques Preveer's song of loiro? a wonderful mixture of creative thinking like that and I thought that maybe you hadn't seen it, but you'll enjoy it. Seeing Education Whole and Ernst Langer and Vina translated it into German as Bun Gast a very good way of getting beyond axiom type education.

[Stoney, off camera: Now we have?]

11:16:45 When I try to think about the major ideas that Paulo exemplified, articulated, worked at I join a host of people who knew him and might give different answer to that what I think what I learned from the contact with Paulo and when I came back to the States working with religious educators primarily. I think what impressed me the most was the radical critique of inherited structures of education, starting from the universities down the hidden way formal education has been used to prop up and maintain privilege and one of the occasions for that was when we were preparing for

the fifth (11:17:49) assembly in Nairobi and Vina by that time had moved into another spot, a higher up spot over a division, so the team was sort of broken up, Jesonmaya, whom you may have interviewed. Jeson was one of the staff members with Ralph Mode of the World Council of Christian Education so after integration he joined us. he was a Brazilian, a Presbyterian and he and Paulo got along beautifully they understood things the same way, although Paulo's influence stretched him considerably. we decided we would get materials for the basic work stuff for our section of the assembly from all over the world. and so in '72,'73,'74 we invited these papers and we had a whole lot of them, it was five years after the 1968 revolutionary trembles that hit education first in France, then all over the world. so it reflected the passion of people who were critical of education, who were beginning to understand and appreciated Paulo very much because he helped them see it more clearly. Paulo used to say what education does is help people see more clearly what they already know confusedly. he would attribute that to Mao Cha Tun, but in the process we got all these papers and one of the things I think about '74 when we were putting them in final form, the central committee men and we had this huge meeting on our section and all these Bishop types were around a large rectangular table, square right angle table arrangement. so they criticized these documents very hard and then they took a break and asked Paulo and me to respond and we kinda put our heads together and it was one of those moments where I decided to hell with it, let's have at it, what we're getting here is what you've saying so let's say it. they said what do you think (11:20:04), so we said and I then spoke for the both of us, "Something like, uh, we think you haven't gotten the message that when you started school in the first grade you were in the privileged minority of the human race of your age, when you graduated from high school you were in a smaller minority of the privileged of the people your age around the world, when you got your to your highest degree you were in a very tiny minority of those two other minorities, who had been privileged enough to get that kind of education and what it brought to you. the second thing is, we suspect that what you're proudest of in your work in the World Council of Churches (11:21:00) is the fact that education gave you a way of looking critically at the injustices of the world and the irony is that privilege led to some good things with you and also you are unaware of what else happened. And the third we hear you saying is that the education could not be that bad because it produced us." And there's dead silence and MM Thomas the wonderful Indian educator and philosopher, who used to drop by our office and talk with us, MM said, "Say it that way." But I think that was one of the things that it opened up inside

into the power games that were involved in formal education. That's why everything from the cultural circles on, like Paulo used to talk (11:22:00) about the graduating of people that didn't learn in three weeks, or three days or something, that didn't learn how to read their own language, and the Minister of Education, this is before the coup, came and congratulated them on learning to read the constitution of the country. And one man stood up and said, "We not can only read the constitution, we have learned we are the constitution." So it is not surprising that he got in trouble with his adult education program. But that led to some other explorations into why, how does it work that way, how does the power of the teacher get in the way of liberating learning? What is it in the structures of education that makes it hard to ask the question he wanted to ask: what is education for? And he would continue to press that question and it would make you ask questions about why is it working the way it is. (23:00) Why do you have to pay to go to school when obviously it is such a public benefit to have people educated. How can you understand it enough to begin to change the power structure and it is not just the power structure of the schools they reflect the power structure of society and so the injustices of society are perpetuated through the kind of knowledge you grant privilege to and the kind of processes that keep away the critical questions that will undercut that power that's powerful mostly because it's mystified and for me the major idea was that. So when you go to Sunday curriculum or how a preacher preaches hiding the mysteries of how that knowledge (11:24:00) came to be, to the whole epistlemoncal? problem we have of honoring codified knowledge, written in a book, that is nothing but the assembling and winnowing of human experience and that gets honored so much that the experience of people that comes into a classroom is ignored, it's the same kind of thing that's why the feminist pedagogy folks, when I was in New York City, they were the ones, Maxine Green and a whole lot folks down at the New School and at NYU were very important because they saw that. They as women could relate that oppressive experience and the manipulation of the nature of knowledge and the nature of learning so that you were boxed into powerlessness by everything from exclusive language, to who talks in class (11:25:02) and that whole thing of opening up was partly why I think he was important to the religious community because religion knows how to work some of those mechanisms [smacks his lips together and makes a kissing sound, simultaneously raises his hands]. I tell yah as Senator Harry Bird once said, "The church is the graduate school of politics" and the reason was what Paulo saw...(11:25:27)

[Off camera interruption and then black]

(12:00:17) One of the things about *Seeing Education Whole,* Buidtengast as Ernst translated it, is to understand education as including the formal but not limited to it one time at Union in New York, where I talked, I had chapel for three days and I wanted to get that idea across, so we took the whole chapel group, not a huge majority of students, of course, we took them to the reserved reading room and I asked to pick out a book, any book from the shelves and open it up and to read a little bit and to see if they could imagine through the text the experiences of people that had been codified up into that page of print and we just sat there for a little while we did that and I was truing to say that the illusion of seminary education, if the book is the reality whereas the book is only the doorway into the reality and if you missed that then you've blocked off from reality and the chances are pretty good that God's out there in reality not in a book. The next day I took them into the social hall and said, "What goes on here?" Well all kinds of stuff, you know, I said this part of education and it's not usually thought of it because it is not instruction and then I took them into the chapel and I said what goes on in here is another mode of knowing that's involved there, as a way of getting at it. It was interesting when Paulo, in the early years, he was very much courted by the German professors, education and Karl Ernst Niipko at Tubacant was a good appreciater of Paulo. But Paulo came back from up there, use to go up for weekends and stuff, he came back and he usually frustrated by being expected to act like a guru and make speeches, which he didn't like to do but he came back and he says, "I never going to a German university again, unless they agree to walk through the slums of their city with me for three days." And he said they keep saying we don't understand, we don't understand what you're talking about. And I say the guest workers from Spain and Portugal and Turkey and Italy they don't have any problem, they understand. (12:03:00) And it was a radical kind of awareness of the different social location of people and what learning and what learning inhibitions had been built into them through their social location through their sitting and that kind of thing went on lot. He was asked to give the opening lecture for a new university somewhere in the Pacific Islands, he'd never been out there, so he went out and I never talked with him much about it, but it was obvious that in the circles in higher education, there were restless people, one experience he had was in Tanzania, he went to Tanzania, his first trip to Africa, and it was a wonderful experience to him but he went out to see all the projects of building schools and so forth (12:04:00) the farming type education, the commune

type that was going on and he ended up at the university of Darsalaam the university of Tanzania and it's on a hill, so there was an American woman helping arrange it who really had understood Paulo well so she had set up a final kind of reflection session with the folk. And he was asked what he thought about it and he said, " Well, first of all the university is up on the hill where the breezes blow and the people who don't go to the university live down in the city where it is hot," and he said, " the second thing is because partly because of where you are and what you are you do not get the input of the people that's the essence (12:05:00) of nation building, that's the essence of what you want and I think maybe Nairi was there, he had a good relationship with Judas Nairi. He said, "You must open your legs to be impregnated by the people" and he stopped when he said that, he said, " Will there some other English word that I didn't know how to call on," I said, "you're probably lucky you didn't Paulo." But at any rate it was such graphic example of his searching for a word in a second language, in English, that would help use that use that image of where new birth comes from, that happened again, and again, and again in different ways. I must tell you of the ? university in England, it was the major kind of educational experimental of ? (12:06:00) of this century in a way, it expanded two-fold the number of people that were in universities, took away some of the aura of expensive, residential education, some of the power of Oxford and Cambridge dominate(ing). And one of the members of our committee was a man named Walter James, who was the Dean of the School of Education as the ? University was formed and he took me around one day, he took Paulo around. He called me one day and said, "Will we'd like to give Paulo an honorary degree. We'd never given an honorary degree outside of Britain, could you check with before we go to far and see if he'd be willing." I say, "Paulo, Walter and the gang over there want to give you an honorary degree." He said, "Will I have to make a speech?" I said, " We'll check that." (12:07:00) Walter said, " No, Jenny who was Aaron Bevon's widow, who had been the instrumental part--- [off camera interruption] Jenny Lee--- she was gonna make the speech, Paulo said, " Okay I'd like to hear her make a speech, I'll go." So we went and he came back and he told the story, there was a Brazilian reporter, television reporter there who interviewed him afterwards and he knew it would never be shown in Brazil and Paulo knew it too. And he asked Paulo, "What were thinking about as they read all those fancy words about you as an educator?" And Paulo said, "I was thinking that everything that I learned about education, I learnt from the peasants of Northeast Brazil." And the guy turned his camera off and said, "That's tremendous!" and turned

it on, so that kind of awareness popped out all over the place (12:08:00) the input of the people of the people and their experiences.

[Stoney, off camera: Could you talk about Paulo and Illich?]

Well Illich was in and out of Geneva, Irving Illich, was in and out of Geneva, he was an Australian staff member, spoke twelve languages, came through as arrogant but articulate, I remember a speech he gave at the hundredth anniversary of something, of the International School there, where he said, "We've gotta watch him, they talk about *education permanente*, it really is," he said, " *education andermenable*." Heh, heh, so people appreciated Illich and what he was getting at in the celebration of awareness of whatever was looking at the technological, that was a dimension that I didn't (12:09:00) hear too much from Paulo, he was on another wavelength, so when Illich was in Geneva maybe it was for that conference, we invited the staff members that were related and Paulo and Irving out to our apartment for an evening. So it was the first time we had engaged them together and Paulo didn't engage very well, I think he was still trying to figure out what was his relationship to Irving but he then became critical of Irving because of various things, Paulo did not feel that he, I think, that he really was with the people and so they set up a meeting a Quenavarca one time to which Paulo did not come, did not go partly because of the fear of the intrigue, passport problem. (12:10:00) And he said Illich came

[Off camera interruption]

(12:10:12) We had an evening with Paulo and Irving Illich in Geneva and we had a conference later where they were both engaged with some educators from Europe, some progressive educators, some people from the International Bureau of Education and so forth, and it was apparent that they came from different perspectives to the problems and I tried to figure it out in an article to try to say Paulo's great gift is an awareness of what happens to people at the bottom and the need for them to be involved in whatever transforming process education can generate. Irving is coming is coming from a more analytical, technological kind of approach and he does that (12:11:00) in ways Paulo doesn't deal with but he lacks what Paulo does, sensitivity to the poor, sensitivity to the class structure enter the questions of power. It maybe because of their different pilgrimages they end up making these different kinds of contributions. Some of the colleagues tried to be too sweet to the

both of them. Heh, heh.

[Stoney off camera: It is interesting that Paulo in his letters to Christina had been quite specific about some of the effects of his family's struggle with poverty on him and yet later he, as Maxine Green said, insisted that I am not a peasant when people tried to say he was part of the proletariat and so forth. Could you talk about that.]

Paulo came through in the World Council and the bureaucratic structures in Swiss culture (12:12:00) sort of wanting to be a peasant. His books were pirated all over the world, people'd publish them and sometimes he didn't even know they were being published but he'd get checks every now and then, royalties from all these folks when somebody with a conscience, in India somewhere you know, I'll bump into a colleague and he'd say, "Does Paulo know about that book?" And so he was getting money and like an old shrewd peasant he was socking it away, the only trouble was he was socking it away in the Swiss banks. And so one year they came after him and if it hadn't been for Jesonmaya, I don't know, I was not deeply engaged in this. They said Paulo you gotta pay taxes on that. And he acted in horror and shock, well he ended up paying taxes, so that gave us a chance to say, "Paulo it is tough being bourgeois (12:13:00) Paulo you just don't know. You come from all that underprivileged background, but man it is rough living when you're bourgeois and gotta pay taxes." So there was that ambivalence I think and he would speak of the poverty of stealing a chicken, of really being hungry but you don't move smoothly from that to getting a Ph.D. in Philosophy in Recife. So there was always a kind of ambivalence which helped him understand the class problem in the US, that he had a hard time figuring out as we do because is so mystified among us and is not as sharp yet, it may be getting sharper as the rich get richer and poor get poorer but there were two things I think that he found mystifying about Americans, including me. One was (12:14:00) that very few of us had studied Marx well and that was because the curriculum had not included it in the best colleges and stuff, you could get it and you'd get a breeze by in a history course or an economic course but the prevailing pattern during the cold war and after the depression and after the war, the world war, kind of muted that kind of uproar. We went naive into the world thinking about that and Paulo would say, "When I read Marx, I smiled and I never saw any problem between the picture of Marx and the picture of Christ in my home they were much of the same things and he would talk about that and when he got into the language

of Easter that each person must go through his own Easter, his or her own Easter, meaning that you had to strip away the putraments of privilege and realize how naked human reality really is and therefore what potential is really there, how only the poor can have hope because change for anybody else means loss so you've got to go with the poor, you've got to listen to the poor and that translate into listening to the women and listening to the children and to listening to the unarticulate for whatever reason, the ones that need to express themselves in order to have that reality be exposed to be uncovered.

[Stoney, off camera: That's just marvelous, I think I'm just about through but there's something that almost mechanical that I want you to help me with. I want you to eliminate the use of narrator whenever possible, I'd like to have one or another eyewitness to ? so I need for you to state quite explicitly when Paulo came to Geneva, the fact that you gathered invitations for the World Council of Churches, what his position was and then when he left. Just that statement, you can split it up or skip it. I don't any kind of ? because at one time or other we may have to adjust that, if you don't mind.]

(12:16:45) I'll be Glad to . When Paulo came to the World Council of Churches it was to be part of the three-person team in a new office..

[Stoney, off camera: Start again, give me the dates.]

(12:16:57) When Paulo came to the World Council of Churches, he actually arrived in 1970 to be part of a new office of education that had been set up at Upsala, it wasn't Lunes it was Upsala assembly in 1968 and to which the other two of us had come in 1969, Paulo arrived in 1970 and we struggled to figure we were to do. Immediately he was related to the development education people in the SODOPAX with Rome and in the development work and so he was always kind of bridged and as the World Council's budget went Down the development folks had taken over much of the old mission money that was being given and so they could support Paulo and so he made a transition, it didn't make much difference to what he did.(12:18:00) he went out to where he was invited through these various Catholic and development networks and religious networks to get into the action and so when I left in 1975, he was there with Jesonmaya and one or two other Latin Americans who joined. It was not a strong but the office did not matter that much, Paulo said publicly many times, "I have never been hobbled, I have been freed to

work in the World Council of Churches." And Vina and I used to laugh about the care and feeding of a genius, we would have to take care of Paulo and he came in from a trip one day furious at the World Council of Churches, you'd go to five countries and even a meticulous, persnickety person couldn't figure out all the money changes (12:19:00), you know so he'd just dump it and somebody had said something about it that was irresponsible. So we just laughed, Vina and I just laughed, we said Paulo there are good things to get mad at the World Council of Churches but this isn't one of them, this is sheer bureaucratic games and just forger that, your boss did, Ernst Langer did the same thing, he'd just bring it in and dump it and say where he'd been and just give them the slip. So Paulo was a roving educator, respected and not checked what we tried to do and the other who followed us, was to try to enable him to go the places where it would make the most difference. And he usually liked to go with somebody else because of the language problem, he and I went to? one time to speak to the UNESCO association, Switzerland was not part of the United Nations, so we (12:20:00) went up there and on the way we talked about and he didn't like to make a speech to start off with, he wanted to know where they were. So we decided to that, so we passed out 3x5 cards and asked them write the question you want to ask this man and so in came this pile of questions, three, four hundred people, I guess, so we took a break, thumbed through them and tried to pick out the four or five and said here's what we're gonna do, so we went through those and it worked well. It worked well because then he could sense where they were. We went to Bausit, to the ecumenical institute which is part of the graduate school of the University of Geneva, the education institution arm of the World Council of Churches and we'd go out for one day with every class, it was a semester long class. Forty-five assoc. students from all over the world, something like twenty to twenty five (12:21:00) different mother tongues. And Paulo said I'm not gonna make a speech, we said OK, so we said how do we do this, so we figured out I put on the blackboard, chalkboard, EDUCATION, I said that's my term. All of it goes on and already the simultaneous interpreters were having to choose between *formatio* and uh what's the other word for education in French, *edsun* and *bildun* in German, so already the process had begin. So we said now what we want to do you bid in your mother tongue group and you put up your word that you use when you see my word education and you go back and talk about what you would show us if we had two weeks to visit your country and for you to interpret education. Well, a couple of people walked out they were not gonna go through any again, (12:22:00) probably connected with the prejudices toward the American

process, you know but they came back and every body did that, they showed us all this thing. When we got through with it what had happened every Third World country had not said school, they had said village, they had said family, every first world person had said school. It was just a dramatic moment of awareness of what schools are in our life.

[Stoney, off camera: Now tell us about his leaving, when and how did he leave?]

Well I'm not sure about that, I was not there. But he left I think when it opened up that he could go back to Brazil.

[Stoney, off camera: We have that...]

It was in the early 80s maybe

[Stoney, off camera: '79]

That makes sense we left in '75

(12:23:00) [Stoney, off camera: Is there any thing that is close to you that you would like to say?]

(From 12:23:47 there are pauses and off camera talking which are not relevant)

Two liberation educators in the church bureaucracies in the US realized the value of this for the tensions that were abroad the different (12:24:00) ethnic groups and the women and men groups and so forth in the US. So they got together thirty, forty thousand dollars to have a series of conferences of people who were in education like the folks down on the islands around Charleston so they met at Frog Pond, anyway, there's a little old center down there that's been doing this kinda thing for generations with the people that live there and there was one in the West Coast and a couple in the Midwest. Each time the tension was so high that the ? couldn't take place without it just breaking apart and it was very difficult under those circumstances for them to get beyond their particularity to think together about what Paulo was (12:25:00) contributing, trying to contribute to. So they got back to New York for the debriefing before he came back and he came back and we

debriefed with him and we said what happened at the debriefing, he said well I told them as long as the different groups, the blacks and the whites and the Native Americans and the women and the men could not figure how to work together, the only real minority in this country that owns the country sleeps well. And it was a wonderful moment of awareness of the difficulties where I thought where class was submerged and where the basic class analysis had contributed so much I thought to Paulo's awareness, his articulation of class power and cultural power, (12:26:00) the patterns of taste and so forth, how dominating they are in shaping things and how easy it is for that minority integrated with the bank system and so forth to control how people learn in formal education but it was an interesting experience for Paulo because he realized the difficulties that he couldn't overcome in that setting.

[Stoney, off camera: Good. Now Miles and ..]

Miles Hawthorn came to New York every now and then and I had interviewed him much earlier when I first came back from the World Council of Churches in Atlanta about Highlander and I was fascinated about what they were doing and it was obvious that it was along many of the lines that Paulo was talking about. So they (12:27:00) somebody got them together at Riverside Church in the assembly hall under the sanctuary and so I went over of course glad to see both them, particularly glad to see Paulo. And from the very beginning their awareness of learning possibilities from one another was just rich and so as they began talk everybody just rejoiced in how easily they related and how they were exploring the different dimensions of their settings and their experience toward the greater kind of opening up of education that their institute, the Highlander Center had fostered through the years and that Paulo's whole pilgrimage had been centered on. So it was great and for us it was a joy, we asked what they were doing for lunch and they didn't have plans so they came over and had a sandwich with Frances and me and so we got to see how easily that formal (12:28:00) kind of dialogue translated into a personal liking and in the work they did together after that, I think Miles went to Brazil and Paulo went to New Market and the work they did together was very rich.

[Stoney, off camera: That's interesting about taste, we have this Brazilian, this young Brazilian who came to Geneva, uh, their was another artist, uh, I think he was in jail with Paulo, in the same place with Paulo, uh, (12:29:00) anyway he tells about going to Brazil and going to Geneva and Paulo asked

him to bring some *bolsa*, *bolsa* being a Brazilian chocolate to Geneva, ha ha, he said he was so homesick for Brazil, he tells it very well.]

One of our colleagues over there, a man named Milford, wrote a book on patterns of poverty it was sixteen or so case studies largely in Africa, he was a British and he investigated what he called conmechs, confidence mechanisms, the tricks by which education has used to hide what's going on. One of the examples was the inability of the Ghanaians who raised the chocolate bean to market it, (12:30:00) they could not put it, they could make it into candy bar, it had to go to England or Switzerland or Germany to do that or US. One other incident that I'm not sure it fits, and the reason I think of it is because it doesn't fit what we have been saying neatly. We had a conference in 1970, the first conference, we wanted to get a group of people from around the world to talk about education and so we choose eleven

[dogs barking interruption]

For our first conference we tried to have a different kind of style, we chose eleven countries representative and we invited a politician and a journalist I (12:31:01).