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Political education in Freire and Marxist criticism: theoretical-historical reflections

Educação política em Freire e a crítica marxista: reflexões teórico-históricas

La educación política en Freire y la crítica marxista: reflexiones teórico-históricas

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Abstract

This essay aims to reflect on Freire's political education and Marxist criticism, trying to delineate the paths of their theoretical encounters, rescuing their historical aspects. For this, the perspective of dialectical historical materialism was used to rehearse how political education is guided and which Marxist elements were fundamental in the construction of the history of education for the workers' struggle. The meeting of Marxian and Freirean elements points to the need for a critical political-pedagogical project, in the effort to (re)place workers as constituents of their own praxis. By deepening the search for the space of critical political education, Freire's thought rescues important elements of the dialectical method, however, it readapts to the influences of the local conjuncture of Latin America, resignifying the fundamental premises

of the struggle. The need for criticism of capitalism is highlighted, as without it does not necessarily constitute a critical political education.

Descriptors: Political education; Freirean thought; Marxism.

Resumo

Este ensaio tem como objetivo refletir sobre a educação política freireana e a crítica marxista tentando delinear os caminhos de seus encontros teóricos resgatando seus aspectos históricos. Para isso, utilizou-se da perspectiva do materialismo histórico-dialético para ensaiar de que forma a educação política é pautada e quais os elementos marxistas foram fundamentais na construção da história da educação para a luta dos trabalhadores. O encontro dos elementos marxianos e freireanos apontam para a necessidade de um projeto político-pedagógico crítico, no esforço de (re)colocar os trabalhadores enquanto constituintes de sua própria práxis. Ao aprofundar a busca pelo espaço da educação política crítica, o pensamento freireano resgata elementos importantes do método dialético, contudo, se readapta às influências da conjuntura local da América Latina, ressignificando as premissas fundamentais da luta. Destaca-se a necessidade da crítica ao capitalismo, pois sem ela não se configura, necessariamente, como educação política crítica.

Palavras-chave: Educação política; Pensamento freireano; Marxismo.

Resumen

Este ensayo tiene como objetivo reflexionar sobre la educación política y la crítica marxista de Freire, tratando de delinear los caminos de sus encuentros teóricos, rescatando sus aspectos históricos. Para ello, se utilizó la perspectiva del materialismo histórico dialéctico para ensayar cómo se orienta la educación política y qué elementos marxistas fueron fundamentales en la construcción de la historia de la educación para la lucha obrera. El encuentro de elementos marxistas y freireanos apunta a la necesidad de un proyecto político-pedagógico crítico, en el esfuerzo por (re)colocar a los trabajadores como constituyentes de su propia praxis. Al ahondar en la búsqueda del espacio de la educación política crítica, el pensamiento de Freire rescata elementos importantes del método dialéctico, pero se readapta a las influencias de la coyuntura latinoamericana local, ressignificando las premisas fundamentales de la lucha. Se destaca la necesidad de la crítica al capitalismo, ya que sin ella no constituye necesariamente una educación política crítica.

Palabras clave: Educación política; Pensamiento freireano; Marxismo.

Introduction

Recognized inside and outside the country, Paulo Freire continues to be a symbol that represents spaces of dispute and the way in which fake news and narratives from the Brazilian right are constructed, especially in the Bolsonaroist context. Even recognizing the immense contribution to global educational thought, Freire has been questioned as one of the main architects of the dissemination of Marxism in the field of education, in attempts to disqualify him using the term indoctrinator. Although there is Marxist inspiration in Freire's work, scientific analyzes of his work have demonstrated other findings.

Despite the fact that in 2012 it was declared, through Law no. 12,612, the Patron of Brazilian Education, Freire has a history with education, not only in Brazil, but worldwide, as among his countless works, he criticizes traditional education, which transfers knowledge, known as banking education.¹

For example, in Zanella's debate article,² the author sought to reflect on the basic references of Freire's thought and verified the enormous difficulty for leaders of social movements in understanding this problem that concerns the limits of Freire's pedagogy, including, their divergences with Marx's theoretical frameworks of education.²

The study carried out by Dias and collaborators¹ demonstrates that the relationship between Freire and Marx takes place through a reflective practice, praxis, which seeks to simultaneously approach theory and practice in favor of social transformation, not advancing in a substantial beyond that. Furthermore, some reflections on what dialectics are for Freire stand out and that the pedagogy of the oppressed follows the perspective of the struggle to overcome the capitalist mode of production through collective praxis, understanding the oppressed as subjects.¹

Paulo Freire, from Recife, who lived between 1921 and 1997. Professor, he worked at the Federal University of Pernambuco in the 1960s, where he created a revolutionary literacy system for adults, influencing teachers from all over the world. It was in the experience in the municipality of Angicos/RN that Freire was able to build a pedagogy, which takes men and women as subjects of knowledge and history, which is concerned with the reading of the word but preceded by the reading of the world. This political epistemology had barely begun to be outlined and was already bothering the power that in the 1960s and 1970s took control of the country's political leadership, as it threatened the constituted political and economic power that stripped Brazilian men and women of their status as protagonists of their own lives - experiences - and History. The military coup interrupted this construction, requiring Freire to go into exile from Brazil. Initially in Bolivia and later in Chile, Freire was able to mature his work by publishing his first books while

still in exile. Before returning to Brazil in the 1980s, he visited the United States, Switzerland and Africa.³

Upon his return, Freire in São Paulo was received at institutions such as the Pontifical Catholic University - PUC and the State University of Campinas - UNICAMP and was able to continue his project in Brazil in redemocratization. He was Secretary of Education of the Municipality between 1989 and 1991 when he provided the opportunity and experienced a reinterpretation of the Pedagogy of the Oppressed in the exercise of his management activity.³

As a professor, he received several Doctor *Honoris Causa* titles from universities around the world and wrote dozens of books, among them: "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (distributed in several languages throughout the world), "Education as a Practice of Freedom", "Cultural Action for Liberdade", "Letters to Guinea Bissau" as being those whose ideas are the basis of Freire's thinking. There are also more recent ones, post-exile, such as "Educação na Cidade", "A Sombra essa Mangueira", "Cartas à Cristina" *etc.* which show another time of Paulo Freire renewing and reaffirming the principles that underlie revolutionary pedagogy.³

In this sense, being philosophically rigorous, Freire must be understood as a humanist, especially identified with the personalist current of Christian existentialism, which justifies his idealist assumptions in his narrative. Some established differences that support this analysis are in the idea of **transformative praxis**, which in Freire emphasizes transformation through dialogical mediation while, in Marx, transformation is carried out eminently through class struggle.

Even though Freire places the basis of his philosophy in idealism, it is pertinent to remember that his idealism is mixed on a diffuse foundation between the phenomenological method and dialectical perspective with Christian existentialist tendencies, but his entire construction is built through a critical perspective on oppression, where we find Marx's contributions to Freire's thought.²

Once these differences have been outlined, it is urgent to reflect on the spaces where thoughts meet and open keys of analysis to think about the limits of Freirean thought in the radicality of political struggle. Therefore, this theoretical essay aims to reflect on the relationship between Freire's political education and Marxist criticism, trying to outline the paths of this encounter and its theoretical determination, rescuing its historical aspects. To this end, the perspective of historical-dialectical materialism was used to rehearse how political education is guided and which Marxist elements were fundamental in the construction of the history of education for the workers' struggle.

Political education and Marxist criticism: a first delimitation

In the world of bourgeois educational thought, the ideology of maintenance and conservation of the political-economic order is maintained through a vocabulary with the use of words such as: **competence, coaching, resilience**, among others that can be seen as keywords of political education^a of the bourgeoisie.^{4,5} However, the construction of an education **of the worker and for the worker** has had little space to act as a necessary counterpoint so that this class can emancipate itself from ideological oppression, that is, from catechizing bourgeois political **education**^b.

It is in the sense of confronting a catechizing education that Freirean thought has been constructed for several decades, based in Brazil and initiated by the experiences of adult literacy in this country in the 1960s and 1970s in an attempt to transform the thinking of the working class. It was in this context in which Paulo Freire became a reference in education⁶, recognizing education as a form organically linked to **politics**.

For Freire, traditional education is characterized by a storytelling relationship, in which the educator tells the students read/narrated content, based on "scraps of reality disconnected from the totality, in which they engender and in whose vision they would gain meaning".⁷⁽⁵⁷⁾

Therefore, Freirean thought or Freirean conceptual universe has assumptions that go beyond simple academic intellectual theorization, never far from lived life, from real man. In Freire's conceptual universe, education can present itself in two distinct and dichotomous currents: traditional, **banking** or depository education; **and liberating, critical-reflective or problematized** education.^{6,7}

Thus, **education as a policy** reached the peak of development in Freire's thought in his most classic work: the "Pedagogy of the Oppressed".⁷ In this work, Freire places the human being in its complex dimensions as a central question: ontological, anthropological, ethical, political. Thinking about human beings in their daily problematizations and their relationship with the world, their conditioning and challenges, implies awareness of their history and their dehumanization.⁸ However, even recognizing the importance of the relationship between **education and politics** in Freire, we can say that its **content as political education** is little explored if we think about the politicization practices that rescue the Marxian aspects of his work.

It is pertinent to elucidate that, in Marxian terms, the **space of politics** is constituted by an expansion beyond the sphere of the State. As a Marxist, Codato⁹ summarizes that the space of politics can be considered as: (i) the place of refracted expression of social interests; (ii) the place of constitution of

this or that socioeconomic group (classes, fractions, layers) as a specifically political group; (iii) the place of recombination of certain political groups depending on the dynamics of the political process; (iv) the place of translation of social interests into a political language and (v) the place of expression/concealment of social interests.

As Evangelista¹⁰ (51,52) points out, “politics is any form of social praxis that overcomes the passive or manipulative reception of immediate data from reality and is consciously oriented towards the totality of its objective and subjective relationships”. In other words, **politics** is a creative praxis on concrete reality that aims to denude through the problematization of everyday life, which, in the first instance, presents itself as given. This is how the encounter between **politics** and **education** merges in Marxian thought, as there is no education that is not political, because, ultimately, politics is an element that cannot be eliminated from reality. Therefore, it is up to thinkers in the area of education to understand which social interests guide politics as an educational act, considering politics as this broad space mentioned by Codato.⁹

However, it is pertinent to remember that Marx and Engels⁵ in "The Manifesto of the Communist Party" already paid attention to this issue of the **political education** of the working class. According to the authors "the bourgeoisie provides the proletarians with the elements of their own political education, that is, the weapons against themselves",⁵ (48) and that is why rescuing the core of this radicalism regarding political education in Freire's work it seems important both as a form of mediation for the Brazilian reality of the use of political training, as well as a tactic for workers in the class struggle.

Since the bourgeoisie constantly carries out its ideological struggle through conservative political education, it is prudent to recognize that it has been reinventing itself in Brazil today. With the neo-fascist rise, education became the target of a strong cultural war that disqualifies important personalities such as Paulo Freire, when in the episode in which Jair Bolsonaro publicly calls him an **energúmeno**,¹¹ or when the former Minister of Education, Abraham Weintraub threatens to remove the mural by Paulo Freire from the Ministry of Education - MEC.¹²

The need for a pedagogy of popular liberation is affirmed in our daily lives because in our bodies, minds and in all social practices there is still the pedagogy of the oppressor. This pedagogy legitimizes its domesticating practice by denying the people's right to be who they are in cases of social revolutions.⁸ Freire introduces the idea that we must say the true word or give a name to the world as a political dimension, because as a human phenomenon, the word emerges as the essence of dialogue itself.

In the book "Politics and Education", a collection of texts written by Freire, there are several political-pedagogical reflections in which he recognizes knowledge as a social production that results from action and reflection as well as curiosity in a constant movement of search. This work synthesizes the intrinsic relationship between politics and education and is, in itself, an important reference for thinking about **political education** as a moving category.¹³

In its constituent elements, Freire finds two dimensions - reflection and action, and, therefore, does not understand education in a neutral way. The act of educating is fundamentally a political act in line with the Marxist understanding of what it means to educate.¹³ Thus, in Freire's thinking there is no place for the false political neutrality of the educator, since in Freire's convictions political formation is dialectical for transformation.¹³

Freire points out awareness and curiosity as necessary paths to political education, being a way of making human beings capable of understanding, interacting in the world, intervening in it technically, ethically, aesthetically, scientifically and politically. If human beings were purely determined and not beings **programmed to learn**, there would be no reason, in educational practice, to appeal to the student's critical capacity.¹³

In this aspect, Arroyo⁶ discusses some points of Freire's theoretical-methodological construction and the popular project for Brazil. It is important to emphasize that, strictly speaking, Paulo Freire did not invent a method, his thought is not a new technique, a new methodology, a recipe that everyone can follow or not. He did not admit education as a pure method or technique. For him, education is a political act in itself, therefore, education for Paulo Freire is a conduct, and this conduct must be guided to transform the ways in which we feel oppressed, opposing education to domesticate and train.

Consciousness, in Paulo Freire, is something much more totalizing, it is linked to cultural and political practices experienced in the production of existence, in liberation movements, above all. Therefore, understanding education in cultural, human, social, group and racial diversity, of experiences, of memory are striking features in Paulo Freire's thinking and pedagogical stance. Political education in this context must restore all these elements of the materiality of the oppressed and how they "play" an essential role in historical struggles for human emancipation.⁸

However, political education is not something of today, or a mere requirement of the present time. It was requested as a political struggle tactic in all social times. Strictly speaking, it never stops being used by dominant groups, especially in a tacit way. Therefore, it is essential to understand how critical

political education, throughout history, has constituted itself as a counter-hegemonic force to contribute to the emancipation of the working class.

Marxist pedagogy comes to question objective knowledge in the materiality of the lives of workers as being strategic knowledge for the emancipation of the working class, as it is this knowledge that is at the productive basis of capitalist society, instrumentalizing them, improving their conditions in the struggle by overcoming the capitalist mode of production.² This is where truly emancipatory critical political education appears to be.

Historical construction of political education: a moving path

Critical political education, that is, that which is specific to workers as a form of ideological emancipation from the symbolic impregnation provided by the bourgeois world, has its limits. Critical political education alone does not make a revolution, but it is, in fact, essential, because without it, any sparks of rebellion become politically co-opted by the capitalist order.

It is pertinent to remember that a revolution does not involve detailed planning or mechanical precision. Waiting for the confirmation of a teleology in this process is idealism, since life in the revolution imposes changes, creation, breaking of taboos, transgressions of art, culture, and education and this becomes an enormous challenge to the working class, when there is no political education that guides her towards criticizing capitalist sociability.¹⁴

Saviani¹⁵ reminds us that, at the beginning of the 20th century, the various workers and center parties, called socialists, took up the defense of free popular, secular and technical-professional education. Claiming public education, they criticized the government's ineffectiveness with regard to popular education and encouraged the emergence of workers' schools and popular libraries in an attempt to radicalize education **of the** workers and the education **for the** workers. However, in those circumstances, they did not explain more clearly the pedagogical concept that should guide teaching procedures.

Originally, in the debates of the International Workers' Association - AIT, Marx drew attention to the fact that the working class had an element of triumph, its numbers, but that the number would not weigh in the balance if it were not united by the association and guided by the knowledge provided by a politically oriented educational process. In his work "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right - Introduction" (1843), Marx understands human emancipation as the necessary passage to communism, remembering that:

[...] the social revolution of a people and the emancipation of a particular class of civil society

coincide, for a class to assert itself as a class of the whole society, it is necessary that, conversely, all the defects of society are concentrated in another class [...].¹⁶ (154)

In Marx, political education is important in the transformation of the necessary consciousness in the struggle and emancipation in the dialectical movement of workers from the **class in itself from the class to itself**, so much so that in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", Marx and Engels ⁵ take a position in favor of : "free public education for all children. Elimination of child labor in factories in its current form. Unification of education with material production."⁵ (144) when presenting some measures that would make it possible to elevate the proletariat to the status of ruling class. Furthermore:

The proletariat will use its political dominance to gradually take away all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, that is, of the proletariat organized as the dominant class, and to multiply as quickly as possible the mass of productive forces.⁵ (144)

In the work "Criticism of the Gotha Program" from 1875, Marx criticizes public education subsidized by the Bourgeois State.¹⁷ Leher¹⁴ also includes, therefore, that the State cannot be itself, the educator, as the State is particularistic, it is bourgeois. It is by following this teaching of Marx that it can be understood that the political education of the working class will come from the working class itself, and not from the State. Given this observation, it is possible to say that the most appropriate place for political education is the **heat of struggle**^e and the proletarian self-organization.¹⁸

Even recognizing that political education is more conducive to places outside institutions, for Lenin, in the 1917 revolution, in a context of enormous technical and scientific desertion of workers hostile to the ongoing revolution, circumstances placed transformation as a priority task from school.^{19,20} Traditionally recognized as an instrument of domination of the bourgeois class, the school's project was the destruction of this domination, as well as the complete suppression of the division of class society, that is, the transformation of the school towards a unitary school that refuses separation between intellectual work and manual work.²⁰

Thus, from this perspective, critical political education could subvert the game using this new institutionality to do so. The school for work and the formation of the working class have important references in Krupskaya,²¹ revolutionary leader and education activist who defended the **single school of work**. The worker, in this school, should not only develop the ability to work

individually, but also develop the ability to work collectively, and to self-organize for work.

This model in the Soviet Union was developed in the polytechnic school, conditioned not to train a specialist, but a person who understands the entire interconnection of the different branches of production, the role of each of them, the development trends²¹ essential elements to forge politically the workers.

A thinker of fundamental importance for Marxist political education is Antonio Gramsci. The "Prison Notebooks", especially Volume 2, presents reflections on intellectuals, the educational principle and journalism. It brings together notebooks 12, 24 and 28, in which Gramsci debates a counter-hegemonic conception of what it means to be an intellectual, based on the place and function he plays in a given historical process, proposing that his "way of being can no longer consist in eloquence, an external and momentary driving force of affections and passions, but in an active insertion in practical life, as a builder, organizer, and permanent persuader".²² (53) The revolutionary role of intellectuals in the dialogue with the popular classes and in the function of culture as a forger of freedom constitutes the core of the reflections in these notebooks.²³

There is a dialogue between Gramsci and Freire. The latter's critical perspective towards workers (as a political class) is accompanied by a pedagogical evolution, bringing the oppressed as a central category and the denunciation of oppressive dehumanization as a political path to emancipation. Freire highlights resistance education that does not tolerate the exploitation of subordinates. Education for autonomy and the ability to direct or, as Gramsci points out, for the counter-hegemony of subalterns. Citizen education to question the exploitation of the globalized liberal economy, responsible for social misery. Education that is capable of reinventing the world. Freire claims his role as educator, intellectual and popular educator, contributing to overcoming orthodox determinisms.²⁴

In the Latin American scenario, the role of education as a critique of bourgeois institutions was also problematized. The result of a violent process of colonization, Latin America spent a long time being the home of Jesuit education, based on transmission and, of course, with the aim of domination. The first Latin American Marxist to rethink the place of education as a form of emancipation was José Carlos Mariátegui, who draws attention to the need for training focused on work and the concrete Latin American reality.

Mariátegui²⁵ makes a scathing critique of the role of the university as a locus of bourgeois knowledge and points out how revolutionary critical thinking must be constructed outside this environment. As the author points out:

We are a people in which the mania of old and decadent nations has infiltrated, the disease of speaking and writing and not acting, of agitating words and not things.^{25 (75)}

The Spanish (in this case Peruvian) or colonial heritage does not constitute a pedagogical method, but rather an economic-social regime. French influence was later inserted into this picture as progress of those who see France as the homeland of Jacobin and republican freedom, of those who were inspired by the thought and practice of restoration. North American influence was finally imposed as a consequence of capitalist development in Latin America, in parallel with the incorporation of Yankee capital, technicians and ideas.²⁵

The author, when expressing the need for political education, which is more than the act of literacy, of literacy, when using as a basis the relationship between original peoples and imperialist exploitation, points out that:

The problem of Indian illiteracy ends up being, in the end, a much bigger problem, which goes beyond the restricted framework of a merely pedagogical plan. It is increasingly clear that literacy is not educating. The [bourgeois] elementary school does not redeem the Indian morally and socially. The first real step towards redemption will have to be to abolish servitude.^{25 (160-161)}

In other words, political education is the fundamental element to abolish the servitude of thought. To understand the Brazilian reality, with regard to political education, Saviani¹⁵ recalls that the Brazilian Communist Party - PCB has this concern as an agenda, even at an institutional level. With regard to education, the PCB positions itself in relation to educational policy, defending four basic points: economic aid to poor children by providing them with the means to attend schools; opening of professional schools in continuity with primary schools; improvement of the situation of primary teaching; and subsidies to popular libraries.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the expression **popular education** also gained prominence, in line with the process of implementing national systems and primary schools in which it was believed that this was the way to eradicate illiteracy^{6,15} by making so that, little by little, the term **political education** was gradually replaced by **popular education** as its synonym. Thus, in the reality of an economically dependent country, fractured by abysmal social inequality

and a rancid slavery that refers to the most colonial values, literacy became the most revolutionary educational process to politically work towards the emancipation of workers in this reality.

It is in this context that social movements such as the Popular Culture Centers, Popular Culture Movements - MCP and Base Education Movement - MEB were important in the history of mobilizations, especially in valuing the people's culture as the authentic national culture. The MCP's prerogative was to raise awareness among the masses through people-centered literacy, serving as a base and inspiration for Paulo Freire, in Recife/PE and Natal/RN. The MEB was the only movement that survived the 1964 military coup because it was a movement linked to the Catholic church. The most complete expression of these movements was the Freirean conception of education, suffering a rupture during the military dictatorship, being resumed in the process of redemocratization in the 1980s.¹⁵

Furthermore, in the business-military dictatorship experienced in Brazil, the Military State appropriated education through various means such as: investment in propaganda in pro-regime media, films, music and mainly the educational apparatus, especially with the creation of the discipline of Moral and Civic Education, created under Decree Law in 1969, only being revoked in 1993. This discipline aimed to form **good citizens** and which built in the social imagination the image that Brazil remained in a democratic regime.²⁶

Saviani²⁷ highlights market interests and Brazilian education during the dictatorship period:

Under these conditions, it is not difficult to understand the constant calls for closer ties between education and the market, the valorization of private initiative with the consequent emphasis on the adoption of business mechanisms in the management of education [...].²⁷ (311)

In the post-business-military dictatorship phase (1988) until the 2000s, the movement of education and higher education professionals became stronger. The process of democratic opening; the campaign demanding direct elections for President of the Republic; the transition to a civilian government at the federal level; the organization and mobilization of educators; Brazilian education conferences; The critical scientific production developed in postgraduate programs in education formed a set of factors that marked the 1980s as a privileged moment for the immersion of counter-hegemonic pedagogical proposals.¹⁵

There was heterogeneity between the debates, from progressive liberals to radical anarchists, which is why the set of counter-hegemonic proposals

emerged that were called **left-wing pedagogies**. Some were centered on the knowledge of the people and the autonomy of their organizations, remaining outside the school structure. This trend is mainly inspired by Paulo Freire. Other pedagogies were based on school education, valuing the access of the popular classes to systematized knowledge.¹⁵

To this day, there has been the emergence of social movement pedagogies, which have been strongly linked to rural education and rural pedagogies based on the identity of rural people, expressed, for example, in the Landless Movement - MST.¹⁵

It is essential to understand that the moment of Brazilian redemocratization, post-business-military dictatorship, had strong consequences in teaching, even if starting from the Federal Constitution of 1988, drawn up in a participatory way, organizations and external forces such as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank - IDB, International Monetary Fund - IMF, and the education development organizations of the United Nations - UN (*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* - UNESCO and *United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund* - UNICEF) infiltrated the Brazilian educational system even during Lula's government.²⁸

Frigotto and Ciavatta²⁹ demonstrate how education in Brazil went from the arbitrary laws of the business-military dictatorship to the dictatorship of market ideology. In the 1980s, an **education for all** project also began in Brazil, an education that should be built to meet market demands, aimed at training teachers and training people capable of operating new technologies. This moment also encouraged discussions on the new Brazilian Education Guidelines and Bases Law - LDB.²⁸

The new LDB alluded, among other instances, to the formulation of the National Education Plan that was only implemented at the end of Fernando Henrique Cardoso's mandate, in 2001, greater appreciation of professional education, inclusion of the principle of democratic management and inclusion of distance education as an indispensable modality, formulated to meet marketing principles with the proposal of a **popular education**, an education that primarily serves the most fragile sections of Brazilian society.²⁸

Without considering the enormous illiteracy and scarce schooling of Brazilian proletarian youth, the creation of a proletarian culture becomes a difficult strategy¹³ in these times. Investigating and bringing to light a debate on political education is important in order to constitute a critique of concepts that are not very comprehensive in understanding the reproductive role of education in the capitalist mode of production, and sometimes, understanding it as education for citizenship in the context of bourgeois democracy.³⁰

Without losing sight of what Anibal Ponce, in his work, **Education and class struggle**, highlights, the categories **class struggle** and **class consciousness**, where the social and political role of education is understood,³¹ Freire's thought seems to be linked to this radicality.

Final considerations

Given this brief overview brought by the reflections carried out, it is possible to say that the Marxian and Freirean elements presented in this historical development point to the need for a critical political-pedagogical project, in the effort to (re)place workers as constituents of their own praxis, being This is the first delimitation of the essay.

At the same time, by deepening the search for the space of critical political education, Freire's thought rescues important elements of the dialectical method when thinking about material life, however, it readapts itself to the influences of the local situation in Latin America and the Brazilian political struggle, giving new meaning to the premises fundamentals of the struggle. Freire's thought is based on the defense of human emancipation with precepts of citizenship, democracy, hope and liberating pedagogy.

Thus, one of the important paths for the working class is to rethink the limits and possibilities of Freirean thought - exclusively - as a building base for their political education, since in Marxian terms, political practices when on the public scene produce effects for the political action that cannot be resolved through dialogue alone.

In this sense, Freire's thought has revolutionary political elements, however, without critical theory that guides the revolutionary struggle as the center of the debate, it cannot necessarily be said that Freire can provide a truly critical Marxist political education.

^a Even though the bourgeoisie does not admit that this is a form of 'political education' (as it admits the education it offers as 'neutral') there is plenty of evidence on how education in capitalist society asserts power as a way of structuring the world to its own advantage. image and likeness.

^b In the sense of converting someone to any doctrine, idea, principle. It is, therefore, the conversion of the worker's worldview to that of the bourgeoisie.

^c The "heat of political struggle" is understood here as the most immediate elements of the tension of political action - direct confrontation with the police, justice and other institutions. This must be the element that allows workers to be in a "permanent state of assembly" politically reflecting the

situation, but without, however, allowing the heat to lessen the rigor of the scientific analysis on the concrete

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