

TEMA MONOGRÀFIC

Ideology of Brazilian National War College in the output of moral and civic education textbooks and anti-communism (1961-1980)

*L'ideari de l'Escola Superior Brasileira de Guerra
en la producció de llibres didàctics d'educació
moral i cívica i l'anticomunisme (1961-1980)*

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RESUM

L'article mostra com la ideologia anticomunista, forjada per l'Escola Nacional de Guerra del Brasil, va ser transferida als llibres de text. A partir de la idea d'una ofensiva «defensiva-preventiva», la població estava psicològicament preparada per oposar-se a moviments socials antagònics, considerats perillosos, antipatriòtics i corruptors de la joventut. El següent text discuteix algunes superposicions socials, polítiques i econòmiques que van tenir lloc entre el món civil i el militar durant el període de restabliment de la moralitat i la civilitat en el currículum escolar. L'estudi presenta la història de l'Editora do Brasil, una coneguda editorial de llibres sobre el tema Educació Moral i Cívica, en la qual podem percebre els principis de la Doctrina de la Seguretat Nacional, durant les dècades de 1960 i 1970. Entenem que, segons Goodson (1997),

el currículum pot ser entès com una construcció sociohistòrica de les disciplines escolars, com ara la inversió humana, ideològica, material.

PARAULES CLAU: Història de les disciplines escolars, Educació Moral i Cívica, Escola Superior Brasileira de Guerra, Brasil.

ABSTRACT

The article shows how anti-communist ideology, forged by the Brazilian National War College, is plainly evident in textbooks. Based on an idea of a «defensive-preventive» offensive, the population was psychologically prepared to object to antagonistic social movements, believed to be dangerous, unpatriotic, and corrupting for the youth. The following paper analyzes some social, political, and economic overlaps which took place between the civilian and the military worlds during the period of re-establishing morality and civility into school syllabus. The study presents the history of Editora do Brasil, a major book publisher in the subject Moral and Civic Education, in which we can perceive the principles of the National Security Doctrine, during the 1960s and 1970s. We understand that, according to Goodson (1997), the curriculum can be seen as a socio-historical construction of school subjects, in which a human, ideological and, of course, material component is involved.

KEYWORDS: History of school subjects, Moral and Civic Education, Brazilian National War College, Brazil.

RESUMEN

El artículo muestra cómo la ideología anticomunista, forjada en la Escuela Nacional de Guerra de Brasil, fue transferida a los libros de texto. A partir de la idea de una ofensiva «defensiva-preventiva», la población estaba psicológicamente preparada para oponerse a movimientos sociales antagónicos, considerados peligrosos, antipatrióticos y corruptores de la juventud. El siguiente texto discute algunas superposiciones sociales, políticas y económicas que tuvieron lugar entre el mundo civil y el militar durante el período de restablecimiento de la moralidad y la civilidad en el currículo escolar. El estudio presenta la historia de la Editora do Brasil, una conocida editorial de libros sobre el tema Educación Moral y Cívica, en la que podemos percibir los principios de la Doctrina de la Seguridad Nacional, durante las décadas de 1960 y 1970. Entendemos que, según Goodson (1997), el currículo puede ser entendido

como una construcción socio-histórica de las disciplinas escolares, en la cual hay un componente humano, ideológico y, por supuesto, material.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Historia de las disciplinas escolares, Educación Moral y Cívica, Escuela Superior Brasileña de Guerra, Brasil.

I. INTRODUCTION

The cartoon below is from Henrique de Sousa Filho, known in Brazil as Henfil. He was a cartoonist, writer, journalist, and active protester in Brazilian daily press. He became famous for his political and social drawings, especially in the paper *O Pasquim*, widely known for assembling cartoonists with satirical criticisms towards the government.



Source: Blog do Barata: Henfil, discurso recorrente.¹

¹ Translation: «Son, enough of this stuff, worry about yourself, find a steady job. This will lead nowhere...». Available at: <https://novoblogdobarata.blogspot.com/2013/03/henfil-discurso-recorrente.html> [Accessed: 20-12-2018].

I have found it while researching the history of Brazilian youth during the military dictatorship and, at the time, it was part of an exhibition on protest art throughout the military regime, held in the Museu de Arte Contemporânea of São Paulo.

We can see in the drawing, by reflecting on its verbal and visual language, a mother claiming to his martyr son to abandon his combative, revolutionary actions, and turn his interested towards more socially acceptable practices, as «taking care of his own life» or «get a stable job». By using a metaphor, we see the representation of Jesus Christ as part of Brazilian youth that went through torture, real and symbolic, confronted by the repressive power of dictatorship. The representation of Mary echoes a Brazilian mother, a typical housewife that reproduces a society connected to poverty, high inflation rates, and lower-classes penalization during the established government.

The irony in the cartoon shows an evident concern at the time, about the education given to youngsters and their life paths. There was indeed a concern on what would be acceptable life paths, contraposing combative attitudes from a part of youth (urban and rural, armed or acting in social or student movements), that presented indicators to the curriculum transformation, mainly connected to the subject «Moral and Civic Education» (MCE).² What we can see above is a crass and also humorous denunciation of the anti-communist purge that took over Brazilian society, strongly reaching youth groups.

The inspiration to include MCE in school curricula was already present even before 1964, the year of the military coup in Brazil, marked by ideas of patriotism, religiousness, and anti-communism. However, faced by the advances on student movement, mobilized by different causes (student-related, social, and politica), and the process of radicalization of the regime by the Degree number 5 (*Ato Institucional* nº 5, AI-5) there is a deepening of the discussions in the editorial, military, and political environments confronted by a concern on the «civic education» of students.³

Often, the studies on anti-communism do not present the representation changes created on the theme throughout time. There is a debate that aims to establish a debate on the creation of anti-communist representations in Brazil, thinking the concepts of society that shape anti-communist social movements.

2 Decree-Law 869/69, September 12, 1969.

3 MORTA, Rodrigo Patto Sá. *As universidades e o regime militar: cultura política brasileira e modernização autoritária*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2014, p. 185.

It is a problematization on the manipulation and spread of precepts in the name of social order, so as to create repulse to an «enemy», analyzing the process of production of these meanings when creating fear. In the case of Brazil, anti-communism rises as the image of the endless battle between good and evil, based on traditional catholic prerogatives; as the representation of a countryless worker who aims to establish a new revolutionary order, gaining sense on the anti-Soviet political manifestations from the 1960s defending a liberal world.⁴

According to the author, there was in Brazil an anti-communist crusade in different contexts, but that was deepened by the implementation of the Estado Novo and the military coup in 1964, and that the interactive action between doctrines- liberalism, nationalism, and Catholicism were responsible to create the image of the «communist devil». In political and economic issues, the use of the term «red scare» was common. An idea that was inflated by ideological convictions and was constantly exhibited to the public.⁵ How anti-communism is presented to the public and the ways to neutralize it are the questioning points of this text.

Even though MCE, as an established subject or as an educational practice, has had a long history in Brazilian education, we can see its new organization during a systematic and authoritarian military regime.⁶ In the idealized proposal, aiming the creation of a harmonious nation, the social contradictions were ignored and some values were reinforced, such as family union, State stability, and the maintenance of Christianity, under a plan of national reconstruction that went beyond the educational sphere. Therefore, ways of behavior that valued social stability were instilled and disseminated by the contents of MCE and similar subjects in the curricula of all education levels.⁷

This article presents a history of the infiltration of anti-communist ideology produced by the National War College (NWC) in Moral and

4 *Ibidem*, p. 20, p. 29-30.

5 MOTTA, Rodrigo Patto Sá. *As universidades e o regime militar...* Op. Cit., p. 280.

6 On the return of the subject during Brazilian military period, see: FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. *Educação Moral e Cívica e a sua produção didática: 1969-1993*. Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (Programa de Estudos Pós-Graduados em Educação: História, Política, Sociedade), 2006, Thesis director Kazumi Munakata, p. 22; MOTTA, Rodrigo Patto Sá. *As universidades e o regime militar: cultura política brasileira e modernização autoritária*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2014.

7 Educação Moral e Cívica (EMC); Organização Social e Política Brasileira (OSPB); Estudos dos Problemas Brasileiros (EPB).

Civic Education (MCE) textbooks. More specifically, the idea is to analyze the process of editorial production related to this subject in one of the most important textbook publishing houses in the country, the Editora do Brasil. The text analyzes the debates on the association between civilians and military, within a political game to create a social consensus, against political resistance. It will also discuss the work of the press, in this case, the didactic press, in modeling public opinion and forming a generation of students.

The presentation of this history through this publishing house is justified because the company has never hidden its fascination for the military. It was, evidently, in favor of the regime established in 1964, which had as a motto the purge of communism from the government and society.⁸ The magazine from Editora do Brasil, a type of editorial of the company, was openly militant towards an Army intervention in the government and completely anti-communist. On the pages of the *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A* (EBSA) they manifested their indignation faced by what they considered as «public disorder», that is, a feeling of rejection to the inherent social contractions of democracy.⁹

The study of the history of school subjects and their didactic production makes us question the information chosen to organize the curriculum taking into account what was seen as needed at the time, civism in the curricular discussion, as a favorable element to consolidate «patriotic ideas»; and solidarity, as the expression of a communal character, in the sense of social harmonization, without the need to consider the contradictions in History.

Therefore, this text presents some social, political, and economic interconnections established between the civilian and the military worlds during the period of textbook production when the subject MCE returned to school curriculum. How did civilians and the military worked together to foment didactic productions as barriers to communism? How do themes as «solidarity» and «civism» were highlighted in counter position to the idea of communism?

School subjects go through development stages, the first stage is the moment in which, for various reasons, they are presented as a valuable knowledge to be established in schools; later they go through an utilitarian

8 To the foreign readers: on March 31st 1964, Brazil suffered military coup d'État with the removal of the democratically elected president, a civilian, João Goulart.

9 BRAGHINI, Katya M.Z. *Juventude e pensamento conservador no Brasil*. São Paulo: EDUC, 2015, p. 24.

period, and, finally, reach a stage of permanence, with a clearer and stable definition of its set of knowledge.¹⁰ We should have in mind that school subjects are social and political constructions and that «the actors involved in it employ an array of ideological resources and materials as they put into action their collective and individual missions». One needs to consider the legal establishment of the subject, as an evidence of the social discussions that constituted it, considering the organization dynamics of the law itself. The editors of textbooks and those who consider themselves as promoters of the common good are part of this social dynamic. Textbooks publishers position themselves as promoters of the «common good», that is, those who transformed the idea of «social harmony» into a social consensus.

We aim to understand politics through the action of the editorial market, here understood as a *locus* of production, dissemination, circulation, and support of social representations marked out by the authoritarian power, creating and publishing official ways of being a citizen. The notion of materiality study used refers to the materiality of social relations in which textbooks are involved.¹¹

The fear of communists and subversives was kindled by the textbooks created in the publishing house, based on a relationship established, by ideological and personal affinities, among the editors and members of the NWC, mainly General Moacir Araújo Lopes, professor and a specialist in «leadership in revolutionary war» in the college, and the director of the National Commission on Moral and Civism (Comissão Nacional de Moral e Civismo, CNMC) created by the Decree-Law number 869/69.¹²

To do so, we will particularly present the didactic production of Editora do Brasil S/A, the books they produced, the content of its monthly magazine, and other documents. We investigate the intentions of content producers and the information they made visible, commercial, and legalized.

Therefore, we are discussing a type of didactic press aimed at teachers to establish level prescriptions, in the sense of informing and forming them on the best way to lead their classroom practice, as well as the contents thought as necessary knowledge to teach. Magazines and didactic material became

10 GOODSON, Ivor F. *A Construção Social do Currículo*. Lisboa: Educa, 1997, p. 43.

11 MUNAKATA, Kazumi. «O livro didático. Alguns temas de Pesquisa», *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, 3 (2012), p. 179-197.

12 About the inclusion of Moral and Civic Education as an obligatory subject in all schools, in every system in the country.

links between chosen and consolidated knowledge and the teaching of school subjects, thus, indispensable sources to understand the educational field.

To present this political design, that is, the visualization on ways to understand reality from the confluence of interests between the didactic market and the government, we also studied informative material from other sources, legislation on the theme, and documents produced by the National War College (Escola Superior de Guerra, ESG). In the instances of content reorganization of MCE, such as teaching commissions established by the government, we could see an articulated, but not always consensual, work among the representatives of other publishing houses, members of the civil society, government employees, and delegates from the Catholic Church.

Increasingly during the 1960s, the editors announced what in the ESG was called «indicators of communist infiltration» within a possible internal war in Brazil. They believed in a defensive-preventive offensive aiming to awaken the civic formation of people, so as to give them the necessary reflexes and attitudes to fight against subversion and psychological war. Thus, we highlight in the discussion of this article important concepts to National Security and, later, to the subject MCE, regarding the communist purge: «solidarity» and «civism».

2. EDITORA DO BRASIL S/A AND ITS WORK IN FAVOR OF A MORAL AND CIVIC EDUCATION

The Editora do Brasil S/A, a family company founded in 1943, started after a rupture of workers from the Companhia Editora Nacional, their names were: Carlos Costa, Carlos Pasquale, Alfredo Gomes, and Manoel Netto.

The company stood out during the military regime, having a boost of sales on their textbooks and children's books, due to the expansion of the education system and the modifications proposed by the Law of Directives and Bases, LDB (Law 4.024, December 20, 1961) and the law number 5692 (August 11, 1971).¹³

13 CASSIANO, Célia Cristina de Figueiredo. *Circulação do Livro Didático: Entre práticas e prescrições—Políticas públicas, editoras, escolas e o professor na seleção do livro escolar*. Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (Programa de Estudos Pós-Graduados em Educação: História, Política, Sociedade), 2003, Thesis director Kazumi Munakata, p. 40.

In the 1960s, the *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A* (EBSA) gave the impression that the company took large expansion steps, mainly after 1964, when its documents started to praise the military regime and explicitly show its position in the political context of the period. Its high point was the inauguration of a printing plant, one of the biggest in Latin America.¹⁴ The company became one of the most important in the country, competing with Companhia Editora Nacional.¹⁵

These men believed that «only this way, with a side by side collaboration», it would be possible to march ahead into a «future with security, with resoluteness».¹⁶ Part of the expressiveness of the group, between the 1960s and 1970s, was the result of the production of textbooks to the subject Moral and Civic Education (MCE, *Educação Moral e Cívica*, EMC, for elementary school), Brazilian Social and Political Organization (BSPO, *Organização Social e Política Brasileira*, OSPB, for high school), and Studies of Brazilian Problems (OSBP, *Estudos dos Problemas Brasileiros*, EPB, for university).

The Editora do Brasil also became important in the editorial market by its association to governmental programs targeting book production, such as: Comissão do Livro Técnico e do Livro Didático (COLTED, Commission of Technical and Didactic Books) and the association between the Education Ministry, the Sindicato Nacional dos Editores de Livros (SNEL, National Syndicate of Book Publishers) and the a United States Agency for International Development (USAID), a project that, among other things, established the cooperation for technical, scientific, and educational publications.¹⁷ We are discussing a context of expansion of public education and the number of university students in Brazil, which was happening since the 1950s. In the end of the 1960s, the policies on didactic press are incentivized and regulated by the action of state mechanisms such as COLTED, established in 1966. We can see arrival of investments, around US\$ 9 million,¹⁸ through the agreement

14 BRAGHINI, Katya M. Z. *Juventude e pensamento conservador no Brasil...* Op. Cit., p.86.

15 FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. *Educação Moral e Cívica e a sua produção didática: 1969-1993...* Op. Cit., p. 62; BRAGHINI, M.Z. *Juventude e Pensamento Conservador no Brasil...* Op. Cit., p. 76; CASSIANO, Célia Cristina de Figueiredo. *Entre práticas e prescrições—Políticas públicas, editoras, escolas e o professor na seleção do livro escolar...* Op. Cit., p. 40.

16 EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Epígrafe». *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 164 (1972), [n.p.].

17 BRAGHINI, Katya M.Z. «A constituição e consolidação da Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A EBSA (1946 1960): Periódico educacional pioneiro no gênero», *Em Questão*, 18 (2012), p. 63-76.

18 FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. *Educação Moral e Cívica e a sua produção didática...* Op. Cit., p. 100-101; CASSIANO, Célia Cristina de Figueiredo. *Circulação do Livro Didático: Entre práticas e prescrições—Políticas públicas, editoras, escolas e o professor na seleção do livro escolar...* Op. Cit., p. 40.

MEC/SNEL/USAID, as a mechanism to manage the activities of the «Alliance for Progress». The idea was to establish alliances in the name of national development, that operated geopolitically in the sense of a PanAmerican Union in the name of liberalism in the so-called Third World.¹⁹

The editors proclaimed that their textbooks followed the official program, what can be proved by comparing the documents and the bibliography. Its official magazine, *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A (EBSA)*, a well-known magazine which circulated in all public schools in the country, presented texts written in the barracks, informed about military events, and published articles on Brazilian education produced by members of the Army, preferably, generals. It was at the same time a news clipping and a manual to help teachers in different educational issues (teacher training, work accreditation, information on laws and ordinances, etc).²⁰

In 1953, so before the establishment of the military government, the Revista published in its «Monthly Chronicles» the concern of General Juarez Távara with the lack of civism in schools. General Távara complained about the teaching of «moral» and that it should «be improved by the exaltation of feelings and the formation of character, including the disciple of will».²¹

In the 1960s, the editors kept strong with their «anti-communist» causes. They execrated the government of João Goulart, called a «governeco»²² and «Left-wing Caudillos».²³ The main motivation of its magazine, for instance, was to be a monthly educational magazine serving «Compatriot Educators»,

19 FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. *Educação Moral e Cívica e a sua produção didática...* Op. Cit., p. 161 e 232. Brazilian publishing houses set agreements with the Fundação Nacional do Material Escolar (FENAME- National Foundation of School Material), forty of them became active members of the Programa do Livro Didático (PLIDEF- Didactic Book Program), and only six published 50% of the titles in the program. Among them, Editora do Brasil (14%) takes the lead. After, there are other companies, such as FTD (10%), Abril (8%), IBEP (7%), Ao livro Técnico (6%), and Tabajara (5%) (Braghini, Katya M.Z. *Juventude e pensamento conservador...* Op. Cit, p. 101).

20 According to its editors, the magazine was distributed freely in all Brazilian high schools, State education organs, public office, associations of high school teachers and principals. As a clipping it offered readers a filtered panorama of national politics and education, built from fragments that, when assembled, tried to create the the idea of consensus, mainly reinforcing how the military intervention saved the country from evil, based mainly in content from the daily press. As a manual it helped teachers in legal questions, but simultaneously it also compiled contents from different sources intending to keep the educators informed on educational issues. For more information, see: BRAGHINI, Katya M.Z. *Juventude e Pensamento Conservador no Brasil*. São Paulo: Educ, 2015, p. 43-96.

21 EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Patriotismo», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 391 (1953), p.10-14.

22 A depreciative term indicating a second-rate government.

23 EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Estudantes», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 286 (1966), p. 58-59.

with a «moral base founded on ethics», «having as a source, God- patriotism-love for the Nation, ability to renounce, and an intense Action, always in the service of Brazil».²⁴

The publishing company continued during the 1970s until the 1980s, the period of political opening in the country, defending the ideas of civism, «national unity», «country worship», affirming as Brazilian base institutions: the family, the school, Justice, Church, the Armed Forces, and the country.²⁵

3. THE NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE, THE DOCTRINE OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE DIDACTIC CONTENTS OF *EDITORA DO BRASIL*

The Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG, National War College) was created in October 22nd, 1948 by the Decree number 25.705 and organized according to the Law number 785, from August 20th, 1949. The ESG started and continued to be subordinated to the Presidency through the Estado-Maior das Forças Armadas (EMFA, Joint General Staff of the Armed Forces). The ESG was modeled after the war colleges in the United States. One of its aims was to be a military association of Brazilian elites, civilian and military, serving as a place to discuss national security and the development of the country.²⁶

The ESG course, albeit focused on war, wanted a «healthy» integration between civilians and militaries, making the first co-responsible of the actions that involved National Security. As expressed by General Bina Machado: the school environment should join civilians and militaries interested in the «Brazilian problems», aiming to unite Brazilian «in the common task of national security and development».²⁷ The Doutrina de Segurança Nacional (DSN, Doctrine of National Security) was conceived as an integration factor between militaries and civilians, seen as allies in the training of «security

24 EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Juventude e valores da civilização», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 258 (1969), p. 1-6.

25 EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Vinculação de nossa educação ao espírito da Constituição», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 391 (1980), p.3-6.

26 Available at: Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil (CPDOC) <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-tematico/escola-superior-de-guerra-> [Accessed: 17-12-2018].

27 CORREIO DA MANHÃ. *Médici preside a solenidade de formatura na ESG*. Rio de Janeiro, 15th December, 1972, p. 15.

theory».²⁸ The DSN, supported by the concept of «total war», was concerned with social movements with «antagonistic character» and presented itself as an institution promoting social harmony.²⁹ The doctrine sees the Armed Forces as keepers of a social climate, that they believed was conducive to development, giving to the amalgam of these forces the idea of an stability through law and order.

The idea of «development» presented by the DSN was not restricted to economy. Supported by a «security policy», they thought about the association of political, economic, psychosocial, and military strategies, to establish and maintain in the mentality of the population the following ideas: the full education of Men; the development of the Land; and the strengthening of the institutions.

Antagonistic social movements were those identified as manifestations of «internal enemies» that could assume different social types, be it military or civilian; and could act in different environments (urban or rural). They suspected activities that could be considered as corruptible, ideologic, that aimed social dissolution, and threatened national sovereignty. In the framework of national security policy strategies, it was strong the sense of destroying antagonisms by mass disseminating certain contents that would strengthen internal cohesion bonds so as to save the country from a peril foreign to the national character.³⁰

The presence of DSN gets stronger with the establishment of the Basic Manual of the ESG which calls for a joint action of political, economic, psychosocial, and military strategies, all associated to the DSN, which was associated to the Development Policy of the State itself. This means carrying out the «idea-appeal» that guided the use of a task-force capable of influencing and persuading the target audience so as to fulfill the mission.³¹

28 The DSN was supported by a law previous to the ESG itself. The National Security Law was enacted on April 4, 1935, defining the crimes against the social and public order. It was firstly used as a special legislation to those prosecuted for crimes against the State, but ends up suspending processual guarantees of the defendant.

29 GONÇALVES, Nádia G. «Doutrina de Segurança Nacional e desenvolvimento na ditadura civil-militar: estratégias e a educação». *Anais do XXVI Simpósio Nacional de História – ANPUH*. São Paulo [Brasil], 2011, p. 1-17.

30 SILVA, Golbery do Couto. *Conjuntura política nacional*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, Coleção Documentos Brasileiros, 1981, p. 157.

31 GONÇALVES, Nádia G. «A Escola Superior de Guerra e a Lei 5692/71: Discursos governamentais e a implementação da Lei no Paraná», GONÇALVES, Nádia G.; RANZI, Serlei M.F. (coords.). *Educação na ditadura civil-militar: políticas, ideários e práticas (Paraná, 1964-1985)*. Curitiba: Ed. UFPR, 2012, p. 19.

One of the strategic dimensions arise from the «psychological operations» defined, and taught, as «operations that include psychological actions and psychological war». That is, actions planned and carried out which aimed to create in any group- enemy, hostile, neutral, or friendly-emotions, attitudes or behaviors favorable to the development of the National Objectives.³²

On the Basic Manual of ESG, education and culture were important factors in the «Psychosocial Expression of National Power». The formulation of such social configuration had well-established principles that would manifest themselves in the following institutions: family, school, press, company, and Church. According to the document, education was connected to factors which constituted a guided social integration, to emotional elements which structured patriotic feelings, to ethics and social values connected to nationalism. School was understood as the institutional space responsible for manipulating such values towards a culture guided to «national society».³³

Therefore, according to this document, it was important to be vigilant in environments considered fertile to the dissemination of communist ideology, normally characterized as places without the principle of Christian solidarity and that were not in-synch with the rhythm of economic growth, which was seen as a result of a joint evolution in the compatriots' education of wills. The idea of moral strengthening and the principle of solidarity, actions which would expel communism from the country, were fundamental motives that sustained the reestablishment of the subject Educação Moral e Cívica (EMC).³⁴

The Doutrina de Segurança Nacional (DSN) was also founded in the «concept of total war» composed by three types of conflict: general war, cold war, and revolutionary war. According to the DSN, the communists had in mind a «ideologically guided revolutionary fight» and the militaries connected to the ESG formulated their own doctrine to combat any agitation towards this aim.³⁵ The idea was that the population, like the Army, could foresee

32 ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA (ESG). *Manual básico. MB-75*. Rio de Janeiro: ESG, 1975, p. 316.

33 *Ibidem*, p. 170-171.

34 BRAGHINI, Katya M.Z. *Juventude e pensamento conservador...* Op. Cit., p. 75, 79, 80; FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. *Educação Moral e Cívica e a sua produção didática...* Op. Cit., p. 41, 50, 80.

35 MARTINS FILHO, João Roberto. *A educação dos golpistas: cultura militar, influência francesa e golpe de 1964*, 2007, p. 3-4. Available at: <http://www2.ufscar.br/uploads/forumgolpistas.doc> [Accessed: 12-07-2008].

the communist advances in the territory, preventing themselves against the «enemy».³⁶

The year of 1968 intensified the idea of the existence of a communist «counter revolution» in the midst of the Armed Forces and the National Security Council,³⁷ what stirred the possibility to incorporate pacificatory societal themes to didactic books.

In July, the student movement was the topic of the 41st Conselho de Segurança Nacional (CSN, National Security Council). During the meeting, the Generals presented their observations on the students' actions considering them as internal agents of international communist interests, endangering the public order, and the feeling of nationality. For instance, General Emilio Garrastazu Médici, at the time the chief of SNI and later, dictator, perceived the students' actions as a political force capable of «overthrowing the revolutionary government» by disseminating propaganda of foreign interests, such as Moscow, Beijing, and Havana. The Navy Minister, Admiral Augusto Rademaker Grunewald declared that students that did not work, had time to go to demonstrations, reinforcing the idea spread by the press that «students were meant to study» and it was not part of their «job» to manifest themselves.

The background theme of the meeting was to socially frame students into the idea of anti- communism. The establishment of an internal enemy was reinforced by a recurring grammar that diagnosed a problem to be solved: there was subversion, infiltration, fake students, etc. and that those practices were spread in all social spheres, the family, the church, the schools, universities, work, among teachers, intellectuals, journalists, etc.³⁸

«Subversion» was seen by the professors of ESG as an evidence of pre-revolutionary phase, so it was necessary to formulate and offensive towards

36 *Ibidem*, p. 11.

37 In Rio de Janeiro there was the *Passeata dos Cem Mil* (July 26, 1968-The Hundred Thousand Demonstration) with the presence of students, intellectuals, artists, religious authorities, and the general public. There were also attacks by the Comando de Caça aos Comunistas (CCC, Command of Communist Hunting) leading to the violent raid against the play *Roda Viva* written by Chico Buarque and produced by theater director José Celso Martínez Correa and the attack against the Faculdade de Filosofia in Universidade de São Paulo (USP). In the same year, the Universidade de Brasil was invaded, in a joint operation between the Departamento de Ordem Política e Social (DOPS, Department of Political and Social Order), Military Police, Federal Police, Army Police, and the Police of the Serviço Nacional de Informação (SNI, National Information Service) to arrest students and professors. Towards the end of the year, there was the invasion of the 30th Congress of União Nacional dos Estudantes (UNE, Students' National Union), where the leaders and 200 students were arrested.

38 FREITAS BRITO, Antônio Maurício. «O movimento estudantil de 1968 visto pelas lentes do Conselho de Segurança Nacional», *Seculum - Revista de História*, 39 (2018), p. 187-212.

«actions of defensive character» in which the population should take part. Those actions would focus on the «moral and civic formation of the population», so as to give them the necessary weapons against the communist assault. The development of the mechanical aspect of this preventive knowledge, such as the military learning, would create the adequate reflexes and attitudes during a preventive combat.³⁹

The revolutionary war left the military curriculum and was announced to the civilian world, avoiding the dry language of military documents, through information medias closer to the public: publishing companies released books, publicized booklets, newspapers announced psychological anti-communist training, etc.

4. THE NATIONAL COMMISSION OF MORAL AND CIVIC, THE SUBJECT MORAL AND CIVIC EDUCATION

On September 12, 1969, the Decree-Law number 869 established the obligation of the subject and its education practice in all schools in every level in the country. It also created the Comissão Nacional de Moral e Civismo (CNMC, National Commission of Moral and Civism), as a normative organ of the Executive power whose members were chosen by designation. General Moacir de Araújo Lopes was designated as president.⁴⁰

The general was very active on the creation of the subject and defended its idea when he was part of the Ministry of Education board, by the determination of the National Security Board, acting by the Divisão de Segurança e Informações (DSI, Division of Security and Information) (Regulated by the Decree- Law 348, January 1968).⁴¹ Within the military, more precisely in the schools of command and in the joint staff of the armed forces, General Moacir Araújo Lopes, a member of the Association of ESG Graduates, was the specialist on «Leadership in Revolutionary War». It claimed

39 MARTINS FILHO, João Roberto. *A educação dos golpistas: cultura militar, influência francesa e golpe de 1964*. Op. Cit., p. 16-17.

40 The first members of CNMC were: General. Moacir de Araújo Lopes, Prof. Álvaro Moutinho Neiva, Prof. Father Francisco Leme Lopes. Admiral Ary dos Santos Rongel, Prof. Eloywaldo Chagas de Oliveira, Prof. Humberto Grande, Prof. Dr. Guido Ivan de Carvalho, Prof. Hélio de Alcântara Avellar, and Prof. Arthur Machado Paupério.

41 FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. *Educação Moral e Cívica e a sua produção didática...* Op. Cit., p. 43.

to be in the «defense of democracy», of the free initiative, campaigning against the government based on the anti-communism idea.

The encounters, lectures, and meetings that preceded the text of the Decree show that the ideology of ESG embedded itself not only on the products of Editora do Brasil, but also in a broader number of publishing houses, whose exchange of interests helped to build the didactic content published in the period. Different members of this commission disputed meanings, knowledge, and contents, they argued if it should be a teaching topic within other subjects or a separate subject; what would be its methodologic instructions and main terms, etc.⁴²

The members of the Conselho Federal de Educação (CFE, Federal Council of Education) had critical positions on the creation of CNMC, which led to the discontentment of General Araújo Lopes who traditionally had the power to politically guide the educational issues.⁴³ What can be seen is that the power of the body was limited by such consulting commissions amid the federal administration.⁴⁴

The positions of consultancy given to those commissions were widely occupied by the military and started to concentrate the power and the capacity to plan general politics, by using the discourse that, having the participation of different representative of civilian society, they transformed social demands into political guidelines, with more clarity and certainty of what society needed.⁴⁵

In the environment of the commissions and debate forums, with the presence of the military, it was possible to broaden the panel of alliances and influences through different types of personal relations (patronage, cronyism, nepotism). From these commissions, the members of the military responsible to disseminate the doctrine organized by ESG could establish discussions that, later on, would also enter in the agenda of CFE and would become norms. In a way, the groups in the commissions could detour from the «specialist knowledge» of CFE members, as there would not be a direct

42 *Ibidem*, p. 29.

43 *Ibidem*, p. 61-62.

44 Martins, Maria do Carmo. *A história prescrita e disciplinada nos currículos escolares: quem legitima esses saberes?* Bragança Paulista: Edusf, 2002, p. 69.

45 Mathias, Suzeley Kalil. *A militarização da burocracia: a participação militar na administração federal das comunicações e da educação, 1963-1990*. São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2004, p. 192.

military contraposition since they were included in the discussions held in those commissions.⁴⁶

The members of Editora do Brasil, besides the direct participation in the discussion forums to fundament the subject MCE, were benefited by the politics that aimed to make around 51 million books (technical and didactic) available, in three years, through the existing editorial and distribution systems. The introduction of the subject MCE in the curricula incremented the revenue of Editora do Brasil, but, what is striking was how prepared they were to produce those books.⁴⁷

It was no surprise that the articulation between civilian and military authorities could be seen in the Decree to establish the subject, as predicted by the principles of DSN, even with the participation of opinion, forming and cultural dissemination groups in advising and assembling the textbooks under a «moral and civic» perspective.⁴⁸ The law that established the subject registered what was the norm to the members of ESG: keep a closer relationship with those opinion formers and those who could disseminate information in a synchronized fashion.

Therefore, the anti-communist perspective on the documents produced by Editora do Brasil was not by chance, nor only a simple reaction of the company faced by political, mainly student, movement in the 1960s. As an educational press company, favorable to the given conditions, it perceived the progressive psychosocial values (taken as undeniable criteria of communist infiltration in Brazil).

As a company producing didactic material, educational press, and in-favor of the established government, we can perceive the increase of psychosocial values that praised the young students who followed a unique social role, to study, and young workers with no connection to political antagonist activities. According to them, it was important to notice the indisputable communist infiltration in Brazil and student environments, thus, the anti-communist preaching was presented as a curriculum content in their books and other products.

46 Braghini, Katya M.Z. *Juventude e pensamento conservador...* Op. Cit., p. 81.

47 *Ibidem*, p. 85.

48 Decree-Law n° 869 September, 12 1969, article 6°.

5. THE INCORPORATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY CONTENT

The fear of social reivindication, the struggle for civil rights, the general organization of workers, the anti-imperialistic protests, the decolonization process, the rise of socialist governments, can have something unusual, as in the operational sense it is not rare to name all social movements that combat the establishment as heretic, with the label of «communism».

The geopolitical position of real Soviet influence in Latin America can be seen as marginal action compared to the U.S. unilateral one when establishing the Monroe doctrine. Considering the role of the U.S. in establishing an area of economic, cultural, and political influence in the region, the term «cold war» is used much more as a way to create excuses, faced by the dismantled of progressive actions, the rupture of parliamentary systems, and the oppression of social movements.⁴⁹

In the case of Brazil, it is worth remembering that the year of 1968 was not only the «left» year, the moment of the «One Hundred Thousand Demonstration», but also the year in which the civilian-business-military movement started what became known in Brazil as the «Years of Lead».⁵⁰

Cases such as Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Uruguay show the political participation of students, the persecution of their right and of the democratic action. Commonly, the manifestations were associated to the denouncement of structural poverty and the processes of constant U.S. intervention. Added to these countries, there are Portugal and Spain with the fight of their students for the democratization of universities and the broad relation of those fights to the workers' causes and political parties.⁵¹

As a manifest, conservative groups preach the maintenance of economic privileges, through the elimination of social contradictions and use, in Brazil, use the term «fight against communism». It is an expression that vilifies students' social organization, in the defense for legally established rights, as in

49 CHOMSKY, Noam. «Democracia e mercados na nova ordem mundial», CHOMSKY, Noam; Dieterich, Heinz (coords.). *A sociedade global: educação, mercado, democracia*. Blumenau: Editora da FURB, 1999, p. 36-37.

50 COGGIOLA, Osvaldo Luis Ángel. «Para debater 1968, ano de todas as viradas», *Outras Palavras, Geopolítica e Guerra, pós-capitalismo*. Available at: <https://outraspalavras.net/geopoliticaeguerra/para-debater-1968-ano-de-todas-as-viradas/> [Accessed: 18-07-2019].

51 HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «Metáforas de la prensa diaria para la historia de la educación. Del «largo 68» al fin de la «tercera ola» en la Europa Mediterránea e Iberoamérica», *História da Educação*, 22/54 (2018), p. 18-28.

the case of educational issues. The students mobilized in the 1960s, «trustees of fear», caused social restlessness.⁵²

From 1968, the EBSA magazine started to preach against politically active students. In this magazine, they discussed the entering and maintenance of a communist «branch» among Brazilian students marked by «subversion», despite their claims for a better education and complaints on the lack of places for «surplus» students.⁵³

Progressively, during the 1960s, the documents of the company broadened the focus of the «communist danger» and exposed what would be a gradual growth of «subversive organization» within different institutions, mainly schools and universities. Later, they registered «acts of riots and sabotage» and, finally, in 1967, introduced in their monthly magazine the term «terrorism» regarding the action of student groups in the armed fight.⁵⁴ With this editorial re-adaptation, the company reverberated the military thought so that everyone could recognize the «communist advance» around the country and, especially, among students.

The published articles presented in their titles, progressively, an idea of communist advance, showing simultaneously the idea of an «internal enemy» and one of foreign interests, either demonizing socialist-leaning leaderships, or blaming students, generalizing them as enemies of the country and communists. These actions exemplified the transposition of ESG ideals to educational documents.⁵⁵

The perspectives written in the magazine pointed towards a siege around João Goulart's government and, simultaneously, other commentators and analyses established the contact with the guidelines of ESG, showing images of a country challenged by and unstable due to infiltrated «enemies».

52 BRAGHINI, Katya M. Z. *Juventude e pensamento conservador no Brasil...* Op. Cit., p. 139.

53 Surplus were candidates that had the average grade on the entrance exams, but could not enroll in higher education because the number of candidates approved was higher than the number of available places.

54 BRAGHINI, Katya M.Z. *Juventude e pensamento conservador...* Op. Cit., p. 134.

55 The titles of the following articles presented successively in the magazine, exemplify the transposition of ESG ideology into educational documents for example: *Communist infiltration*, the first article to associate the communists with Brazilian students: EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Infiltração Comunista», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 164 (1961), p. 35-36; EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Comunismo atuante e democracia recuada», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 170 (1961) p. 76-77; EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Denunciada a comunização do ensino oficial em Brasília», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 177 (1961), p. 37.; EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Infiltração Comunista», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 164 (1961), p. 35-36.

The anti-communist campaign gave rise to the elaboration and production of textbooks on Moral and Civic education and similar subjects. Editora do Brasil was a pioneer producing the book *Organização Social e Política Brasileira*, written by Victor Mussumeci, one of the first books of OSPB published in the country, even before 1964. At that same year, the subject OSPB was established at high school as a «complement to school curriculum during the high school cycle».⁵⁶ It is no surprise that, on the following year Mussumeci's book was already in its 23rd edition.⁵⁷ In October of the following year, the publishing company published the Ordinance nº 419 of October 17th, 1963, about the moral and civic formation on high schools, introducing the appeals to national union and the cult of the country's symbols.⁵⁸ This pioneering work meant that Editora do Brasil was ready to follow the procedures that would be presented by the Indication no 1 of 1962 of the Federal Council of Education proposing the educational practice of Civic Education.

The more explicit movements to establish contents in agreement with ESG ideals were presented by the book writer and editor, Victor Mussumeci, who represented Editora do Brasil in the Third Joint Meeting of Civic Education Councils, in 1966, promoted by the Education Council. The theme «Civic Education» was debated during the meeting, opened by Muniz de Aragão, Minister of Education and Culture at the time.

In the case of Editora do Brasil, we can see an agitation around the restructuring of the subject through the movements of General Araújo Lopes, which they called «civic pilgrimage». Such civic, messianic, manifest took place through encounters, lectures, awards, and meetings organized by military and civic organizations, always with the presence of the ESG professor or another Army representative.

Alfredo Gomes, editor-in-chief, publicized in January 1969, the work of General Lopes and other generals in a tour of lectures around Brazil.⁵⁹ In that

56 FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. *Educação Moral e Cívica e a sua produção didática...* Op. Cit., p. 37

57 Reference taken from *Livres Database* and the *Biblioteca do Livro Didático* (FE-USP): MUSSUMECI, Victor. *Organização Social e Política Brasileira*. São Paulo: Editora do Brasil, 1963. In the following year, the book was already in its 33rd edition.

58 EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Portaria nº 419. Formação Moral e Cívica dos Estabelecimentos de ensino», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 187 (1963), p. 28.

59 General responsible for coordinating and controlling all activities related to the Military Service in the country. GOMES, Alfredo. «Educação Moral e Cívica», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 258 (1969), p. 1-6.

moment, the general moved forward what was «under examination» in CFE, the project through which civism would be included in school curricula.⁶⁰

The same editor idealized books in the name of the Forças Armadas Brasileiras (FAB, Brazilian Armed forces) and other influential men in the country;⁶¹ had on his hand the draft of the law on Moral and Civic education, created in July 31st, 1968, as an offer from General Lopes;⁶² reported the National Contest on Civism Guidelines;⁶³ printed the conference given by General José Nogueira Paes, Director of Military Service in Círculo Militar de São Paulo on «The Military Service and the Responsibilities of Authorities and Civilian Leaderships» on career opportunities and life choices for youngsters, opposing subversion.

«O Serviço Militar e as Responsabilidades das Autoridades e das Lideranças Cívicas» versando sobre as oportunidades de carreira e segmento de vida aos jovens em contraposição enganosa da subversão.

This same idea of National Security that forced subjects to unite against enemies in an occupied territory was present years later in the 1970s in the book written by Costa, Moschini, and Mussumeci, from Editora do Brasil. The concept of National Security as an element that supported the disposition of Moral and Civism in school curricula was present in the book, justifying the actions of the government as a way to guarantee the «attainment and maintenance of national objectives, faced by existing antagonisms».⁶⁴

60 *Ibidem*.

61 Some of them are Fernão Dias Paes (explorer), Joaquim José da Silva Xavier (Tiradentes), Luis Alves de Lima (Duque de Caxias), Joaquim Marques Lisboa (Almirante Tamandaré), Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon (Marechal Rondon), Gal. Artur da Costa e Silva, and the General. Maurício José Cardoso. Also present are Alberto Santos Dumont, Rui Barbosa, José Maria da Silva Paranhos Júnior (Barão de Rio Branco). The only woman presented was Ana Justina Ferreira Néri.

62 In this period, the MCE was sometimes included in the curriculum and in others suppressed from it: it was present in the organic law of high school (1942) until the end of *Estado novo*; absent during the *República Populista*, to powerfully return in 1969 (Decree-law 869), to be suppressed again in 1993 (Law 8.663); CUNHA, Luis Antônio. «Sintonia oscilante: Religião e Educação Moral e Cívica no Brasil (1931-1997)», *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, 131 (2007), p. 285-302.

63 EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Guia de Civismo. Gal. Araújo Lopes», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 250 (1969), p. 37.

64 COSTA, Otto; MOSCHINI, Felipe; MUSSUMECI, Victor. *Moral e Civismo (2º vol)*. São Paulo: Editora do Brasil, [n.d.], p. 160.

6. SOLIDARITY AS AN ESSENTIAL EXPRESSION TO THE UNITY OF THE COUNTRY AND CIVISM AS THE MODEL FOR YOUNGESTERS' CHARACTERS

The idea of «solidarity» already circulated among Brazilians at the time, even among those who stimulated the students' movement towards Brazilian autonomy. Álvaro Vieira Pinto, for instance, a Philosophy Professor of Universidade do Brasil, a marxist, considered that «work» was a point of solidarity between different social classes that aimed the Brazil's development.⁶⁵

Work was understood as a key element, a convergence point among all Brazilians that offered their share of contribution to create a big nation. In this case, the work position did not necessarily indicate a higher or lower level on the solidarity scale. The importance of social action was in the act itself. Work was the most valued practiced, as a social action, in a country that aimed its own development. Within the students' movement, especially the Ação Popular (Popular Action), a branch from the Juventude Universitária Católica (JUC, Catholic Youth in University), perceived solidarity as one of the elements that united students and the people, «a blind group to be guided towards social transformations».⁶⁶

Solidarity, as an essential value for the unity of the country, was the theme of a lecture given by General Moacir Araújo Lopes and the expression became one of the aims of Moral and Civic Education. It was taken as one of the «permanent values» in the guidelines to the curriculum and the basic program of MCE, proposed by CNMC and the CFE. In the contents of the textbooks, «solidarity» is on the methodological instruction for the teaching practice.⁶⁷

The representative of Editora do Brasil, teacher Mussumeci, in the Third Joint Meeting of Civic Education Councils, in 1966, stood out for his discussion on the meaning of «solidarity». The editor highlighted the idea that, when «studying the processes to form the citizen», one should consider the demand of four types of civism (the patriotic, the institutional, the

65 Professor Álvaro Vieira Pinto was known by his nationalist positions while working in the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (ISEB), earning a reputation for his political and intellectual activity towards Brazilian autonomous development. He was exiled, lived in Yugoslavia (1964) and Chile (1965-1968) thanks to an invitation of the educator Paulo Freire. He returned to Brazil in 1982. Cf. Maria Sílvia Carvalho. *O tempo das ilusões.*; CHAUI, Marilena; FRANCO CARVALHO, Maria Sílvia de. *Ideologia e mobilização popular*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Paz e Terra, 1978, p. 154.

66 FÁVERO, Maria de Lourdes de A. *A UNE nos tempos do autoritarismo*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora da UFRJ, 1994, p. 33.

67 BRAGHINI, Katya M.Z. *Juventude e pensamento conservador...* Op. Cit., p. 79.

political, and solidary). The concept of civism as an «expression of solidarity» and as a parameter for future theoretical incursions in the Moral Education curriculum was defined during this meeting with an incisive participation of the Editora.⁶⁸ The expression «solidarity» was connected to the section «Social and Contemporary Institutions» in the Basic Manual of ESG, guiding the formation of a «good member of the family and the community».⁶⁹ Ironically, in the Basic Manual of ESG, the concept of solidarity is connected to the establishment of a «democratic education», supporting «opportunities for a great variety of interests and individual aptitudes of people from any social class», so as to «promote an equality of opportunities in the access to schools of different types and levels».⁷⁰

The four points, reinforced as primordial elements to the individual's moral formation in school, summarized the idea of solidarity from the following associated actions: a) preached that every person deserves «respect and the same school opportunity»; b) student organizations should support educational work through civism, also understood as the obedience of laws, giving the subject the desire to cooperate with others to reach a common good; c) school should prepare the youth for a job, making them useful hard-working subjects; d) to fit in the family and the community was the sign of a «good person».⁷¹

According to the teacher-editor Alfredo Gomes, «civism» was not done through the «practice» of Civil Education, nor on the subject «Social and Political Organization». Civism, according to him, was a subject taught through the reciprocal relation between students and their world, considering that, in a good world, they learn good things and, therefore, youngsters would form their own «critical judgment».

Civism would come from good formative instances, «like the air we breathe», transferred to neophytes so they could cultivate a «belief», to practice the virtues, and to have the tools to do so. Civism would have «as a source,

68 FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. *Educação Moral e Cívica e a sua produção didática...* Op. Cit., p. 42.; OLIVEIRA, João Batista Araújo et. al. *A política dos livros didáticos*. Campinas: Editora da Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1984, p. 71.

69 ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA (ESG). *Manual básico*. MB-75... Op. Cit., p. 401.

70 *Ibidem*, p. 400-401.

71 *Ibidem*, p. 401.

base, and foundation» behavior's which were «highly recognized or quantified, from their parents, teachers, people's representatives, authorities, etc.».⁷²

However, according to the editor, this type of formation would always be incomplete, if it was understood as a subject or a school activity. What was on stake was offering students the «understanding of our political organization, backed up by tradition, history, and formation of the nationality» and, because of a general «civic shredding», the disciplining formulas were disdained. The thought was that MCE would be a «disservice of unwanted catechisms», if it were not an obligatory subject.⁷³

This type of absorption of «the spirit of time» by incorporating a habit, often sounded as a religious message. General Moacir Araújo Lopes, in one of his lectures entitled «Pathways for Brazilian Youth Education» considered that the civic character came from a sort of divine enlightenment. According to him, God was invoked by the majority of Brazilians «to enlighten the national activities». Therefore, there would be only one «freedom with responsibility» as a «perfect truth» and education should be developed through a «religious-philosophical» base. All this considering an education focused on youngsters which were «aimless» and that «disbelieve leadership».⁷⁴ What concerned the General, at that moment, was the type of youth the country would have available when they became adults, in two decades, inheriting «the control of national activities».⁷⁵

After six years of MCE in schools, *Jornal do Brasil*, in 1975, had an article on the history of the subject so far with the opinions of the Minister of Education at the time, Ney Braga; of Professor Tarcísio Padilha, from CFE; of the former minister, Senator Jarbas Passarinho, and of General Bina Machado, former commander of the I Army and ESG. All of them talked about the importance of introducing the subject in schools as a reply against a «marxist-leninist revolutionary war».

To the members of the meeting, civism as an expression of solidarity was related to assuming direct responsibilities towards the community and was not to hand youth to a «mere personal affirmation faced by contestation»,

72 GOMES, Alfredo. *Educação Moral e Cívica...* Op. Cit., p. 1-6.

73 *Ibidem*.

74 Lecture given in the Ministry of Education and Culture, in Universidade Federal de Goiás and in the Lions Club of Leme, all in 1967. LOPES, Moacir Araújo. *Rumos para a educação da juventude brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Geográfico do Exército, 1967, p. 8-18.

75 *Ibidem*, p. 8.

what meant, according to the minister, to not treat politics, in the form of contestation, as a mere whim.⁷⁶ There was also the discussion on citizenship guided by mass communication and that youth, as victims of different opinion perspectives from the media, had lost their «educational parameters», which, in fact, transformed MCE in an «instrument for dictatorship».⁷⁷

At the end, General Bina Machado considered that the youth values in that moment were the same of this generation: different in «shape», similar in «content». Without further explanation, the general hinted that, if the «content» of young people were the same of this generation, the subject MCE could very well be used to mold good people.⁷⁸

Even if, during the interview, the attitude of the interviewees were clearly defensive faced by the accusation that MCE was an «instrument of the dictatorship», we see that the subject was seen as a way to potentialize attitudes: a dynamic force searching for lost time, to quickly instill national historic-cultural values. Thinking retrospectively, the interviewees pointed out that the return of the subject aimed to show that, if there was a «hiatus» in the History of Brazil, it was in the generation that had not received civic education in school.⁷⁹

7. FINAL REMARKS

The simultaneity of educational publications reinforced the need of a psychosocial reform that stimulated new ways to perceive reality and different incentives to constitute a social feeling of harmonious development in the country.

The books from Editora do Brasil had «basically the same themes of the curricular program of Moral and Civic Education» that were presented as the general rule for the country.⁸⁰ The creation of concepts in the name of a national union and anti-communist seen in school material was not by chance, but took into consideration the reaction movements to the «psychological

76 Transcribed from *Jornal do Brasil* [Rio de Janeiro, 08/06/1975]. EDITORA DO BRASIL. «Moral e Cívica comete erros que eliminaram outras matérias», *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, 327 (1975), p. 58-63.

77 *Ibidem*, p. 60.

78 *Ibidem*, p. 63.

79 *Ibidem*, p. 62.

80 FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. *Educação Moral e Cívica e a sua produção didática...* Op. Cit., p. 116.

war» from the «communist infiltration in Brazil», following what was released by the ESG.

Anti-communism is manifest though the disdain of political issues not connected to the development of the country. According to what was published by Editora do Brasil, communism was progressively infiltrating itself among students, making it clear the presence of what ESG called «internal enemies». Considering the National Security Doctrine, the content of EMC books started to spread ideas against the political practices of contestation and left-leaning student movement actions. It was all about invoking work and study as the best expressions of youth towards the development of Brazil, indicating in moral education, which were the best actions towards the neutralization of the «red scare», emphasizing the idea of civism as an expression of solidarity.

The didact content, that disseminated the thought of ESG, were built within a personal contact network established in several discussion forums, formal and informal, around the reestablishment of the subject MEC in the national curriculum. Besides this, it was an opportunity of increasing editorial production. Besides this, it was perceived an opportunity to boost editorial production, possibly with great profits, considering the joined participation need to reach the civic knowledge of MCE, which made its come back to the schools in 1969.

The editors were part of discussion forums organized by leaders of CNMC, where they held the discussions and took the decisions that, soon, would interfere in the school curricula, the book production, the content delivered by teachers; therefore, a privileged place of power. A position, that is, the forums of discussion and planning commissions, with the «highest number of military representants at the time».⁸¹ It seems that the publishing companies not only followed the parameters established by the Programs, but also determined the content to MCE curriculum, in close association to the them developed in the ESG.

The clear dominance of the editorial market, transformed into a didactic product, appealed to the fear of a «subversive» conquest of Power and represented the civilian-military association registered in the documents of ESG. This can make us think about the mechanisms capable of establishing a fast reactionary integration of groups when there are economic interest and, sometimes, more than that, through the common fear of a forged enemy.

81 MATHIAS, Suzeley Kalil. *A militarização da burocracia: a participação militar na administração federal das comunicações e da educação, 1963-1990...* op. cit., p. 192.

The issue of civism as an expression of solidarity aimed to form youngsters who were politically united towards the strengthening of the institutions and the «productive» union geared towards work, in an idea of a law-abiding utilitarianism. The formation for solidarity, in this case, wanted a purification of the student movement and, also, the maintenance of quietness among the students who did not manifest themselves.

One of the main concerns of the military in power regarding people's education was directly connected to civism,⁸² Civism was seen as an specific action taken by the citizen, understood as a privileged agent to improve and qualify society, considering that «citizenship» related to the dynamic actions of the individual towards the exaltation of a greater organism, the country, the nation. The civic action of a patriot has its social performance connected to the harmony between people of his/her homeland.

In the end, young people at the time had through MCE a content built, basically, by clergymen and teachers, that blended the following dimensions in the didactic content: the understanding of nationality as a type of ethereal «second nature»; solidarity understood as abnegation; and civism as a sort of guiding belief for the «active» student, future worker, that did not waste his/her time with demonstrations and «subversive» discourses. The dynamism, inherent to the idea of youth, should be then canalized towards the «common good» and not a dispute between antagonists.

We should highlight that the return, modification, or new curriculum formulation represented in the content of the subjects, do not necessarily match the ideal of progressive advancement compared to what worked in the past. In this case, we can see that the reactionary social movements, which had the power to establish a school subject in a particular historical situation, pointed out the regressive character of the curriculum reorganization, be it through a nostalgic idealization of experiences lived by its creators, or the elation of political persecution, in the shape of «communist hunting», seen as a valuable form of civism.

82 FILGUEIRAS, Juliana Miranda. «O livro didático de educação moral e cívica na ditadura de 1964: a construção de uma disciplina». *Anais do VI Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de História da Educação*. Uberlândia, Brasil: EDUFU, 2007, p. 3378.