

# Moral and civism in higher education: a teaching programs analysis of the discipline Brazilian Problems Study at UFPR (1971-1984)

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**Abstract.** This article aimed to investigate the bibliography of the Brazilian Problems Study (BPS) discipline at the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR) between 1971 and 1984. It was used primary and secondary sources, which unveiled the theoretical corpus that supported BPS teaching at UFPR. Some methodological elements of Cultural History were mobilized based on the understanding that individuals and groups grasp the social world and share it in a particular way, producing strategies and practices (political, social and educational) (CHARTIER 2002). Finally, the analysis revealed that BPS' teaching programs were based on a bibliographic diversity, marked by books that were aligned with the Doctrine of the National Security and Development (DNSD), but which appeared alongside the works of some anti-regime authors. And that bibliographic focused on national problems denoted adherence to a larger DNSD policy aimed at encouraging the participation of university youth in the national political and economic plan.

**Keywords.** Brazilian Problems Study, Dictatorship, Teaching programs, Bibliography, History of Education.

## Introduction

The discipline Brazilian Problems Study (BPS) was the version of Moral and Civic Education for higher education in Brazil during the civil-military

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dictatorship<sup>3</sup>. Created in 1969, through Decree No. 869, its objectives were: the worship of the Fatherland, its symbols, traditions, institutions and the great figures of its history; character enhancement, with moral support, dedication to family and community; the understanding of the rights and duties of Brazilians and the knowledge of the socio-political-economic organization of the country (BRAZIL 1969).

By analyzing its objectives, the doctrinal character imputed to this discipline is noticeable, whose target public were university students from all undergraduate and postgraduate courses in the country, obliged to attend not only one, but two semesters of BPS as compulsory condition to the completion of any higher education level course of the period.

In this sense, the present work aims to investigate the bibliography that supported the teaching programs of this discipline at the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR) between 1971 and 1984<sup>4</sup>, in order to understand from which works - the documents supporting the teaching of BPS - were based on the development of the discipline at UFPR.

We will use some methodological elements of cultural history for the development of this work, from the understanding that individuals and groups apprehend the social world and share it in a particular way, producing strategies and practices (political, social and educational) [... ] “who tend to impose authority at the expense of others, who they despise, to legitimize a reform project, or to justify to the own individuals, their choices and conducts” (CHARTIER 2002:17).

The creation, normalization and regulation of the BPS discipline involved three main legal measures: Decree No. 869, responsible for its creation and its compulsory character, it was published in September 1969; Decree No. 68,065 of January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1971, regulated the previous decree, dealing mostly with the duties of a Commission responsible for implementing and maintaining the doctrine of Moral and Civic Education at all levels of teaching, the National Commission of Morality and Civism<sup>5</sup> (NCCM); and finally, Opinion No. 94

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<sup>3</sup> Considering the participation of civilians in the coup and in the maintenance of the dictatorial regime, either by adhering to the ideas of the government or by their effective participation, it was decided to use the term civil-military dictatorship instead of the term military dictatorship. According to Gonçalves' arguments: [...] “It is not a question of taking responsibility or ignoring deviations and excesses committed in the period by the military, nor of denying that they played a central role in that context, but of recognizing that there was also the participation of civilians in it” (GONÇALVES 2012: 46).

<sup>4</sup> The time frame of this work comprises the period of implementation of the BPS (1971) until the leave of the General Coordinator of the discipline at UFPR in 1984.

<sup>5</sup> Decree nº 869/69, in its article 5<sup>th</sup> foresaw the creation of a National Morality and Civism Commission, subordinated to the Education Ministry, but responsible within the Federal Education Council (FEC) for the elaboration of EM's basic curricula and programs for all levels of education. The first formation of the MNCM was composed of people ideologically aligned with the DSND and who contributed to the drafting of the MCE

of February 1971, whose main task was to fix the curricula and programs of Moral and Civic Education at all levels of education in the country.

The period in which the BPS became effective in Brazil was marked by the interference of the armed forces in the country's political course. Five years before the publication of Decree no. 869 of 1969, which established the mandatory discipline of BPS, the country suffered a coup that triggered the formation of an authoritarian regime that promoted countless transformations in the political, social, economic and educational spheres of Brazil.

The civil-military dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985) formed a government of technocrats whose power was concentrated in the executive. Under the justification of freeing the country from communism, the dictatorship extinguished civil liberties, created a political system based on bipartisanship and intervened numerous times in the legislature, sometimes ending the activities of the national congress. The power concentrated by the president was so expressive that when it was necessary the government enacted Institutional Acts, legal measures that granted political power with the potential to go beyond even the legal limits of the 1967 Constitution. Concerned with the youth and the advancement of subversive ideas among students, the regime devoted much attention to education during the two decades of dictatorship.

This period was marked by a series of changes in the field of education, which significantly altered the educational scenario in Brazil. Among them, the mandatory discipline of Brazilian Problems Study in the curricula of all higher education institutions in the country, which was one of the elements that comprised the educational policy promoted by the civil-military regime (1964-1985).

It is noteworthy that the implementation of BPS in higher education institutions in the country was only one of the measures of a broader set of reforms aimed at the student movement and university youth. Actions such as the extinction of the National Students Union (NSE), regulation of student movement repression through Decree No. 477, university reform, as well as the imposition of a doctrinal discipline in higher education denote that there was a very significant concern with university youth, with regard to their susceptibility to movements of opposition to the regime, either through the engagement of young people in the student movement or the participation /

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Draft Law. This initial group included Gen. Moacir de Araújo Lopes - member of Brazilian War College and one of the main drafters of the MCE Draft Law, 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 (FILGUEIRAS 2006). The members of this first CNMC composition even became authors of didactic productions of the BPS discipline, circulating in teaching programs of this curricular component.

adhesion of youth in cultural movements challenging the dictatorship.

Education during the civil-military dictatorship was an area considered strategic and of substantial importance for the political doctrine that guided the actions of the governments of the period. In Brazil, the Doctrine of National Security and Development (DSND), devised by Brazilian War College, was the great proponent of the policies and actions of military governments. In the field of Education, the two main milestones in this context were Law 5,540 / 68, which “established rules for the functioning and organization of higher education” and Law 5,692 / 71, which established the 1st and 2nd degrees, and new guidelines for them (GONÇALVES 2011:1).

Law 5.540 / 68, which “established rules for the functioning and organization of higher education”, was based on the Report of the Working Group created by Decree No. 62,937, of July 2, 1968. According to this document, the organization of the Brazilian university based on traditional colleges did not meet the needs of the country’s development process. The increase in the number of higher education institutions based solely on the multiplication of units did not meet the new scientific and technological demands of the period. Thus, it was necessary to reformulate Brazilian universities, making them capable of meeting new demands in the labor market (FÁVERO 2006).

In summary, the university reform determined the departmental system, the unified entrance exam, the basic and professional cycles, the credit system, the enrollment by subject, the reformulation of the teaching career and the post-graduation (BARANOW, SIQUEIRA 2007).

In the DSND Development conception, education appears as a significant element for Development, since it would make accessible to the population, culture and work. “In the Brazilian War College manual, the importance of man’s education is highlighted as a more productive investment for development” (GONÇALVES 2011: 8), which justified the reformulation of the entire education system.

In a similar perspective, Kuenzer (1992) states that the educational proposals for high school education by law 5,692 / 71 highlighted the valuation and social promotion of workers through professional qualification, which boosted integration practices between schools and companies given the need for qualification of human resources. For Kuenzer (1992), the process of restructuring the educational system, under the bias of Development, demanded:

Increase in the productivity of the education system, through rationalization, as a way of responding to its proclaimed ineffectiveness. With this intention, the entire education system was reformulated, through laws 5.540 / 68 (higher education) and 5692/71 (1st and 2nd degrees). Education started to be con-

ceived as an instrument capable of promoting, without contradiction, economic development through the qualification of the workforce, from which would result the maximization of production and the redistribution of income at the same time, education was seen as a factor of development of the “Political conscience” essential to the maintenance of the State. Thus conceived, education would be a factor of economic growth and security, as it would prevent the emergence of antagonisms resulting from the model adopted (KUENZER 1992: 42).

Given the importance attributed to education and the need to correct the inefficiency of the education system, educational planning proposals multiplied to meet the demands of the market. In this case, education was understood as a fundamental part of the development process, combining external capital with technological innovation, which would translate into greater productivity, which, in turn, would lead to the expansion of investment and job offer levels.

Education was considered a strategic area and of substantial importance for the exception regime that was established in the country after the 1964 coup. In this perspective, it is important to highlight that education was also thought of as a form of social control. Faced with the challenges presented by civil society in relation to the regime, either through cultural manifestations or the dissatisfaction of certain groups in the form of social movements. The proposal of a discipline based on the principles of morality and civics, and compulsory to all undergraduate and graduate students in the country, presented itself as an extraordinary possibility for the regime, in the sense of containing the student movement, disciplining new students, raising awareness of the danger of communism, as well as mobilizing young people on their responsibility to protect their homeland and fulfill their civic duties.

In the early 1960s, from the intensification of the Cold War and the crisis of hegemony, a discipline along the lines of the Brazilian Problems Study was presented as the educational component for the solution of what was understood by conservatives, especially on the right political spectrum, as the Brazilian crisis (CUNHA 2012).

This discipline was based on the principles of morality and civism and, according to the content of the legal measures that instituted it, shared some principles common to the doctrine disseminated by the Brazilian War College (BWC) during the dictatorial period.

The idea of implementing a discipline based on the precepts of morality and civism in Brazilian higher education was an original measure conceived by the civil-military regime, motivated by the growing role that student movements began to exercise in the country, especially in 1968, which required measures to control or neutralize its actions.

To achieve its objectives, the discipline of BPS was developed from a teaching program, this document was published in Opinion No. 94/71 by the Federal Council of Education (FCE), as mentioned above.

One of the main purposes of the BPS discipline was the moral improvement of university youth, in order to avoid any ideological deviation that would allow students to engage in movements considered subversive in the period, as provided in the legislation that regulated the teaching of this curricular component.

In this context, as Faria Filho (1998) argues, the use of educational legislation as a source has allowed us to grasp the most fascinating characteristic, namely its dynamics, which opens the possibility of interrelating, in the educational field, various dimensions of pedagogical practice, which were crossed by legislation, range from educational policy to classroom practices.

According to this author, the legislation must be analyzed in its various dimensions, and related to “the broader social relations in which they are inserted and which they contribute to produce” (FARIA FILHO 1998: 99), allowing this form a broader and more meaningful analysis of legal sources.

The discussions presented in this paper result from research developed during the master’s degree, in the field of History and Historiography of Education, which sought to analyze various aspects of the implementation process of the discipline of BPS at UFPR.

## **Bibliography of BPS teaching programs at UFPR**

Opinion No. 94/71, issued by the Federal Council of Education (FCE), was the main vector for the preparation of teaching programs for the discipline of BPS. This legal measure included a model program that divided the discipline into six units:

- Unit I – Overview of Brazilian Reality
- Unit II – Morphological Problems
- Unit III – Economic Developmental Problems
- Unit IV – Socioeconomical Problems
- Unit V – Political Problems
- Unit VI – National Security (BRAZIL 1971b).

For analysis and comparison of the BPS teaching programs developed at UFPR, we present in Table 1 the program of Opinion 94/71.

<b>BRAZILIAN PROBLEMS STUDY PROGRAM</b>	
UNIT I Overview of Brazilian Reality	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. General characteristics of national geopolitics and geo-economics,</li> <li>2. Brazilian man: ethical and cultural formation; characteristic traits; age pyramid; demographic situation.</li> <li>3. Social, political, economic institutions.</li> <li>4. Social behavior; Community action; individual, professional and social ethics.</li> </ol>
UNIT II Morphological Problems	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Economic structures: Brazilian economic system analysis.</li> <li>2. Social structures.</li> <li>3. Political structures and characteristics of democracy in Brazil.</li> <li>4. The structure of Executive, Legislative and Judiciary powers.</li> </ol>
UNIT III Economic De- velopmental Problems	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The national wealth of the soil, subsoil and seabed; Oil and Steel.</li> <li>2. Settlement and soil preservation.</li> <li>3. Amazon and its problems.</li> <li>4. The northeast region and its problems.</li> <li>5. Transportation and economy.</li> <li>6. Agricultural and livestock development; Land reform.</li> <li>7. Energy problem.</li> <li>8. Industrial development.</li> <li>9. Internal and International commerce.</li> <li>10. Regional disparities and socio-economic imbalances; Regional Bodies</li> <li>11. Economic development and national and sectional economic integration.</li> <li>12. Monetary, credit and fiscal policy.</li> <li>13. Economic planning.</li> <li>14. Work and social security.</li> <li>15. Capital market.</li> </ol>
UNIT IV Socioeconomical Problems	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Housing</li> <li>2. Health: prevention, health care and rehabilitation. Basic sanitation and eradication of endemics.</li> <li>3. Education: diagnosis and solutions.</li> <li>4. Social communication and cultural diffusion.</li> <li>5. Science, technology and their role in the development.</li> <li>6. Arts and their cultural function.</li> <li>7. Urbanization.</li> <li>8. Company – its social function and participation in the development.</li> <li>9. The Armed Forces in Brazil's socio-economic process.</li> </ol>
UNIT V Political Problems	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Philosophies and Political Ideologies.</li> <li>2. National power: its expressions.</li> <li>3. Popular Representation.</li> <li>4. Political Parties: organization and functioning.</li> <li>5. National Politics Evolution.</li> <li>6. Political Problems: soil occupation and territory boundaries.</li> <li>7. Economic Politics.</li> <li>8. Social Politics.</li> <li>9. External Politics.</li> <li>10. Political and International Bodies: UN and OAS.</li> </ol>
UNIT VI National Security	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Internal and external security – Citizen responsibility.</li> <li>2. Revolutionary war.</li> <li>3. The Armed Forces - Navy, Army and Air Force.</li> <li>4. Establishment of a doctrine and formulation of a national security policy - National Security Council - Armed Forces Military Staff – Higher War College.</li> </ol>

**Table 1 – BPS teaching program attached to the Opinion n. 94/71**

Source: Opinion n. 94 of Federal Council of Education (1971).

When comparing the teaching programs organized by the BPS<sup>6</sup> General Coordination at UFPR<sup>7</sup> attached to the Opinion FCE no. 94/71 it is possible to conclude that the programs developed by the university faithfully followed the requirements of this legal measure and were reproduced until 1984 in an absolutely identical manner to the program published by the FCE.

From the 1972 teaching program to the early 1980s the structure of the six program units and their specific contents remained the same, without any change from the General Coordination<sup>8</sup> of the discipline at UFPR.

On the other hand, regarding the bibliography indicated in these documents, we could observe innumerable changes during the years in which the teaching of this curricular component was present at UFPR classrooms. Thus, we will start the survey of the bibliography that composed the teaching programs, starting with the one of 1972, in which the following works were contemplated (Table 2).

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<sup>6</sup> No teaching programs rewritten by the professors of the BPS discipline at UFPR were found.

<sup>7</sup> The BPS discipline was only effectively implemented at UFPR in May 1971.

<sup>8</sup> The General Coordination for the Brazilian Problems Study, under the tutelage of Professor Maury Rodrigues da Cruz, was responsible for organizing the teaching of the discipline. This body had the function of directing, guiding, controlling and promoting the teaching of the BPS discipline in all undergraduate and postgraduate courses at the University.

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BPS TEACHING PROGRAM – 1972</b>
Brazilian Constitution
The decay of the west – Spengler, Oswald, 1926.
National Defense – Magazine (Collection)
Education between two worlds – Aron, Raimon, 1958 – Melhoramentos Publisher.
External Politics Geography – Graça, Tencil. Jaine Ribeiro da. 1951.
Geopolitics of Brazil
General and Brazil Geopolitics – Backheuses, Everaldo – 1952 – Bibl. Exerc.
External politics of Brazil – Vellozo, Leão.
White population of Brazil – Deffentainos, Pierre.
Revolution and America – Aranha, Osvaldo, 1940.
Amazon, land and man – Lima, Araújo.
Geopolitical aspects of Brazil – Silva, Golbery de Couto, Bib. Exército.
Bandeirantes and pioneers– Meeg, Vianna, 1959, Ed. Globo, 1 ed.
Brazil 2000 – Freitas, José Itamar de.
Brazil 2001 – Simensen, Mario Henrique.
The masters and the slaves – Freire, Gilberto, Ed. Política, 1936.
Culture and Opulence in Brazil – Antonil, Cia. Ed Nacional, 1943.
Dialogues of the greatness in Brazil – Brandão, Fernandes, Ed. Dois Mundos Ltda.
Brazilian Political Structure – Valle, Álvaro.
History Studies – Toynbee, A.
Brazilian Problems Study – Pe. F. Leme Lopes e outros.
Economical formation of Brazil – Furtado, Celso – Ed. Fundo de Cultura, 1939, Rio.
Brazil boarders – Soares, Macedo J., 1939, Liv. José Olimpio, Rio.
Cultural Geography of Brazil – Brandt, B.
Political Geography in geopolitics – Kiss, George
Geopolitics of Brazil – Rodrigues, Lysias – 1947 – Exército.
Geopolitics – Weigert, Hans W.
Geopolitics – Fonseca, Nery.
Amazon Geopolitics – Chaves, Mar e.
Geopolitics and peace – Trompson, D.
Geopolitics and Political Geography – Bachheuser, Everaldo.
Geopolitics e Political Geography – Gebaglia, Raja.
Diplomatic History of Brazil – Vianna, Helio, Ed. Melhoramentos.
Interpretation of Brazil – Freire, Gilberto.
Brazil the country of the future – Stefan, Zwey, 1940, Ed. Civilização Brasileira.
The myth of the vital space – Friedwall, E.M.
The world tends to unity – Backheuses, Everaldo.
Problems of Brazil – Backheuses, Everaldo.
Brazilian Realities – Graça, Tencil. Jaine Ribeiro da.
Social Philosophies of an age of crisis – Sorokin, Pettirim, 1950.
Brazil General Treaty – Scantimburgo, João de. Cia. Editora nacional. 1971.
A lonely world – Wilkie, W.

**Table 2** – Book list of the discipline BPS at UFPR in 1972.

Source: organized and translated by the author based on the teaching program of BPS at UFPR in 1972 (2014).

The number of works indicated in the 1972 program reached a total of 41 books, as illustrated in Table 2. In the subsequent year, 1973, the list of books remained the same as in 1972, without the inclusion or exclusion of any bibliographic reference. However, in 1974 the teaching program substantially reduced the number of books that permeated the teaching of the BPS discipline at UFPR, with a total of only 13 works and only 3 (bold highlights) reused from previous years, the bibliographic reference of 1974 was small compared to previous years, as shown in Table 3.

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BPS TEACHING PROGRAM- 1974</b>
Brazilian Culture – Fernando de Azevedo, Melhoramentos Publisher.
ADESG Handouts - Association of ADESG Graduates.
<b>Federal Constitution</b>
<b>Brazilian Programs Study– Pe. Francisco Leme Lopes, Bibl. Exército, 1971.</b>
Historical Formation of Brazil – J. Pandiá Calóge, Bibl. Exército.
National Brazilian Formation – Brigadeiro Lysias Rodrigues, Bibl. Exército, 1954.
Civic and Moral Education New Guidelines – American Company Publisher, 1971.
The sunset of the empire – Oliveira Viana, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition.
Social and Political Brazilian Organization – Delgado de Carvalho, 1963.
Southern populations of Brazil – Oliveira Viana, São Paulo, 1933.
National Security – Gal. Lyra Tavares, Bibl. do Exército.
General Theory of the State – Darcy Azambuja, Globo Publisher, 1963.
<b>Brazil General Treaty – João Scatimburgo, Ed. Nacional.</b>

**Table 3** – Book list of the discipline BPS at UFPR in 1974.

Source: organized and translated by the author based on the teaching program of BPS at UFPR in 1974 (2014).

Years later, in 1979, there was a significant increase in the number of works of the BPS discipline at UFPR, totaling 27 books, including some works from the 1972 bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> No teaching programs from 1975, 1976, 1977 and 1978 were found in the UFPR archives.

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BPS TEACHING PROGRAM – 1979</b>
Brazilian Culture – Fernando de Azevedo, Ed. Melhoramentos.
National Defense – Ney Eicler Cardoso, Ed. Promoções Nacionais, 1977.
The economy of transformation – Carlos Geraldo Langoni, Ed. José Olympio, 1975.
Social Organization and Brazilian Politics – Delgado de Carvalho, 1963.
ADESG Handouts - Rio de Janeiro, ADESG.
Brazil in question – Tarcísio Meirelles Padilha, Ed. José Olympio, 1975.
Brazil process and integration – Gabriel e André Galache, Edições Loyola.
Brazil contrast land – Roger Bastide, Difusão Europeia do Livro.
Accomplishments of a decade – João Baptista Peixoto, Ed. Art Nova.
Federal Constitution
Energy Crises – Eduardo Celestino Rodrigues, Ed. José Olympio, 1975.
Brazilian Problems Study – José Claudio de Oliveira, 1977.
Brazilian Problems Study – Pe. Leme Lopes, Ed. Renes.
Brazilian Problems Study - UFPE, Ed. Universitária, 1977.
Brazilian Problems Study – Enjolras Camargo, Ed. Atlas, 1977.
Brazilian Nationality Formation – Brigadeiro Lysias Rodrigues, 1954.
Historical Formation of Brazil – J. Pandiá Calógeras, Bibl. do Exército.
Civic and Moral Education New Guidelines – Cia Editora Americana, 1971.
The sunset of the empire – Oliveira Viana, Cia Editora Nacional.
Southern populations of Brazil – Oliveira Viana, Ed. Nacional.
Brazilian Political Problems – Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco.
Brazilian Reality – José Odelso Schneider, Livraria Sulina Editora.
Security and Democracy – José Alfredo Amaral Gurgel, Ed. José Olympio, 1975.
National Security – Gal. Lyra Tavares, Bibl. do Exército.
Health situation seminar in Brazilian metropolitan areas – São Paulo, 1976.
General Theory of the state – Darcy Azambuja, Ed. Globo, 1963.
General Treaty of Brazil – João de Scantimburgo, Cia Editora Nacional.

**Table 4 –** Book list of the discipline BPS at UFPR in 1979.

Source: organized and translated by the author based on the teaching program of BPS at UFPR in 1979 (2014).

The bibliography indicated in the 1982 teaching programs maintained the same references of the 1979 programs, except for the inclusion of some books that did not appear in the previous bibliographies and the exclusion of the book “Health situation seminar in Brazilian metropolitan areas”.

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BPS TEACHING PROGRAM – 1982</b>
Brazilian Culture – Fernando de Azevedo, Ed. Melhoramentos.
National Defense – Ney Eicler Cardoso, Ed. Promoções Nacionais, 1977.
The economy of transformation – Carlos Geraldo Langoni, Ed. José Olympio, 1975.
Amazon – Assoc. dos empresários da Amazônia, 1975.
ADESG Handouts - Rio de Janeiro, ADESG.
Brazil in question – Tarcísio Meirelles Padilha, Ed. José Olympio, 1975.
Brazil Present and Past – Osmar Salles de Figueiredo, 1979.
Brazil Process and Integration – Gabriel e André Galache, Edições Loyola.
Brazil contrast land – Roger Bastide, Difusão Europeia do Livro.
Achievements of a decade – João Baptista Peixoto, Ed. Artenova.
Federal Constitution
Energy Crises – Eduardo Celestino Rodrigues, Ed. José Olympio, 1975.
Brazilian Education – Dermeval Saviani, Ed. Saraiva, 1978.
Brazilian Problems Study – José Claudio de Oliveira, 1977.
Brazilian Problems Study – Pe. Leme Lopes, Ed. Renes.
Brazilian Problems Study – UFPE, Ed. Universitária, 1977.
Brazilian Problems Study – Enjolras Camargo, Ed. Atlas, 1977.
Brazilian Nationality Formation – Brigadeiro Lysias Rodrigues, 1954.
Historical Formation of Brazil – J. Pandiá Calógeras, Bibl. do Exército.
Introduction to the stock market – Miguel D. Barbosa Oliveira, CNBV, 1979.
Legislation on capital markets – Com. Nac. de Bolsas de Valores, 1979.
Moral and Civics New Guidelines – Cia Editora Americana, 1971.
The sunset of the Empire – Oliveira Viana, Cia Editora Nacional.
Social and Political Brazilian Organization – Delgado de Carvalho, 1963.
Population and Public Health in Brazil – Fausto Cupertino, Ed. C. Brasileira, 1976.
Southern Populations in Brazil – Oliveira Viana, Ed. Nacional.
Principles of agrarian law – Oswaldo Optiz, Gráficos Borsoi, 1979.
Brazilian Problems – Revista Mensal de Cultura, 1963.
Brazilian Political Problems – Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco.
Brazilian Reality – José Odelso Schneider, Livraria Sulina Editora.
Voices Magazine of Culture – Ed. Vozes, 1907.
Security and Democracy – José Alfredo Amaral Gurgel, Ed. José Olympio, 1975.
National Security – Gal. Lyra Tavares, Bibl. do Exército.
General Theory of State – Darcy Azambuja, Ed. Globo, 1963.
General Treaty of Brazil – João de Scantimburgo, Cia Editora Nacional.

**Table 5** – Book list of the discipline BPS at UFPR in 1982.

**Source:** organized and translated by the author based on the teaching program of Brazilian Problems Study (BPS) at UFPR in 1982 (2014).

In 1983 the BPS teaching program at UFPR included only one book: “Background and Perspective of Moral and Civic Education in Brazil<sup>10</sup>” (1982) by former UFPR BPS coordinator Maury Rodrigues da Cruz (1971-1984).

<sup>10</sup> The sources did not provide sufficient subsidies to clarify whether the inclusion of this book was by a decision of Professor Maury Rodrigues da Cruz, or by a FCE nomination.

In 1984, when Professor Maury Rodrigues da Cruz ended his activities at the BPS General Coordination, and when the dictatorship approached its end, numerous works were included in the bibliographic framework that composed the teaching of the BPS discipline at UFPR, as described in table 6.

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BPS TEACHING PROGRAM IN 1984</b>
Constitutional Law Institutions – Wilson Accioli, Forense, 1981.
The “Bagaceira” – José Américo de Almeida, Ed. José Olympio, 1982.
History of Brazil – Pedro Calmon, Ed. Nacional, 1947.
Brazilian Social and Political Introduction – Antônio Barros de Castro, Ed. F. de Cultura.
Brazilian Culture Phenomenology – Creso Coimbra, Ed. Loyola, 1969.
Ethics and Cultures of Brazil – Manuel Diegues Junior, Ed. Letras e Artes, 1963.
Political Sociology – Maurice Duverger, Ed. Forense, 1968.
The masters and the slaves – Gilberto Freyre, Ed. José Olympio, 1958.
Aspects of modern political thinking – Henry S. kariel, Ed. Zahar, 1966.
A sicientifical theory of politics– Bronislaw Malinowski, Ed. Zahar, 1975.
Geopolitics and destiny – Carlos de Meira Mattos, Ed. José Olympio.

**Table 6** – Book list of the discipline BPS at UFPR in 1984.

Source: organized and translated by the author based on the teaching program of BPS at UFPR in 1984 (2014).

According to Professor Maury Rodrigues da Cruz, the teaching programs and the bibliographic reference that supported them came directly from the Federal Council of Education<sup>11</sup>. However, this did not prevent the BPS Coordinator at UFPR from including some works in the basic bibliography of the discipline.

It is noteworthy that in 1976, the MCNC issued an official note making public a list of books approved by the body for BPS classes in higher education institutions in the country.

<sup>11</sup> It was not found in the sources that supported this work, no FCE document indicating a specific bibliographic reference for teaching the discipline of BPS in the country’s universities.

TITLE AND AUTHOR	LEVEL	PUBLISHER	OTHER DATE	
			EDITION	HOMOLOGATION D.O
BRAZILIAN PROBLEMS STUDY Pe. Francisco Leme Lopes e outros.	Higher	Editora Rennes Ltda.	1º - 1970	13/01/1971
BRAZILIAN PROBLEMS STUDY Prof. Alfredo Palermo	Higher	Lisa Editora Irradiante S/A.	1º - 1971	03/03/1972
MORAL, CIVISM AND BRAZILIAN PROBLEMS STUDIES Prof. Nelci Silvério e outros	Higher	Cia. Editora Nacional	1º - 1972	19/07/1972
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MY BRAZIL Profs. Douglas Michalany and Ciro de Moura Ramos	Integrated Teaching	Gráfica Editora Michalany	1º - 1972	18/06/1973
BRAZILIAN PROBLEMS STUDY Prof. Hilário Torloni	2º grau e superior	Livraria Pioneira Editora	1º - 1972	28/06/1973
BLACK AND WHITE Sydney Cook, Garth Lean Prof. Luciano Lopes	Consulting books	Associação Rearmamento Moral	4º - 1972	02/12/1974
FOUNDATIONS, GUIDELINES AND IMPERATIVES OF CIVIC AND MORAL EDUCATION Prof. Arthur Machado Paupério	High School and Higher Education	Editora Rio	1º - 1973	31/03/1975
THE MUSICALIZATION AT SCHOOL Emília d' Anniballe Jannibelli	All levels	-----	1º - 1976	06/01/1977
INTRODUCTION TO BRAZILIAN PROBLEMS STUDY Prof. Arthur Machado Paupério	Higher	Editora Freitas Bastos	1º - 1977	17/05/1977
TWO GIANTS OF BRAZILIAN CIVISM Paulino Jacques	High School and Higher Education	-----	1º - 1977	20/07/1977
GEOGRAPHY OF DEVELOPMENT IN BRAZIL Prof. Carlos Cesar Guterres Taveira	High School and Higher Education	Ao livro técnico S/A	1º - 1977	06/01/1978

**Table 7** – Re book list of the discipline BPS of Official Note 01/76 of NCMC.

Source: organized and translated by the autor based on the Official Note nº1 of janeiro 1976 of National Commission of Moral and Civism (2014).

It is important to highlight that there were numerous attempts to track down some FCE document that listed the bibliographic framework of the BPS discipline. However, the only document found with a list of books for the teaching of BPS was a MCNC note (Table 7). Similarly, other works

that addressed the BPS discipline as a research object did not mention FCE documents that addressed the bibliographic framework of the discipline. In Samara Mancebo's thesis on teaching BPS at the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), the teaching programs and bibliographies pertinent to the discipline were analyzed, according to the author:

An interesting question concerns the composition of the bibliography used to guide the organization of classes / conferences related to the teaching of BPS. In the two BPS discipline programs created by CEPB, the ESG Basic Manual and the National Security Law are cited. In addition, part of the bibliography is composed of books published by BIBLIEX, the Army library; books dealing with the BPS, national security issues, revolutionary war, geopolitics, among other issues of interest to the military. Among the authors listed in the bibliographic references, we can highlight the presence of civil and military, religious and FCE staff members, UERJ and ESG authorities, in short, names of the most varied status and social sectors who wrote about the Brazilian Problems Study. and / or on topics covered in its study, such as: General Meira Mattos, Father Francisco Lemes Lopes, Tarcisio Meireles Padilha, Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco, Arthur Machado Paupério, to name a few. The organization of the bibliography pertinent to the teaching of BPS is just another indication of the influence exerted by the Higher School and its National Security Doctrine on the referred teaching at UERJ (MANCEBO 2013: 131).

The notes of Mancebo's thesis (2013) make it possible to conclude that the bibliographic reference of the UERJ BPS discipline was marked by a diversity of authors from different social sectors. This characteristic could also be observed in the bibliographic references of the teaching programs of the UFPR BPS discipline.

On the other hand, Tables 2, 3 and 4 show that only three books of the book list published by MCNC in 1976 were part of the bibliographic reference of the EPB discipline at UFPR. Only the books of Father Francisco Leme Lopes and Professor Arthur Machado Paupério entered the bibliographical indications of the University. According to the statement by Professor Maury Rodrigues da Cruz, the references adopted in the teaching programs of the discipline of BPS at UFPR followed the recommendations of FCE and not of MCNC (CRUZ 2013).

The BPS course became semiannual in the mid-1970s and was divided into BPS I and BPS II, with a 30-hour workload and two credits per semester.

These subjects had two weekly classes and divided the six units of the BPS teaching program into three units for each semester, not substantially changing the teaching of this curriculum component.

The BPS teaching program also included the process of evaluating this discipline, which in addition to tests and group work, encompassed community activities, which probably took place during students' visits<sup>12</sup> to a number of institutions such as nursing homes, hospitals, etc.

According to the teaching programs of the BPS discipline, one of the objectives of this curricular component was "to show the university student the magnificent national problems, both in their formulation and in their range of solutions" (UFPR 1979). However, the analysis of these magnificent national problems was based on a bibliography permeated by an accentuated doctrinal discourse, mainly observed in the works under the terminology "Brazilian Problems Study", conceived by different authors such as Father Francisco Leme Lopes, Hilário Torloni, Enjolras Camargo, etc.

These authors' books included in their first part a chapter under the title "Doctrinal Introduction" which emphasized the importance of morality and civility in the life of man. In Enjolras Camargo's "Brazilian Problems Study", the author tries to justify that he mentions the doctrine in order to inform the students of the State's mission to achieve and maintain national goals. According to Enjolras Camargo (1977):

For a good understanding of the Brazilian problem, we insert a necessary minimum of doctrine, not with the intention of indoctrinating, but to inform the student about the ways that the State follows to fulfill its mission of achieving and maintaining National Objectives, through the use of plans - National Policy - and means - National Power - while continually facing adverse factors, antagonisms and pressures. After the doctrinal part, we approach several Brazilian problems and the governmental solutions given and tried for them (Camargo 1977: 5).

The doctrinal character of the discipline teaching programs could also be observed from the inclusion of works published by officers of the armed forces, handouts of the Association of Graduates of the College of War (ADESG), Federal Constitution of 1967 among other journals aligned with the Doctrine

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<sup>12</sup> In Bertotti's dissertation (2015), the testimonies of professors Maury Rodrigues da Cruz and Alceu Rolkoski confirm that visiting a series of institutions such as nursing homes and hospitals was a common practice for teaching the discipline of BPS.

of the National Security and Development (DNSD). On the other hand, these works appeared alongside the publications of Celso Furtado and Dermeval Saviani, authors who did not agree with the regime's practices. However, it should be noted that books such as Furtado and Saviani's were characterized as exceptions in the theoretical corpus of BPS teaching programs.

As mentioned earlier, the books that predominated in BPS teaching programs aligned with DNSD. For a deeper analysis of the contents that structured these works, this research drew on the conclusions of Francisco Adegildo Ferrer's (1991) work. In Ferrer's research (1991), the works of Arthur Machado Paupério "Introduction to the Brazilian Problems Study" (1977) and José Cláudio de Oliveira's "Brazilian Problems Study" (1977) were examined with the objective of [...] "detecting the ideology underlying these reading texts, notably as regards the categories: "Security and Development" (FERRER 1991: 5).

The books by Paupério (1977) and Oliveira (1977) composed the bibliography of UFPR's BPS teaching programs. According to the notes of Ferrer (1991), who considered these didactic manual works of the discipline, the concept of security appears in these books as an indispensable element for the pursuit of the common good and as a primary function of the state. Moreover, security should be a responsibility of all citizens.

The National Security Doctrine gives the state a very clear function: it is the mobilizing agent of everything in the nation. It is the state's mission to stand above private interests whenever the common good demands it. This idea that represents very well the political project of the military regime is clearly present in the texts of BPS (FERRER 1991: 137).

The content analysis of these references corroborates the doctrinal character instilled in the teaching of the BPS discipline in higher education institutions in the country. According to Ferrer (1991) the texts intended for students of the BPS discipline were of almost perfect conformity when dealing with the four main concepts of DNSD: national objectives, national security, national power and national strategy. For Ferrer (1991), the authors of "Introduction to the Brazilian Problems Study" (1977) and "Brazilian Problems Study" (1977):

[...] present a list of national objectives, with priority being given to democracy, progress and social peace. Generally speaking, we can say that all the lists exposed in these manuals are equivalent. Variations between one author and another are negligible. The generality and universality of the

above objectives are another aspect to highlight. They are defined according to the moral and spiritual values of Western civilization, such as humanism, Christianity, etc. (FERRER 1991: 137).

Moreover, both authors were based on the methodology adopted by the manuals of the Superior School of War to support the chapters that dealt with the doctrinal aspects of the BPS discipline (Ferrer, 1991). The concepts of State, Nation, Government and Sovereignty adopted in the books of Paupério (1977) and Oliveira (1977) did not differ [...] “much from those used in the early texts of the HWS authors in the years before the seizure of power” (FERRER 1991: 138).

The presence of elements that constituted the DNSD, such as economic development, was recurrent in the works of Paupério (1997) and Oliveira (1997). These authors associated economic development with security, conditioning the level of security with the potential of the country’s economic growth (FERRER 1991). In this sense, security, as an element of the concept of safe development, implied:

[...] the need to control the political and social environment, so as to guarantee not only social peace but also multinational investment. [...] this meant that by harboring national development in a security system, the repressive military state could justify restricting public freedoms during the process of economic and social development as it saw fit (FERRER 1991: 138).

For Ferrer (1991) the works “Introduction to the Brazilian Problems Study” (1977) and “Brazilian Problems Study” (1977) by Arthur Machado Paupério and José Cláudio de Oliveira fulfilled [...] “a function of inculcation instrument ideology of the conception of security and development adopted by the civil-military station in power since 1964 to the university youth of the country” (FERRER 1991:139). This author goes even further, stating that the worldview expressed in the BPS discipline books has prevented young people from elaborating their own vision of the life model (FERRER 1991). Based on these arguments, it can be stated that part of the BPS bibliography teaching programs at UFPR reproduced the principles of DNSD.

In addition, from the analysis of works referenced in BPS’s teaching programs, it is possible to observe the occurrence of titles that evoke national security, development, national integration, geopolitical issues, economic issues, as well as books whose titles emphasize the problems of Brazil.

The set of works listed in these documents meets the themes studied at

conferences of the Brazilian War College (BWC) and its Doctrine of National Security and Development (DSND). The topics covered in the books that formed the bibliography of BPS programs were recurrent in courses promoted by BWC for both civilians and military.

Considering that the BPS was the result of a projection of the DSND from the military to the educational field, it is understandable the list of works and authors dealing with topics dear to BWC such as national security, development, national integration, geopolitics, economics, among other issues that involved the Brazilian problematic.

Titles such as *Geopolitical Aspects of Brazil* by Golbery Couto e Silva, *Bandeirantes and pioneers* by Vianna Moog, *The Brazilian culture* by Fernando de Azevedo, *The masters and the slaves* by Gilberto Freyre, as well as *National security* by General Lyra Tavares were mandatory bibliography in the formations promoted by the Brazilian War College.

In addition to these peculiarities of the bibliography present in the programs, it is important to highlight the presence of books that were characterized as textbooks for the subject in question, whose titles were the same as those of the curricular component: *Brazilian Problems Study*. These works were prepared by conservative priests, army officers and civilians sympathetic to the regime, with content derived from the legal measures that guided and regulated the teaching of BPS in higher education, these works brought various elements of the DSND and an appreciation of Brazil as a power.

The emphasis on development and national security was a common feature among these works, which at the same time that raised issues related to the Brazilian problem, such as the question of national integration, emphasized the solutions developed by the regime, as in the case of national integration, the construction of federal highways integrating all regions of the country, as well as policies for the occupation of central-western Brazil.

In this type of book, it was very common to find the promotion and dissemination of actions carried out by the dictatorship, either the project for the construction of the Itaipu hydroelectric plant or the celebration of the sesquicentenary of Independence, which President Médici buried the remains of D. Pedro I in the gardens of the Paulista Museum (Museu do Ipiranga). The objective of the discipline is in line with the image that the dictatorship during its 21 years tried to impress the nation, the idea that Brazil would be the country of the future, as well as a great power.

In this perspective, BPS contributes with the idea of reconfiguring [...] the imaginary and calling for the inauguration of a brand-new time, [...] a legitimating [...] image par excellence for denying the immediate past of supposed

errors and deviations [...] and for intending to establish the future that realizes the true national vocation: greatness (CERRI 2012: 221).

## Final thoughts

The analysis of BPS discipline teaching programs at UFPR allowed to identify the doctrinal character of this curricular component in the administrative tools that subsidized its teaching. The bibliography that supported this discipline at the University led us to conclude that the structure of the teaching programs was based on authors who propagated the DNSD, but not only this view, since there was the inclusion of Saviani and Furtado's books in the programs. However, this does not mean that former professors of this discipline at UFPR necessarily relied on these references for teaching this curricular component.

It is important to emphasize that the results of this research are the result of analyzes that were limited to specific sources about the official bibliography indicated in the teaching programs of UFPR, reiterating that an investigation of the uses of this bibliography by its former professors may reveal other nuances of this curriculum component in university classrooms.

The conclusions of this work allowed us to understand that BPS teaching programs were based on a bibliographic diversity, marked by a predominance of books that aligned with DNSD, but which appeared alongside works by some authors opposed to the regime. However, a bibliography, whose emphasis was on the focus on national problems, denotes an adherence to a larger policy of the DNSD that aimed to encourage the interest and participation of university youth in the national political-economic plan, thus corroborating one of the main objectives listed in legislation that dealt with the discipline and teaching programs of the university, which was to [...] "make university youth aware of the great national problems, both in its formulation and in its range of solutions" (BRAZIL 1971b).

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