66 - THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION AS AUXILIARY MECHANISM TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE EDUCATION POLITICS AMBITIONED BY THE "AUTHORITARIAN UTOPIA" FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION (1968)

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Introduction

The period after the coup d'état, brandished in the middle of 1964, was marked by the attempt of adapting the Brazilian institutional structures to the administration of a conservative and societary project, built with the intention of preserving the interests of powerful groups joined in the civil-military activist articulation. One of the strategic sections more reached by the established authoritarian politics was the education. The intended rupture happened in all of the education levels, having as fundamental mechanism a group of laws that tried to adapt the education to the economical demands of the national and foreign groups that were the military government's backers. In that field, the discipline Physical Education assumed an outstanding role, because it was used with the purpose of to demobilize the opponents of the military regime and to spread their values and ideals. Due to those considerations, the central objective of this article is to analyze the education politics for the higher education erected by the military regime, expressed in the text of the Law 5.540/68 (Law of the Academical Reform), privileging the attributed function to the Physical education. For this, the revision of the bibliography about the subject and the main theoretical specialists' analysis of the problem in the period and in the theme were used.

In this direction, categories were adopted like the "previous foundations" and the "strategic foundations", once both facilitate the perception of the ideas system of the proposed educational reforms not only for Brazil, but for Latin America. The first corresponds to the construction reformist's supporting base and it settles in two subordinate categories: the one of the critical foundation and the one of the ideological foundation (AZEVEDO AND CATANI, 2004, p. 143) - premises that make possible, in a side, the identification of real problems and the elaboration of critics based in university models capable to mobilize significant contingents in the search of its overcoming and, in other, the diffusion of the elected ideology as conductive thread of the reform project.

The final appreciation of the formatting of the reform still includes categories of analysis of the foundations of the intern and foreign policy that orientated the referred reform. The first refers to the incorporation of the form proposed by the international organisms to the Latin America's education reforms. The second mentions the local beneficiaries of the reform actions, in other words, the social actors that glimpse some possibility of social ascension through the reform.

The exhibition below was made starting from the presentation of the historical context of that time, followed by the analysis of the military government's education politics and the imputed role to the Physical education.

Between the text and the context: the educational politics ambitioned by the Authoritarian State

The conflict that unchained the coup of 1964 began in the decade of 1950 and it was accelerated as from 1961, with President Jânio Pictures' renouncement (1960 - 1961), deflagrated in a context of serious economic crisis and of political confrontation. The industrial bourgeoisie's interests and fears associated to the foreign capital, the responsible ones for the American foreign policy of the period after II War and the military ones engaged in the project of "authoritarian Utopia" resulted in the appearance of the referred coup (FICO, 2004). This association between the national and international wealth presupposed the financial stabilization preconized by the multilateral agencies, above all by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which pressed the bourgeoisie and the dependent state of these relationships, to a constant hardening. The "recessive incomes" demand the "[...] capacity to deny concessions to the hard-working masses and to force them to swallow the purgative of the compressive measures of the standard of living" (GORENDER, 1987, p. 42).

The North American expansionist politics, besides the economical impositions, had as principles the incorporation of the "peripheric" countries to its commercial cycle as producers of raw material and formers of consumer market for the industrialized capitalist economies. Evidently, that all those dispositions were permeated by the anti-communist ideology spread between 1945 and 1989, the years of "Cold War" (CHOMSKY, 2005). In spite of, the "authoritarian Utopia" mobilized wide sections of the National Armed forces around the country's insert the field of the "Christian western democracy". Such enterprise had as basic premise the elimination of all the forms of political dissent, being stood out the combat to the communism and the corruption (FICO, 2004). In this sense, the ways that the national politics had taken, especially after João Goulart's victory in the plebiscite of 1963, the ascension of the leftist vote and the mobilization around structural reforms potentiated the fears and the urgency of execution of three foregoing groups' projects.

Among the participants that impelled the process of social fights that it provoked the dissatisfaction of the block that looked for the power hegemony, Daniel Aarão Reis Filho stands out:

(...) rural and urban workers' great movements entered in action demanding the accomplishment of reforms in the country's social and economical structure and the invigoration of its centers of intern decision, the called base reforms, in the sense of the distribution of the income and power and of the statement of the national sovereignty (1999, p.4).

Deflagrated the coup, the established military government assumed the "orthodox economic liberalism" as guiding principle of its actions, proven fact from the composition of its ministry to the adoption of a series of measures that looked for the retaking of the economic development and the inflation contention. The entrance and exit liberalization of foreign capitals in the country; the control of the wages, kept below the inflation; the implementation of public politics that aimed to expand the private orientation in the economy of the country and the renouncement of the intern price control were some of the measures adopted.

These economical guidelines had a drastic effect on the conditions of the salary earners' life (CHASIN,1979; SILVA, 1994). In order to sustain its economic policy, highly concentrator of income and anti-popular, the regime had to reinforce its

1 Taken conception of loan of Maria Aparecida de Aquino that considers the blow an attack to the effective institutional order, however it was not following by intense popular mobilization (1994)
2 It referred to the re-establishment of the presidentialism as government's form in Brazil..
3 It condenses the determination in the article 22 of the Law no. 4.024, of December 20, 1961, and, in the paragraphs b and c of the article 40 of the Law no. 5.540,de 28 of November of 1968, in agreement with the given composition, respectively, for the Law no. 705, of July 25, 1969, and for the Law no. 464, of 11 of February 1969, as well as in the paragraph b of the article 3rd of the Law no. 594, of May 27, 1969, and in the article 7th of the Law no. 5.692, of August 11, 1971.

repressive apparatus and to deepen the combat to the unions and leftist organizations. From 1964 to 1969, "47 political leaders" disappeared, syndicates suffered interventions or they were closed, elect leaderships were deprived (ARNS, 1985, p. 61).

In this conjuncture, the education politics was redefined for the higher education, through the Academical Reform Law(Law no. 5.540), implemented on November 28, 1968, in way to adapt the education organization to the determinations of the societary project ambitioned by the authoritarian State. Consequently, the formulation of a "new" legal order was sought, whose references were ruled by the absorption of the economic speech of the "Theory of the Human Capital" and by the cooling of the student movement (FRIGOTTO, 1999). The agreements MEC-USAID, between Brazil and the United States, corroborated for the rationalization of the teaching, the primacy of the technical formation, the contempt about the Social and Human sciences and the establishment of a narrow bond between the academic formation and the industrial production (ROMANELLI, 1987).

The cultural subjection sought, necessary to the longings of ideological dominance, contained in the North American imperialist politics of the period post II War, realised by the imputation of the business ideals of the american way of life, in all educational instances of the pheripheric countries. The referred direction was incorporated to the text of the Law 5540/68. However, the immediate actions that motivated the Law's composition were originated by the accumulation of pressures, essentially of the medium layers, in favor of the enlargement of the access possibilities to the University.

The appearance of student protests in the years 1966 and 1967, anchored in the accusation of the agreements MEC-USAID and the elitist character of the Brazilian university, potentiated the sanitary intention that covered the speeches of the regime since middles of 1964 (PELEGRINI, 1998).

In face of the apparent installed crisis and in coherence with its societary and conservative project, the military government decided to provoke the necessary adjustment in the educational ambit, to the preservation of its government project. Therefore, the Law's text 5540/68 was covered with the authoritarian character that it characterized the actions of the military regime, besides in the intended reform of the higher education's structure. According to Saviani (1987),

(...) when instituting the departmentalization and the registration for discipline with its corollary one, the regime of credits, the law had, observing its political meaning, the objective of demobilizing the student action that got unable of constituting reinvindicatory groups, because the students didn't stay in united groups during the course (p.95).

At the same time, these measures were adapted to the expansion purpose with the minimum of cost, rationalizing and optimizing the academic structures. This way, these mechanisms were configured as immediate solution to the need of increment of vacancies. Another mechanism used in the adjustment of the educational politics to the political rupture deflagrated starting from 1964 was the adoption of the unified and qualifying college entrance exam that "eliminated" spare candidates artificially, softening partially, the claims for the enlargement of vacancies in the university.

In reference to what was exposed, it's noticed that the law text formulated when combining the rationalization and contention principles reaches partial success in the dissolution of the problems that feared the technocrats and liberal linked to the official educational determinations. In other words, it was possible to "reduce the pressure about the university, absorbing the maximum of candidates and disciplining them later, alleging measures of rationalization of the resources" (FREITAG, 1986, p.84).

In respect to the methodological categories proposed, it was demonstrated that the Reform in its foreign policy foundation followed the recommendations contained in the called agreements MEC-USAID, absorbing, with few alterations, the whole content suggested by the ideologists of USAID. The intern policy foundation could be explained by the social actors' valorization, accordant with the Law'S TEXT, that were rewarded, because besides the maintenance of their charges and positions, they were benefitted with incentive and fomentation programs to masters degree. On the other hand, their opponents were moved away from the universities.

In this field, the other two essential secondary categories to the construction and sustentation of the Reform, the ideological foundation and the critical foundation, acted in the continuous disqualification of the university and in the progressive imposition of the new reformist ideas. The use of the ideological foundation happened by the vulgarization of the benefits and advantages of the North American educational archetype and the need of incorporating the business model as form to give dynamism to the University's operation.

The critical foundation happened by the absorption of the elaborated claims and critics, above all for the student movements, that had as main points the archaism and elitism of the Brazilian university and the depreciation of its structuring and administration. In sum, the instituted educational politics needed to adapt the educational system to the built power structure's interests. For this, it chose as support four fundamental actions: the diffusion of the reformist ideas, the elaboration of a severe critic to the old academical model, the alignment with the recommendations of USAID and its opponents' repression.

The Physical Education and the imposition of discipline to the student resistance

The implantation of the discipline Physical education in the higher education followed the same impulse of imposing control and discipline to the academical community that guided the educational politics of the period. This way, the official dispositions proclaimed to the discipline considered the attempt of harmonizing the relationships between the State and the student resistance.

The analysis of the Law's text 5540/68 bring significant indications of the official recognition of the capacity of canalization of longings and frustrations provided by the discipline and potentiated by the sporting focus that covered it. In a such way, that in its article 40 letter C, the law text incites the higher education institutions to stimulate the sport activities. Later, the text was complemented by the Ordinance Law 464/69 that increases the recommendations of the law to the need of specific orientation and special installations for the sport practice.

However, only from the Law 705/69 that its ideological use was intensified inside of the higher education space, extending its obligatoriness. To all of the educational levels and branches. Like this, the Law's article 1st sets that it will "It's obligatory the practice of the physical education in all of the educational levels and branches, with sporting predominance in the higher education" (BRAZIL, 1969). It is evaluated that the orientation axis that unchained this attitude was the possible attribution given to the Physical education of "collaborating, through its ludic-sporting character, with the emptying of any attempt of political rearticulation of the student movement" (CASTELLANI, 1991, p. 121).

In this ambit, the Law 69450/71, law text that gathers the main precedent official determinations for the Physical education in only one document, expresses in a clear way the esteem for the sport practices that should constitute, predominantly, the curriculum of the discipline for the higher education, such as the theoretical-methodological referencial that should be privileged. This way, in the article 3rd interpolated proposition III proposes that

In the superior level, in pursuit to the initiated in the precedent degrees, for practices, with predominance, of sport nature, preferably to the ones that lead to the maintenance and aprimoramento of the physical fitness, to the health conservation, to the student's integration in the academical campus, to the consolidation of the community feeling and of nationality (BRAZIL, 1971).

The form of elect organization for the discipline, also expressed in the Law's text 69450/71, reinforces the imputation of

the foregoing peculiarities. There was declared project of transforming the student unions in sporting clubs, under the inspiration of the North American model. This way, in its article 13, it was instituted that

(...) the practice of the Physical education in the higher education, will be accomplished through academical clubs, created in according to similar modalities, in the conformity of the available installations, which will join to the Athletic Association of the respective Institution (BRAZIL, 1971).

The Law still deliberates in its article 16, 1st paragraph, the primordial role of the referred instance,

The organ's main function of academical sport direction is to motivate, besides the programmed practices in the clubs, the championships, tournaments, representation competitions and exchange, demonstrations and sport trips of formative character (BRAZIL, 1971).

In spite of, it is the elucidation of some identification points among the dispositions promulgated for the Physical education and the certain ones for the discipline Moral and Civic Education, that ratifies the recognition and the use of the first in the task of harmonizing the tense relationships between the academic community and the State.

This way, it was observed, by the analysis of the documents responsible for the implantation of the disciplines, an apparent proximity and complementation in the formulation of its legal order. So, while the letter "C" of the article 40 of the Law's text 5540/68 makes reference to the necessary incentives to the sport activities, the letter "D" of the same article talks about the importance of the incentive to the activities that sought to the civic formation.

And, if because of the force of the Law 705/69 the Physical education became obligatory in all of the levels of education, the Law 869 from the same year was responsible for the materialization of the same measure in relation to the Moral and Civic Education. Another similar aspect is found in the article 32 of the Law 68.065/71 that turned about the constitution of civic centers inside the university and what was foreseen in the article 13 of the Law 69.450/71 that exalted the role of the academical sporting clubs.

Finally, it's stood out the article 7, paragraph d, of the referred law, in which the Physical education is considered as a discipline related to the Moral and Civic Education, reaching the point of evoking the Physical Education teacher's aid in the execution of its activities. In another mention, in the article 10, paragraph f, the sporting entities are incited to cooperate in the perpetration of the objectives proposed by the Moral and Civic Education for the national territory (BRAZIL, 1971).

In front of what was exposed, it is confirmed the adoption of a group of measures and formulations which sought the control and the contention of the physical, moral and civis dimensions with the unconfessed intention of combat and imposition of discipline against any student resistance, once

The moral, civic and physical Education, incorporated to the educational system, starts assuming the indoctrination of the student body. A measure turned to the legitimation of the power of the Stateand the students' political disarticulation, once it tried to conduct these students' energies and to control their time of leisure (PELEGRINI, 1998, p.137).

Final considerations

In front of the argument presented in the course of the article, it's possible to conclude that in almost it's totality, the educational legislation was impregnated with the elements of control and social harmonization joined to the formation with base in the business archetype contained in the salience of the north American expansionist politics of the post-second war to Latin America.

In this sense, the reforms built in the period had as horizon the combat to the main resistance focuses against regime and the service of the demands of the associated national wealth. This way, the Academical Reform (Law 5540/68) accomplished the couple function of promoting the softening of the student resistance to the regime and of establishing a narrow bond between production and academical formation.

In this ambit, the discipline Physical education was reformulated in consonance with the same intentions of indoctrination of the student body that characterized the referred educational politics, being one of their objectives for the higher education mine the student resistance to the military governments' disobedience and authoritarianisms.

Finally, it stands out the imperative of consolidating the already instituted critical debate that contradicts the theoretical and practical presuppositions erected by the military governments and its current process of giving a new meaning. Presenting as essential counterpoint the historical knowledge of its genesis and intention: the curtailment of the reinvindicatory movements and the maximization of the associated national wealth's interests.

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THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION AS AUXILIARY MECHANISM THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE EDUCATION POLITICS AMBITIONED BY THE "AUTHORITARIAN UTOPIA" FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION (1964-1968)

ABSTRACT

The civil-military articulation responsable for the coup d'état of 1964 guided their actions around the implantation of a conservative societary project that sought the elimination of the political dissent. In the education field, this strategy implicated the promulgation of a group of laws imbued with an authoritarian and disarmer character. This way, the objective of this article is centered in the analysis of the education politics returned to the higher education, privileging the attributed role to the Physical education. For this, a methodology used was based in the bibliographical research and analytical categories that aid to unmask the ideology and strategies put in practice in this reform. It was verified that the education was reformulated in consonance with the business model and the imposition of discipline through the teaching. In this context, the Physical education was used as repression and diffusion mechanism of a favorable ideology to the military regime.

Word-key: History of the Education, History of the Physical Education, Military Governments.

L'ÉDUCATION PHYSIQUE COMME MÉCANISME DE SECOURS LA RÉALISATION DE LA POLITIQUE DE l'ÉDUCATION VOULU PAR LA "UTOPIE AUTORITAIRE" POUR LES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES (1964-1968)

RÉSUMÉ

L'articulation civile-militaire responsable pour le coup d'état de 1964 guidé leurs actions autour de l'implantation d'un projet conservateur social qui a cherché l'élimination de la différence d'opinion politique. Dans le champ de l'éducation, cette stratégie a impliqué dans la promulgation d'un groupe de lois autoritaires. Comme ceci, l'objectif de cet article s'est concentré dans l'analyse de la politique de l'éducation revenue aux études supérieures, en privilégiant le papier attribué l'Éducation Physique. Pour si beaucoup, une méthodologie a été utilisée basé dans la recherche bibliographique et catégories analytiques qui aident pour démasquer l'idéologie et les stratégies ont mis dans entraînement dans cette réforme. Il a été vérifié, que l'éducation a été reformulée dans accord avec le modèle de l'affaire et l'imposition de la discipline à travers l'enseignement. Dans ce contexte, l'Éducation Physique a été utilisée comme mécanisme de la répression et diffusion d'une idéologie favorable au régime militaire.

Mot clef: Histoire de l'Éducation, Histoire de l'Éducation Physique, Gouvernements Militaires.

LA EDUCACIÓN FÍSICA COMO EL MECANISMO AUXILIAR EL LOGRO DE LA POLÍTICA DE EDUCACIÓN AMBICIONADO POR LA "UTOPÍA AUTORITARIA" POR LA EDUCACIÓN UNIVERSITARIA (1964-1968)

RESUMEN

La articulación civil-militar responsable por el golpe de Estado de 1964 guió sus acciones alrededor de la implantación de un proyecto social conservador que buscó la eliminación de lãs cisones políticas. En el campo de educación, esa estrategia implicó en la promulgación de un grupo de leyes autoritarias. Así, el objetivo de ese artículo se centra en el análisis de la política de educación en lo âmbito universitario, mientras privilegiando el papel atribuido la Educación Física. Para tanto, una metodología se usó basado en la investigación bibliográfica y las categorías analíticas que ayudan para desenmascarar la ideología y las estrategias utilizadas en esa reforma. Fue verificado, que la educación fue reformulada en la consonancia con el modelo comercial y la imposición de disciplina a través de la enseñanza. En ese contexto, la Educación Física se usó como el mecanismo de represión y difusión de una ideología favorable al régimen militar.

Palabras-importante: la historia de la Educación, la Historia de la Educación Física, los Gobiernos Militares.

A EDUCAÇÃO FÍSICA COMO MECANISMO AUXILIAR A REALIZAÇÃO DA POLÍTICA EDUCACIONAL AMBICIONADA PELA "UTOPIA AUTORITÁRIA" PARA O ENSINO SUPERIOR (1964-1968)

RESUMO

A articulação civil-militar responsável pelo golpe de Estado de 1964 orientou suas ações em torno da implantação de um projeto societal conservador que visava a eliminação do dissenso político. No campo educacional, essa estratégia implicou a promulgação de um conjunto de leis imbuído de um caráter autoritário e desmobilizador. Assim, o objetivo desse artigo centra-se na análise da política educacional voltada ao ensino superior, privilegiando o papel atribuído a Educação Física. Para tanto, utilizou-se uma metodologia fundamentada na pesquisa bibliográfica e categorias analíticas que auxiliam o desvendamento do ideário e estratégias colocadas em prática nessa reforma. Constatou-se, que a educação foi reformulada em consonância com o modelo empresarial e a imposição de disciplina através do ensino. Nesse contexto, a Educação Física foi utilizada como mecanismo de repressão e difusão de uma ideologia favorável ao regime militar.

Palavras-chave: História da Educação, História da Educação Física, Governos Militares.