

## **«Imagined Communities»: Student and Revolutionary Movements in the Headlines of Mass Media Newspapers and Magazines During the Brazilian Dictatorship**

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**Abstract:** Brazilian historiography emphasises student political practice as the main action of those students who were against the authoritarian and conservative regime. To explain the student movement through its political activity or subversion towards the established social patterns became commonplace when discussing the behaviour of much of 1960s youth. Even though such aspects are import, they take little account of other peculiarities of these students' history. This article explores Anderson's (2008) hypothesis on «imagined communities» – i.e. when people in a group establish synchronic identification through references given by daily communication – in this context. This highlights the emotional pandemic of the youth coalition of the 1960s, which spread to general political movements. From this perspective, the student movement is understood as an interaction among subjects of a similar age, mobilized by their identification with shared images, mainly on printed documents. This analysis reveals that in Brazil: 1) the students identified with the revolutionary youngsters in the magazines who would later become icons, such as Fidel Castro and Che Guevara; 2) The reports and «hearsay» of youth action, recorded in the articles and stimulated and amplified by street demonstrations, schematic readings, impromptu rallies, graffiti and slogans, etc. We discuss synchronicity as an aspect of this period of history that was associated with the sensory stimuli involved in demonstrations, as well as the creation of stereotypes and representations of youth.

**Keywords:** Youth movement; Brazilian Military Dictatorship; Education of Senses; Sensibility Formation.

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## 1. Introduction

In Brazilian history we can perceive a lack of historical studies about the youth<sup>1</sup>. According to Spósito (2001, 2009), youth was an «object not very consolidated in researches, regardless of its political and social importance» and that there is «little participation of what we could call studies of youth in Education» (Spósito, 2001, p. 38 e 41). In the same study, the author points out that there are studies on the representations of youth (10,2%), but highlights that a great part are closer to the Psychology field (Spósito, 2001, p. 44).

Hilsdorf and Peres (2009), analyzing the historical studies on youth between 1999-2006, also point out that there are few works on the history of youth in Brazil. Out of 38 works found, there is a concentration of studies about the time period 1960-1970 and that, in those cases, the researchers focuses the political and cultural effervescence of that time; emphasizing the aspects connected to the students' movement. That is, the youngster are present at the studies, but the focuses are the students' movements.

Considering the historical studies on students' movements in the 1960s, there is a concentration of works that present the political action of left-wing and progressive students. There is also a very centralized focus on the political action of those students against the military authoritarianism, disconsidering the «student» aspect of the movement. We can see that the «student», and even the «youth», elements are diminished by the discussions that highlight student action through political-partisan tendencies. It is common to see that, in current representations about the youth of the period, they are seen as a group of protesters, what makes us think on the political use of memory to consolidate this idea.

There is a monolithic sense that Brazilian students were all rebels and activists, thus we know little about the youth and student groups that had a different political action. For example, the students who, contrary to their peers, opted to keep quiet or even alienates from the political movement are on the shadows of historiography. We do not know the history of the students' silence who witnessed the barbarism and disappearance of their classmates at that period, for example. Even though there is a highlight of *União Nacional dos Estudantes* (UNE) we can come centrate on it the history of Brazilian students. There are research gaps on high school student movements; the movements of conservative, reactionary, or openly fascist students, whose history is almost completely ignored. Besides this, UNE was made by an assembly of different tendencies: Catholic, communist, liberals, etc., so the theme can be studied by multiple focuses (Groppo, 2008, p. 94; Botelho, 2017, p. 104)<sup>2</sup>.

Finally, throughout the 1960s, there were also the perspectives of age and educational cohorts, which were not always taken into consideration by historiography.

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<sup>1</sup> A quick research in the *Banco de Dissertações e Teses da Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES)*, shows only 8 works with the descriptor «history of youth», two of them are, partially, about issues related the the Brazilian youth in the 1960s. The descriptor «student movement» presents 60 works on the actions of students during the civil-military dictatorship in the 1960s, nationally and regionally (research done June, 25th, 2018).

<sup>2</sup> Even though the university students had a strong political expressions, they represented 0.5% of the Brazilian population in 1968, as only 1 in every 500 people were enrolled in the university.

That is, the students that acted politically in the beginning of the decade were not necessarily the same ones willing to a more radical, armed fight, after the AI-5 decree<sup>3</sup> in 1968 (Gabeira, 1979, p. 52; Braghini, 2014, p. 132).

A research done by *Revista Realidade* (1967) shows a very different reality when it does a national research about Brazilian youth in 1967. Brazil had an extremely diverse youth: they were religious believers, but trusted the socialist system, even though most did not think about a «revolution». Their preferences tended to political silence, monogamy in relationships, virginity, etc. Homosexuality was considered a disease. According to the research, they believed education was the biggest problem in Brazil (Braghini, 2014, pp. 313-314).

This article analyzes the political and student context that circulated in daily newspapers, magazines, and other variety of sources, pointing to the political ritual of that time, showing what incited students to fight, strengthening the social resistance movement against authoritarianism. The study shows how the perception of a mobilized youth captured the images and the audience of stories about their peers, taken as «subversive» and «rebels», so as to feed their ideas of mobilization and modify the given social structures. We analyzed the psychophysical aspects that, together with the social complexion, were part of the experience of a «imaginary community» as thought by Anderson (2008, p. 30).

We are concerned with the establishment of a «nationality» feeling as a cultural product incorporated in different spaces during the 19th century. As we think about the historical assembly of this feeling, we can understand the organization of different degrees of self-awareness as the result of the actions of groups, production and circulation of knowledge, people, information given by the press, resulting in the bonding among different social subgroups aiming to create, in this case, national community.

Therefore, this work is interested in the appeal that creates a community from images that some people take as their own: youth groups that identify with specific causes and act through familiarity connections, in synch, in the form of images and representations promoted by the press. This study pursues the symbolic and material elements as well as the rituals that, among the youngsters, established affective and moral bonds, creating a logical and sentimental relation; i.e., how do different people bond over a common sentimental appeal, creating a identitarian connection, through the synchronic perception of bonding elements? In the case of Brazilian students mobilized against the dictatorship, what would be the motivational elements of a common identification in the name of a fight, be it political, social, or regarding the students condition?

We refer to a space that, beyond physical frontiers and ideological marks, was composed by subjects of the same age range, identified by the idea of a fighting

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<sup>3</sup> The *Ato Institucional* n.5 (AI-5) was enacted in December 13th, 1968. It deals with the possibility of the State to declare intervention in the states and cities, without the limitations imposed by the Constitution, to suspend the political rights of any citizen during 10 years, to suspend federal, state, and municipal mandates. The document marks the position of the government, established by the military coup d'état in 1964, faced by the rise of social groups (rural workers, students, artists, politicians) considered as «subversive» within the national defense plan against the «internal enemy».

youth. We intend to show a perspective of the student movement that sees it as an aesthetical expression, connected to a sensorial dimension. We deal with constitutional aspects of the student experience at the level of sensations, as beacons that demarcate student cohesion through certain community references, which establish marks of youth, such as ceremonies, rituals, important figures, and causes. Our document base was composed by excerpts of different daily newspapers of Brazilian capitals, mainly Rio de Janeiro (*Jornal do Brasil*, *O Globo*, *Última Hora*) and São Paulo (*O Estado de S. Paulo*, *Folha de S. Paulo*), written testimonies, oral reports, and excerpts of memoirs from former left-wing activities<sup>4</sup>.

Furthermore, we analyzed some interpretations done in the period by writers such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Octavio Ianni, and the Brazilian professor Álvaro Vieira Pinto. We used parts of the reports from *Comissão Nacional da Verdade* (CNV)<sup>5</sup>, especially the volume 3 about the «the dead and the missing people», and the *Comissão da Verdade do Estado de São Paulo (CV-SP)*, mainly volume 1 – Part 2 on the «persecution of the student movement of São Paulo». Finally, we included some extracts of *Revista da Editora do Brasil S/A*, an educational clipping that circulated among the teaching professional mainly those in favor of the dictatorship and reached all Brazilian high schools, public and private. The discourse of this magazine establishes a contradiction with the students' motivation, as it disagrees with the interests of this group, highlighting the struggle of representations, including between generations, on politics, society, and youth.

Nowadays in Brazil we see an attempt to consolidate a memory that rejects the great violations of human rights during the authoritarian period in the 1960s and 1970s. Simultaneously, faced by the presentation of the final reports of CNV, and the news about the death of high school and university students and workers, through different methods (shot in the back, chest, and face, kidnapped, tortured, arrested during the invasion in schools and universities, caught in the middle of the streets, independently if they were in the armed fight or not, etc.), we see ourselves faced by the need to understand, process, and judge those responsible for such things in the country, as the reports, after a rigorous research and analysis of documents, point to the involvement of different command hierarchies, with the action of specialized areas of distinct military establishments with the cooperation of the military and

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<sup>4</sup> About the *Revista da Editora do Brasil*, see Braghini (2015). The testimonies were taken from the following collections: *História da UNE. Volume 1: depoimentos de ex-dirigentes; Rebeldes e Contestadores – 1968: Brasil, França, Alemanha; Pela democracia e contra o arbítrio. A posição democrática, do golpe de 1964 à campanha das Diretas Já*. There are excerpts from the book *1968, o ano que não terminou – A aventura de uma geração* by Zuenir Ventura; as well as the famous «O que é isso companheiro?» by Fernando Gabeira. Some testimonies were also taken from the project *Memórias Reveladas*, available in: <http://www.memoriasreveladas.arquivonacional.gov.br>, and the project *Memória, Política e Resistência* of the *Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (APESP)*, available in: <http://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/memoriapolitica/>. Finally, I used analyses and testimonies collected personally on spot in lectures and symposiums.

<sup>5</sup> *Comissão Nacional da Verdade* (CNV) was established by the Brazilian government through the law 12528/2011 and investigated the violation of human rights in the country between 1946 and 1988. The members of the commission were nominated by the military of Brazilian president Dilma Vana Rousseff, who was herself arrested, tortured, and imprisoned for 3 years by the military of *Operação Bandeirante (OBAN)* and later by *Departamento de Ordem Política e Social (DOPS)*.

the police; the use and exchange of information between intelligence bureaus; the assembly and permanent work of teams of search, investigation, interrogation, as well as actions by civilians, politicians, parties, associations, research institutes, businessmen, bankers, newspapers, etc., who supported, financed, denounced, and fomented a series of atrocities (CNV, 2014, p. 28)<sup>6</sup>.

At the same time, there seems to be, in society and in the current government, no mobilization that dismantles the shock of memories, regarding the accountability with our own history. We know that the field of memory is a place of conflict, where there is a struggle between those who want to register and create a tradition that does not allow that the crimes of the State and part of civil society are forgotten, against those who think about the progress of history and the oblivion of the past. We see the insurgence of protofascist movements that, when ignoring or not knowing the global processes of planning and functioning of repression, and not being consistent towards the type of memory they need to build, ask for the return of the militaries to power. Thus, they certify, through the current analytical relativism, their certainties by saying that the history of Brazilian military dictatorship can be retold based on a lie.

This article does not refute the heroism of the students' political actions in Brazil. Among the documents, we see the systematic vigilance done by the Armed Forces and the *Serviço Nacional de Informação* (SNI- National Information System); by special task police operations headed mainly by *Departamento de Ordem Política e Social* (DOPS- Department of Political and Social Order), on the trail of those young people. There are reports of tortures, suicides, subordination, disappearances, and death<sup>7</sup>

Marcelo Ridenti (*apud* CV-SP, 2014, pp. 14-15) affirms the great presence of left-wing students in general, out of the 3,698 persecuted 906 were students, i.e. 24.5%. Particularly among those who took guns: among the 1,897 accusations, 583 were students, 30.7% of the total. According to this researcher the data refers to organizations that acted since before 1964, showing that the proportional weight of students was weak, when confronted with the weight they would take in the armed groups in the following years. We could perceive there was a stronger student movement right before and after the decree of *Ato Institucional* nº 5 (AI-5).

The proportion of students in armed organizations was around 30%, the same proportion of those in groups that did not immediately participated in the armed fights, such as *Ação Popular* (AP) (30,1%) and the *Organização Revolucionária Marxista Política Operária* (POLOP) (26,2%). In the case of *Comando de Libertação Nacional* (COLINA) the percentage was 51% (26 prosecuted), as it was an organization typically made up of students. In the *Movimento Revolucionário 8 de Outubro* (MR-

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<sup>6</sup> CNV, 2014, p. 28, volume 3 and CNV, 2014, volume 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Departamento de Ordem Política e Social* (DOPS) was founded December 30th, 1924 and extinguished March 4th, 1983. The Brazilian government agency was initially created to discipline and secure the «public order» repressing the so-called political and social crimes. During the military dictatorship it persecuted, arrested, tortured, and killed any person who could be identified with left-wing politics. The *Serviço Nacional de Informações* (SNI) was created by the law number 4.341 in June 13th, 1964 aiming to coordinate the activities of information and counterintelligence, in Brazil and abroad, but especially targeting the «internal enemy». It produced information on the main political, student, urban and rural leaders of the country.

8) the percentage was 49,3% (out of the 150 prosecuted with a defined occupation, 74 were students).

The unveiling of new documents on the student movement shows the existence of a moral energy, that we can call courage, as it acts faced by danger. Finally, we are talking about some triggers of this courage and ways to act created by the students themselves, that is, in the name of a fight, they had a political, but also student-like and youthful, experience during their persecuted and under-threat action.

## **2. A shared attachment by the «causes»: political, social, educational**

There are various explanations on student mobilization worldwide. In a broader work on the international wave of student demonstrations, Groppo (2000, pp. 675-676) says that, amid the bipolarization of the Cold War, the youngsters saw slits of participation that, up to that point, were delegitimize by traditional political actions. The idea of globalization took place due to a wider process of global communication, represented by the media, the inter-university communications, the cultural industry, and propaganda. The author warns that the idea of «globalization» shows a large diversity of youth contestations, with regional interests, but can also be explained by an «atmosphere» that creates a confluence of movements against the establishment.

Brazilian students were in synch with activist students from all around the world, as they were acting through «freedom ideals» with some common elements:

insertion in an international context of economic prosperity; crisis of the school system; rise of an aesthetic of uprising and revolution; a search to broaden the systems of political participation, increasingly discredited; sympathy towards revolutionary proposals alternative to the soviet marxism; refusal of colonial and imperialist wars; denial of a consumerist society; approximation of art and politics; use of civil disobedience; desire of personal freedom from the systems (capitalist or communist); behavioral changes; straight connection between broad social fights and people's immediate problems; appearance of precursor aspects of pacifism, ecology, anti-psychiatry, feminism, homosexual movements, ethnic minorities, and others that would develop in the following years (Ridenti, 2001, p. 14).

Coggiola (2018, no page.), disagrees with the idea of economic prosperity, saying that the fight of the student movements were not disconnected to the workers' mobilization, shaken by the global capitalist crisis of the post-war, which had in the French May 1968 its epicenter: «The French May created a revolutionary condition by putting power at risk. It was far from been only a cultural phenomenon».

In the French case, the union leaders organized mass occupations in factories. According to the author, the political crisis was associated with and economic one which, since May 1968, deteriorated French industry, accelerated inflation, and accentuated the deficit in the trade balance. The workers' revindication was associated with the students' who, in March 1968, occupied the University of Nanterre Paris X with anti-imperialistic slongans against the Vietnam war, and for student organization, and university reform.

In the text «The Spectre of Revolution» English historian Tony Judt (2007) says that after the demographic boom post- WWII, one could see, among other things related to the lives of young Europeans, a rising discontent immediately connected to problems from their experiences in schooling spaces. Most Europeans, until the 1960s, have never entered in a high school. However, after that moment, there was an overcrowding in the universities.

These institutions, by late 1960s, were taken by students; classrooms, libraries, cafeterias, dorms, etc., and the «quality of academic experience» did not follow the rhythm of students' demands. The biggest problem faced by the European leaders was «not how to feed, clothe, shelter, or employ an increasing number of youngsters, but how to educate them», such social phenomenon highlighted the general lack of preparation of those institutions to receive this contingent of youngsters searching for higher education (Judt, 2007, p. 50).

In France, the number of young people between the ages of 16 and 24 reached 8 million, i.e.16% of the population. In the same country, in 1950, there were 32 thousand *bacheliers*, those with a high school diploma, in 1970 they were 20% of the youngsters. In the 1950s, West Germany had 108 thousand students in the university. By the late 1960s this number reached the 400 thousand. In Italy, the system of fixed quotas and the entrance exam were abolished, so entering in the university became a right. In the 1950s, one in each 20 Italian students was in the university. 20 years later the proportion was 1 in each 7 students (Judt, 2007, pp. 49-50).

In Latin America, Huerta (2018, p. 50) shows that in the cases of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Uruguay, the students chased an increasing political participation, considering it a democratic action, even if an action conditioned by the structural poverty in the region and the political instability, fruit of the constant intervention plans of the United States. Besides this, the reformist terms of the Second Vatican Council and the Liberation Theology whose perspectives, contrary to the socioeconomic elitism, stimulated the defense of the poorer people in society. The author also highlights the «discrepancy of the higher education institutions and the appearance of critical ways and styles of socialization and the extension of cultures on the margin of the institutions» (Hernández Huerta, 2018, p. 50).

Up until 1968 there was a progressive advancement of left-wing forces in the student movement that increased by the hardening of political repression, accentuating the mass fights, pointing to the rise of left-wing forces that ended up expressing themselves faced by «students' dissatisfaction against political exclusion» (Martins Filho, 1987, p. 105). Between 1964 and 1967 there is an increase in student manifestations using space occupation practices, such as: student strikes, street demonstrations, public events, setting camps, cafeteria occupation, rallies, student congresses, assemblies, encircle the universities, confront with the police, themed seminars, etc. (Martins Filho, 1987, pp. 105-109).

In fact, the idea that the academic quality of the universities did not follow the flow and the demand of the students for more courses, coinciding with those «critical styles of socialization», is clearly marked in a student problem: the drama of «surplus», which detonated the increasing wave of demonstrations through the 1960s, and more clearly in 1968.

In Brazil, in the late 1960s it was possible to see the issue of university overpopulation, as a school phenomenon, through the history of «surplus» students. Surplus students were the candidates that reached the average in the entrance exams, but could not enroll in the university because the number of candidates approved was higher than the number of available places. Often, youth demonstrations were directly connected to this «bottleneck situation» in the schooling trajectory: there were youngsters looking for a higher education, they reached the average grade demanded by the exams but, finally, because of the lack of places, they could not reach their desired position. This created a general discontentment, but that was unfairly labeled as part of «subversive» and «communist» demonstrations. Unfair, because it was a struggle for already established rights (Braghini, 2014, p. 125).

In Brazil, in 1956 the total of enrollments in higher education was 78,659. In the early 60s it was already 95,691, an increase of 21.65%. Even so, in 1967 there were only 160 thousand students enrolled in universities, what would represent less than 2% of people between 19 and 25 years old. Even with less than 2% of youngsters in the university, the possibility of a continuation of the studies was not guaranteed, as the educational structure itself did not provide easy paths to do so. On one hand, there was the obstacle to maintain the place, even when approved in the entrance exam; on the other, the university could not necessarily receive all the students (Braghini, 2014, pp. 127 and 130).

Not by chance, the main newspapers of the capitals, mainly Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, showed a change on the characteristics of student movements close to 1968: the students were more rebellious, violent, and unsettled during the manifestations. This idea was also connected to the age cohorts from high school that were, more and more, barred from the university and started to claim for their places so as to continue their education (Braghini, 2014, p. 139). Groppo (2007, p. 235), Dirceu (1999, p. 89), Sirkis (1999, pp. 112-114), Ventura (1988, p. 45), and Gabeira (1979, pp. 81-82) show evidences that in 1968, during the period of a new student rise, the active presence of high-school student and the presence of even younger peers made the manifestations even more dynamic.

### 3. The case of Brazilian students and the clash between realities

The student movement was going through a new moment, followed by the circulation of a «new left» established in the period after the military coup by the dissolution of the *Partido Comunista Brasileiro* (PCB- Brazilian Communist Party), the repression, and the siege of progressive forces. To Groppo (2007), «those who had started [the student fight] in 1963, 1964, saw themselves suddenly responsible for its direction» and in «the organizations and parties of the new left, the average age was frequently 20, 22 years old. Those who were 25 were considered senior members» (Groppo, 2007, p. 235).

The marches, strikes, university occupations were generalized, making 1968 an important period in History. According to Coggiola (2018, s.n.):

[...] Rio de Janeiro was the main stage of the «100 thousand Rally» in June 26th: students, intellectuals, artists, religious and popular figures went to the

streets to protest against dictatorship and police repression. The government did not forbid the march because of public pressure. Right after, the military started their counterattack against workers, teachers, students, congressmen, journalists, and artists who opposed the regime. In July, under the paramilitary coverage of *Comando de Caça aos Comunistas (CCC)*, they invaded and hit actors of the play *Roda Viva* by Chico Buarque, directed by Zé Celso Martinez Correa, and destroyed the student occupation on the *Faculdade de Filosofia Universidade de São Paulo*, on the street *Maria Antonia* (with one fatal victim). In August, they invaded the campus of *Universidade de Brasília* to terrorize professors and students in a joint operation of the repressive forces (Military Police, *DOPS*, Federal Police, Army and the *SNI* Police). In October, they invaded the *30º Congresso da União Nacional dos Estudantes (UNE)* and arrested all the leaders in Ibiúna, in the state of São Paulo. In December, they gave the final blow with the decree of *Ato Institucional nº 5*, that mark the «lead years». Many students went to the clandestine militancy, assembling left-wing organizations and armed fight, which started their first actions in 1968, intensified in the following years (Coggiola, 2018, s.n).

What we see in Brazil is a general attachment of students to causes, be them student, political, or social. We see student mobilizations in favor of democratic freedom in gigantic marches; the defense of universities against offensive and terrorizing governmental practices; actions of civil insubordination against government arbitrariness. The military incited a counter-offensive against students, artists, professors, etc., with local orchestrated actions so as to put an end to those movements, often with the support of paramilitary youth groups.

At the time, a well-known conservative journalist Gustavo Corção believed that a young person attached to the great political causes had a mental deviation. According to him, the worry with the «great causes» or the means to reach them (e.g.: through a socialist revolution, the formation of a revolutionary consciousness among the workers through student guidance, the idea of a «student vanguard» that would mobilized the other social groups to take power, etc.) represented an action in the void. They were actions taken by pointless students, precocious subjects, tamed in the name of a «future synchronization of gestures and yells in the squares of the desired Brazilian Socialist Republic» (EBSA, 1966, pp. 42-43)<sup>8</sup>.

In fact, the idea of gesture synchronization was not totally wrong, as, even visually, it was a group action in the sense that students were seen as having a common manifest, even if there was a broad discussion on what should be their role as a social category. There was a battle of positions and representations around the «analysis of fundamentally student issues».

On one hand, we see daily newspapers such as *O Estado de S.Paulo* (1964, p. 58) reinforcing the idea that student issues concern the qualifications of a student as a subject that receives knowledge, placing their active political participation as a «mystifying vision of things». Under this perspective we clearly see the perpetuation

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<sup>8</sup> Transcribed from *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, August 07th, 1962.

of an idea of formation of specialized structures, who would reach the political world through schooling, the classic model of «leading personalities».

However, Professor Álvaro Vieira Pinto, who was called to testify in the *Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito da União Nacional dos Estudantes* (CPI da UNE – 1964), saw the student issue, the effort of the category to take the university out of its alienation, as a space to form the dominant classes, to transform itself in the vanguard of rising social forces, such as the urban and rural workers. The way to understand the student was to let him/her in a crossroad: or he/she was aligned to the «leading classes» to become their «partner» in the future or he/she was a «militant member of the working classes» (Pinto, 1997, p. 61). In this case, we see the transposition of the idea of «leading personalities» by a left turn, as it started to think the student as «vanguard».

Even the student movement, considering here UNE actions, went through the same discussions on the «student issue». Students should be in action by participating in assemblies, university actions, demonstrations, and thinking about higher education, or participating of national campaigns such as *Campanhas da Legalidade*, *Campanha «De Pé no Chão Também se Aprende a Ler»* and the *Centros Populares de Cultura* (CPC's). Causes that follow partisan fronts, in the sense of having an «internal» (related to the university/school) or «external» (regarding to the revolution, macro politics, etc.) action.

However, the construction of such synchronization by part of the youngsters seemed to have another meaning. What the journalist Gustavo Corção pointed out as been «emotional taming» and «synchronization of gestures and yells» to the youngsters was a moment of youthful sharing amid their fighting causes. To be in front of photos, articles on the news papers and the TV which showed people with a similar age fighting in revolutions, hearing stories and theories of revolutionary projects were relevant activities to those young students (Braghini, 2014, p. 141).

The attachment to utopias was not a mental deviation. It is, nonetheless, the result of a lack of educational policies and management of the educational system, as the «official» alternatives (reach higher education and have a career) were not easily accessible. An example of this discussion about what path to take in life, resulted in the dramatic «deviation» of life: the choice for the armed fight. This type of choice was mentioned, directly or indirectly, on the papers as a true detour from normalcy.

If, at first, the armed fight was not directly connected to the school world, it was possible to notice that, as a life trajectory, it appeared as a possible alternative to some youngsters. To stop being a student, by choice, was a way to follow their lives. We should consider that, in 1968, to some of them simply to be a student already meant to be a chasen, and in many cases, despised citizen (Braghini, 2015, p. 131).

#### **4. The fascination of mobilized students by young revolutionary icons**

The search to broaden the participation system, to find alternative political expressions, the sympathy for revolutionary ideas, especially faced by real perspectives of independence fights (Algeria, Kenya, Senegal, etc.) and victorious guerrillas, denote among students an utopian view of society.

In Brazil, at the same time, it ended up reinforcing an «anti communist» attitude by a part of some social segments which became the main expression of youth persecution. In this anti communist ideals of the Armed forces, the military could anticipate a preventive attack against subversion. Martins Filho (2007) warned that, at the time, the *Doutrina de Segurança Nacional (DSN)* was founded under the principle of revolutionary war aimed to beat the «directed ideological fight», trying to perceive the «internal enemy» (Martins Filho, 2007, pp. 3-4). The idea was that the population, as well as the Army, could foresee the steps of a communist advance in the country and protect themselves against the enemy (Martins Filho, 2007, p. 11).

Besides creating a wary and fearful society, at the time to be considered subversive meant many different things. In the city of Rio de Janeiro, the schools detected subversion in boys with long hair, «beard and moustache», «bell-bottom pants, bracelets, necklaces, and other characteristically feminine jewelry», «out of place». In São Paulo, in two different schools the principals detected the deviation of the girls by the «modesty of the clothes» (Braghini, 2015, p. 177).

There was an aesthetic dispute that generated a social contrariety by affective, symbolic, or real bonds of the younger ones with others from their own age group. Guided by the logic that, depending on certain evidences – clothing, attitudes in the groups, position in the university hierarchy – there was a spread of distrust of young groups and, among those, the students' attractions for the leaders of the Cuban Revolution: Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara.

The attraction for the revolution has an explanation on the political tendencies within the *Partido Comunista Brasileiro (PCB)*. The idea of a revolution was already in the air of the Brazilian left since the Cuban Revolution (1959) and the positioning for the armed fight was real in the student body that acted as a more progressive front. We can see that the groups influenced by Trotsky's and Mao's ideas and the *Ação Popular*, through the Catholic left, had increasingly more radical answers to the regime repression. The urban and rural guerrillas, the armed fight, the proletarian revolution, the popular revolution, the people's spring, etc. were not distant historical possibilities. To these groups the island of Cuba was a real feat in the consolidation of the theory with a revolutionary focus, that relied on weapons when faced traditional partisan ways. We can not say that UNE was the only highlight as a student agitator of 1968, as there was the decisive work of the chapters and academic centers in the cities and states. However, since the early 1960s the institution lives with the idea of armed fights in their debates and it is known that the student movement became the cradle of armed fighters. The idea of an armed society was not a distant reality neither for the left nor the right wing<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> A To illustrate, we show the information of the *VI Congresso do PCB* and the divisions that radicalized the fight through the use guns: 1) *Aliança Nacional Libertadora*, with Carlos Marighella (10 thousand members); 2) *Partido Comunista Brasileiro Revolucionário (PCBR)*, with Jacob Gorender and Mário Alves (5 thousand members). *Dissidências ativas* (late 1960 and early 1970), we can also talk about *Marx, Mao, Marighella e Guevara (M3G)*; *Frente de Libertação do Nordeste (FLNE)*, from the *ALN*, the *Corrente Revolucionária de Minas Gerais*, the *Tendência Leninista* (from which they would form the *Movimento de Libertação Popular, MOLIPO*) and the *Dissidências comunistas universitárias da Guanabara* (that would originate the *Movimento Revolucionário 8 de Outubro, MR-8*) of Niterói, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul (Groppo, 2007, pp. 234-235).

Even if there is an explanation for the political tendencies for a revolutionary front, this does not erase the fact that the two Cuban revolutionaries, maybe especially Che Guevara, received by the press the status of revolutionary icons, even if with a negative spotlight, creating an irresistible factor for youthful attachment. As shown by Cruz (2008) and Gabeira (1979) to see other famous people around the same age at the newspapers and magazines was a dynamo for their own action.

Cruz fantasized about becoming a guerrilla fighter because he saw Che Guevara and Fidel Castro taking over the city of Havana. Seeing them in the magazines and paper was motivational, especially when noticing that both were young. To the then high schooler, the idea that the revolution was «everywhere» guided «the imagination of all»: the youngsters, those who took the power in Brazil, and the military. According to his testimony «it was not a coincidence that the idea of a revolution hovered over teens' minds». Organize a revolution was part of a common culture in front of which nobody was immune, not even those who had taken the power in Brazil. To open the magazines and see young people printed on them, fighting for fair causes, was highly motivational for his own determination to join the movement (Cruz, 2008, no page)<sup>10</sup>.

Fernando Gabeira, a militant and member of urban guerrilla, says that the armed fight became his dream after the decree of AI-5 because it rested on the guerrilla fighter the myth and the heroic qualities. The description of «young people with nerves of steel; blondes that took machine guns out of their colorful capes» stimulated the imagination (Gabeira, 1979, pp. 86-87).

At that time, Gabeira, an employee of *Jornal do Brasil*, was 27 years old, and considered himself old faced by the new people that joined the clandestine fight, almost teenagers arriving from high school (Gabeira, 1979, p. 52). He believed that the circulation of information given by newspapers and magazines on the active guerrilla students stimulated the juvenile «fantasies». There was a «particular mythology» that gave those who took weapons «all the qualities in the world». To be part of the armed fight meant to reach a degree of prestige, a symbol of distinction among the youngsters. To leave his job and join the movement became a goal in his life (Gabeira, 1979, pp. 86-87).

Sirkis (1999, pp. 112-114), a student that at the time, affirmed that his «turning point» and choice for clandestinity took place in 1968 when he was 18 years old, at the end of high school, right after the decree of AI-5. According to him, other students, like himself, did the same.

In a testimony Vera Sílvia Magalhães<sup>11</sup>, militant on the *Frente de Trabalho Armado da Dissidência Comunista* later known as MR-8, says that the armed actions

<sup>10</sup> Testimony given by Professor Sebastião Carlos Velasco e Cruz- Sociology Unicamp during the *IV Semana de Ciências Sociais: 68 – 40 anos*, held in the *Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciência Humanas (FFLCH/USP)* between May 12th and 16th 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Vera Sílvia Magalhães participate of the kidnapping of the American ambassador Charles Elbrick. The 21-year-old woman planned the action, acted directly in the kidnapping, and gave cover in all the phases of the plan. The ambassador was kidnapped in September 1969 by the *Dissidência Comunista da Guanabara*, that would later be called by Daniel Aarão Reis, another leader, as *Movimento Revolucionário 08 de Outubro – MR-8*. The group, together with *Ação Libertadora Nacional (ALN)*, headed by Carlos Marighella, denounced in a letter the crimes of Brazilian military

had to be done considering «the cause» and that, faced by the authoritarianism of the regime, it was impossible not to do so. The examples of the socialist countries taken by fight, hover over her testimony:

We wanted to build our dream. And a possibility. Many countries had become socialists. We could have an authoritarian project, of an isolated guerilla, not connected to the masses. But, actually, we did more armed actions than guerrillas. I say that I am a former militant of a cause, not a guerilla fighter. I held weapons, not because I liked them, but because it had to be done (SALEM, 1997, pp. 61-70)<sup>12</sup>.

At the time, two adults expressed their opinions on the phenomenon that seemed to assemble young people from all over the world, given explanations based on the youthful progressive character of their actions.

Octavio Ianni, in his book *O jovem radical* (The young radical) points to this youth modern fight that faces the contradictions, as a characteristic of this age group that struggles with its own present. The possibility of a revolutionary behavior is not dismissed, because he is faced by the lack of possibilities in the job market, in his education towards a career, rupturing with the life possibilities taken as common. He says that this part of the population have a profound participation in the capitalist world and sees itself in the mirror in front of the youth leaders, creating incompatible actions with the members of their own social class (Ianni, 1963, pp. 225-226).

About his trip to Cuba, the philosopher Jean Paul Sartre presented an interpretation about the power change, from the children faced by the parents, the youth faced by the old, and a new enthusiasm:

The youth had nothing to lose: it saw the older ones get comfortable with tyranny and thought: «They are resigned towards our misfortunes...». It was the same thing for these *enfant terribles*, to rebel against a dictatorial regime and against the alienation of those who had allowed, through their passiveness, it to happen and to continue; to reduce to dust the mercenary army and force the older ones to abdicate. In this curious adventure, the cities were liberated by the rural areas and the parents by their children (Sartre, 1960, p. 116).

However, as we will see later, the revolutionary leaders of a generation were not the only responsible agents to potentialize the youth wave in search of a cause. To Franklin Martins, another student leader, part of his job was to produce cultural and political magazines to high-school student in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

His testimony clearly shows how the feeling of resistance to the dictatorship caused his enthusiasm and those of «many young people», through this share of wishes the notion of a real «tangible» change was built. According to him «we did everything to assemble the students and make them act». This «make everything»

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dictatorship and demanded the freedom of 15 political prisoners that should be taken abroad to Chile, Mexico, or Algeria, so as to demand political asylum.

<sup>12</sup> Originally published in O Estado de S.Paulo, May 1st, 1997

was concentrated in the following actions: secretly study Marxist ideas and Brazilian reality during the weekends; to «keep the authorities busy»; articulate student strikes and quick rallies; occupation of schools; street demonstrations; police confrontations<sup>13</sup>.

## 5. To be a student is to «keep the authorities busy»: occupations, images, slogans, printed material

As said before, to Franklin Martins the idea of a Revolution, a real change of reality, was not that far away<sup>14</sup>. This was not a list of practices that were restricted to the large urban centers, such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

*Correio do Ceará*, for instance, wrote that the higher education students had organized a rally in front of a school causing a commotion amongst the adults because of the entrance of university students in a high school<sup>15</sup>. According to the article, the age group was characterized by a «susceptibility» that would take over by the contact with the university students, making them wanting to participate in the demonstrations (EBSA, 1970, pp. 66-67).

The specialized bibliography (documents, newspapers, weekly papers, and news clippings) clearly portray the hassle caused by student mobilization, from the transportation problems, the traffic flow in the cities, the agitation, the disorder, the noise, the feeling of danger, the street confrontations, student strikes, university occupations, etc. This leads a great part of the population to not only buy the idea that the students were «useless», «mama's boys», «bums», and all sorts of curses, but also consider them a synonym of danger, even before they were systematically labeled as «subversive» or «communists» (Braghini, 2015, pp. 99, 127, 138).

Beyond keeping the authorities busy, there was a more internal daily issue: the discussion the plan of «school culture» seen as a sort of territory to conquer, socially felt as a surprise due to its innovative character of manifestation.

First, the debate was on the «student» as a social category that could go on a strike, regarding the demonstrations of school and university occupation. It was questioned if the students stopping to attend the classes was indeed a strike. The issue of the «occupations» ignited a long discussion as it dealt with space management problems and if, in the end, the student was already a «political being»; If the students could discuss politics outside the classroom; if politics was to be done inside or outside the university; if outside, what was the desirable and socially acceptable attitude, etc.. We should notice that the young people from the United States, France, Japan, and Germany also used such practices, as invented traditions created, in the emersion of an irreverent way to use the school spaces.

The former professor Emília Viotti da Costa, for example, affirmed that, when she was a student at *Universidade de São Paulo (USP)*, one would not talk about

<sup>13</sup> To know more see: [http://www.franklinmartins.com.br/de\\_frente\\_e\\_perfil.php](http://www.franklinmartins.com.br/de_frente_e_perfil.php) Accessed January 9th, 2010.

<sup>14</sup> To know more see: [http://www.franklinmartins.com.br/de\\_frente\\_e\\_perfil.php](http://www.franklinmartins.com.br/de_frente_e_perfil.php) Accessed January 9th, 2010.

<sup>15</sup> Transcribed from *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza, November 09th, 1970.

politics in the classroom because «there was a well-defined separation between the political and the academic worlds». To talk about politics in the classroom was to talk about Plato. This perspective contrasts with the one of José Dirceu, a militant student at the time. He affirmed that his entrance in the movement was straightly connected to the university because there was a sharing about a «fairer society» and that, been far from the parents, such experience was decisive to take a position in life (Dirceu, 1999, p. 83). He talks about the university in general terms, but guides our look to different frontiers established on what was a political manifest within the institution. He analyzes that the Brazilian student movement got a revolutionary character when there was an international massive mobilization and that this effervescence gave an «universal character to the student movement» (Dirceu, 1999, p. 87).

An exemplary case to explain how problematic was the students' positioning against their own school took place when, in 1962, the *União Nacional dos Estudantes (UNE)* took legal action in the *Conselho Federal de Educação (CFE)*, in favor of two students from *Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-RJ)*, Alcir Henrique da Costa and Ailton Henrique da Costa. Both were going through an expulsion process because they would have graffitied some city walls with slogans asking for the return to legality of the *Partido Comunista Brasileiro (PCB)*. According to the university council this was a serious fault.

In the Report Number 377/1962 discussing the case, Almeida Júnior, an advisor of CFE, indicated that there were 1,950 similar cases in the agency (EBSA, 1962, n. 177, p. 22). In this case, the action of the students outside the institution had repercussions within it. They expected young people to be the moral extension of what was taught in the university, as this would determine the «prestige» of the institution. To register mottoes on the walls was not seen as a political act but as depredation (Braghini, 2015, pp. 108-109).

*Slogans*, to some, buzzwords to others, the mottoes and catchphrases are indisputable proofs of this generation desires. Coggiola (2018) and Atman (2018) analyze the call for *slogans* and graffiti as seductive motivations and indications of «being young» at a time<sup>16</sup>. Phrase such as: «Forbidden to forbid»<sup>17</sup>; «UNE is us, UNE is our voice»<sup>18</sup>; «You, explored, don't stand still» (chanted in the Hundred Thousand Demonstration, June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1968) etc., were their calls, often accused of

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<sup>16</sup> Osvaldo Coggiola and Breno Altman (2018) reinforced the eloquence of the slogans and graffiti as a way of global communication that reach the Latin American students by flyers or mimeographed copies as a type of didactic list ( *Simpósio 50 anos de Maio de 1968. A Era de todas as viradas. Departamento de História (FFLCH) in Universidade de São Paulo - 6 a 8 de junho de 2018.*) Professor Osvaldo Coggiola is, himself, a former militant, who was expelled from *Universidade Nacional de Córdoba*, and all other universities in Argentina, by the *Decreto Militar* nº 971, June 1976, under military intervention.

<sup>17</sup> Phrase used during the demonstrations of Nanterre students during the conflicts in Sorbonne in May 1968, gaining a global proeminence. In Brazil, it was the title of a Caetano Veloso song who played together with the group Mutantes during the *III Festival Internacional da Canção (FIC)* promoted by *Rede Globo* in São Paulo, September 15th 1968, in *Teatro da PUC-SP* (Tuca).

<sup>18</sup> Used during the Congress of UNE in Ibiúna – São Paulo, 1968. The phrase was chanted again in 1979 in the *Congresso da Reconstrução da UNE* in Salvador.

been «propagandist», with poor language, aphasia, «commercialization of senses» (Braghini, 2015, pp. 179 and 324).

It is not difficult to find «confidential» documents done by informers showing students' actions in the Academic centers in which they indicate the graffiti and mottoes as subversion indicators. In a document sent to the Air Force Ministry, one of these spies (informally called «arapongas» in Portuguese) reports about the grief surrounding the death of the student Edson Luiz, inside the *Instituto Tecnológico de Aeronáutica (ITA)*, when the students took the streets of Taubaté protesting, distributing flyers, yelling «buzzwords» such as «murderers», and the phrase «Down with dictatorship» was graffitied<sup>19</sup>.

To graffiti and create pamphlets were two central activities of the student movement, according to Palmar: «we would organize the graffiti against dictatorship, articulate news on the murals, and the mimeographed ones in the schools, among many other activities. Even so, we had time left for internal discussions, to try to find a way to revolution» (Palmar, 2011, p. 138). Even so, faced by the hardening imposed by AI-5, which forced a decrease in the student movement, the pamphlets and graffiti continued as consolidated actions; «I started my militancy in a historical and dialectical materialism study group and, after, in a group to distribute pamphlets and graffiti with mottoes like, for instance “Hit the snitches”» (Lopez, 2011, p. 415).

The short messages made that moment in a such a way that they were transformed into other calls, mixed with other desire:

Many female militants declared their love for Zé Dirceu that, with his long poet hair, was the most handsome guy that circulated on that street, that went up and down those stairs, made speeches, and kindled our rebellion against the dictatorship. Declarations such as «Zé Dirceu, I love you», «Zé Dirceu, love of my love» lived peacefully at that time with «Down with dictatorship», «Out jarheads» and «Viva Che».

And more, I confess. We were the first ones in Brazil to graffiti, what many condemn today. The difference was that our graffiti translated our concerns with the difficult moment the country was going through, very differently from nowadays (Fasanaro, 2011, p. 192).

To know and use the «language of the people» by the youth was something to be acknowledged. Fernando Gabeira, in another context, says that the manifest created by the students after the kidnapping of Charles Burke Elbrick was an attempt «although not well-planned, to distance itself from the old discourse of the left» and the «pompous speeches that didn't attract anyone» (Gabeira, 1979, p. 114). Vladmir Palmeira noted that the «elaborate language» of the old leaders pre-1964 was «a disgrace», because they wanted to create a «literary adventure» which started with «Camões and ended up with Vinícius de Moraes» (Palmeira, 1999, p. 117).

This sharing of wills, condensed in the real impression that the revolution was near, repercutated among the students by word of mouth, but also through the simultaneous circulation of documents produced by them, pamphlets, calls to fight,

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<sup>19</sup> Confidential document – Air Force and Information Ministry 001/Info. (April 04th, 1968).

so that they viewed themselves as the leading actors of this story. At the same time, they also the «do it all» to call the attention of the other youngsters was related to the direct recruiting, a one-on-one approach through an easy synthetic speech.

As Franklin Martins informed us, there was a common literary repertoire of this generation, a certain type of schematic reading among the student-readers and their audience, discussed in study groups, lectures, seminars, in the dorms, and bars. It was a repertoire for an ideological war or to create debate with the full professors (Cruz, 2007, p. 107).

According to Ventura (1988), Marx, Marcuse, Freud were in the list of books read. Besides them, there were: Mao, Guevara, Debray, Lukács, Gramsci, James Joyce, Herman Hesse, and Norman Mailer. Among Brazilian writers, there were Caio Prado Jr. with his *A Revolução Brasileira*, Celso Furtado, *Um Projeto para o Brasil*, Luis Carlos Bresser Pereira, *Desenvolvimento e Crise no Brasil* (Ventura, 1988, p. 54).

The author also admits a student preference for books that gave a «practical contribution to the revolutionary pedagogy», in this case, there were Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution*, Mao's thoughts, *The Diaries of Guevara* and, Vietnam according to Giap, de Vo Nguyen Giap (Ventura, 1988, pp. 54-55). It was common the «practical use» of books without a concern to deepen the theory (Sirkis, 1999, p. 115; Weber, 1999, p. 39; Ventura, 1988, p. 55).

There was an excellent alibi to this schematic reading method given by another book: *The Open Work* by Umberto Eco. According to the journalist the content of this book gave the reception of a work the autonomy towards the emission, making it an intentional act, gearing the possibility to remove the senses, meanings, and messages that were «not always seen by the author himself», in this context «it was less important do read Marcuse than to read him» (Ventura, 1988, p. 59). There were still alienated university students who did not know, for example the agreement MEC-USAID<sup>20</sup>, but that used to go to the manifestations because they «heard about it» (Braghini, 2014, p. 318).

Even the autonomous attitude of the student, by personal curiosity, could not be dismissed. Cruz (2007), for instance, reports that he was interested by the *Obras Escolhidas* (Marx e Engels), bought in a second-hand bookshop, to share it indirectly with «History and Geography teachers that I had started to frequently question in the classroom». According to him, finding this «truth» was a source of personal satisfaction (Cruz, 2007, p. 107)<sup>21</sup>.

About his time to study, Ventura (1998) said «adding up the time spent in the assemblies with the hours in demonstrations, the students of that time had little availability to study». By this point of view, politics took over the time and acted in the

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<sup>20</sup> The agreements MEC-USAID were established between Brazilian Ministry of Education and the United States Agency for International Development. They were strongly opposed by Brazilian students through demonstrations, rallies, congresses, etc. They were implemented by the law 5.540/68. According to Rossi (2018) the agreements can be understood in a more complex way as, in certain ways, it was not even implemented. Besides this, it was not necessarily a bilateral aid, as there were terms in which it was dealt as a loan (2018, p.90).

<sup>21</sup> The testimonies of Alfredo Sirkis, Henri Weber and Sebastião Velasco were published in Garcia & Vieira (1999).

school environment. About his time to do politics, he says «more than making love, more than working, more than reading, we did politics»: politics, to that group, «was in vogue» (Ventura, 1988, p. 83).

## 6. Final remarks

To explain the student movement through its political activity, as well as its subversion aspect, as its sole experience had become a «common place» in History. However, those are attributes that exclude other peculiarities of the students' actions in that time. A possible hypothesis is that it was not well-defined what the students meant by «do politics» and how the political action of the student movement, a street politics with an immediate, almost propagandist, language, was their own resignification of the practice as a social category with objective barriers to their trajectory of life and, faced by them, sees the rebellious political fight, seen by the conservative as «eccentric», as the only way to give meaning to their time.

This sharing of revolutionary dreams was also fed by the press, which had a complex portrayal of the youngsters, sometimes contesting them, others praising, others publicizing a lifestyle, and selling a behavior. This led some students to search for a cause in life.

The documents show that the stimuli towards the student movement happened by many, some mundane, reasons: a) seeing the photos of young revolutionary icons printed on magazine articles; the study and sharing of revolutionary theories among students through a revolutionary cannon; b) the testimonies, the «hearsay» of great youth actions registered in mass media articles about the street manifestations, gigantic demonstrations, quick rallies, graffiti, slogans, bank robberies, etc..

The idea of revolution as a tactic to transform the structures hovered over young people's minds. It was not a simple illusion, there was material proof of a revolution, shown in print with photos and testimonies of a world revolutionized by youngsters. This makes us think that more than actually being a revolutionary, they desired to be one: to be a student, to be in the student vanguard, to be a revolutionary, were representations that connected those young people and became a possible life alternative.

It is likely that these theories were themes in the classrooms and, even if indirectly, politics became a topic of discussion between teachers and students. However, what is certain is that politics, as a discussion topic or as a reason to act, was preferably debated in school environments and spaces of student circulation, outside the institutions.

There was not necessarily an interest to deepen the theory proposed by the books. To be political was to act, beyond the political formation. It was stimulating to talk about it, use it as a talking point, materialize it through the graffiti on the walls, pamphlets, slogans, etc.

According our analysis here, the youngsters established a type of autophagic culture in which they were the ones stimulating behaviors, literature, themes that interested the media, but also the consumers of the goods produced by the same tendencies. The media started to focus on young people: they were its favorite themes exactly because their actions reperceded in the media itself. The synchronicity, to see

a reality today in a vast horizon of actions that took place at the same time, cannot be dismissed as a factor of coalition and organization of forces.

To look and to listen were senses activated during the development of student movement, seen here as an emotional infection in which experiences lived by same-age peers, due to shocking situations, established several practices, many juveniles, that were also constitutive elements of a political movement. The students shared an allegory that projected them beyond that time: to see themselves as actors with prestigious qualities who would fight for a better world together.

Often the utopic causes were considered a waste of time by dreamy useless students. However, under closer observation we can see that such utopias, discussed or even more radically battled, were not only the romantic expression of dreamy students, but an answer to the demands towards a government that failed on its obligation to plan the future beyond a discourse of development.

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