PUBLIC AND PRIVATE IN THE FIRST LDB: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SAN TIAGO DANTAS AND ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA

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Abstract

This study aimed to analyze a letter from Mr. Anísio Teixeira to the congressman San Tiago Dantas, dated july 1959, during the period when proceeding through the draft Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education. This is a material whose content clarifies the discussion between the two parties on the substitute bill proposed by Carlos Lacerda, at the time of the conduct of the said project. This study concluded that the relationship between San Tiago Dantas and Teixeira, as opposed to what was being proposed by those substitutes, converged on the defense of public school questioning the transfer of public resources to private enterprise.

Key-words: education, history of education and education policy.

O PÚBLICO E O PRIVADO NA PRIMEIRA LDB: A RELAÇÃO ENTRE SAN TIAGO DANTAS E ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA

Resumo

Este trabalho teve por objetivo analisar uma carta do educador Anísio Teixeira para o deputado San Tiago Dantas datada de julho de 1959, durante o período em que tramitava o projeto de Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional. Trata-se de um material cujo conteúdo esclarece a discussão entre os dois interlocutores sobre os substitutivos de lei propostos pelo deputado Carlos Lacerda, à época da tramitação do citado projeto. Este trabalho concluiu que a relação entre San Tiago Dantas e Anísio Teixeira, em oposição ao que estava sendo proposto pelos referidos substitutivos, convergia na defesa da escola pública questionando a transferência de recursos públicos para a iniciativa privada.

Palavras-chave: educação, história da educação e política educacional.

PÚBLICO Y PRIVADO EN LA PRIMERA LDB: LA RELACIÓN ENTRE SAN TIAGO DANTAS Y ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA

Resumen

Este estudio tuvo como objetivo analizar una carta del sr. Teixeira para o sr. San Tiago Dantas, de fecha julio de 1959, durante el período de la hora de proceder a través del proyecto de Ley de Directrices y Bases de la Educación Nacional. Este es un material cuyo contenido clarifica el debate entre las dos partes sobre el proyecto sustitutivo propuesto por el diputado Carlos Lacerda,

en el momento de la realización de dicho proyecto. Este estudio llegó a la conclusión de que la relación entre San Tiago Dantas y Teixeira, a diferencia de lo que se proponía por los sustitutos, se reunieron en la defensa de la escuela pública en duda la transferencia de recursos públicos a la empresa privada.
Palabras-clave: educación, historia de la educación y políticas educativas.

PUBLIC ET PRIVÉ DANS LA PREMIÈRE LDB: LA RELATION ENTRE SAN TIAGO DANTAS ET ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA

Résume
Cette étude visait à analyser l'enseignant une lettre à Anísio Teixeira, datée juillet 1959, pendant la période où procéder par le projet de loi de Directives et de Bases de l'Education Nationale. Il s'agit d'un matériau dont la teneur précise de la discussion entre les deux parties sur le bordereau de substitution proposé par le Carlos Lacerda, au moment de la réalisation du projet dit. Cette étude a conclu que la relation entre San Tiago Dantas et Teixeira, contrairement à ce qui était proposé par ces substituts ont convergé dans la défense de l'école publique remettre en question le transfert de ressources publiques à des entreprises privées.
Mots-clé: éducation, histoire de l'éducation et de politique de l'éducation.

The processing of the first Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education was branded by conflicts which guided the discussions about the importance of the education to the Brazilian development. This process was influenced by several organizing social groups, like the Brazilian Association of Educators - ABE, the Association of the Catholic Schools - AEC - and others society's segments.

There was, in Brazil, especially from the 20th century, a several social segment's wish for an education reform. That was realized in different public manifestations organized by the civil society. However, that manifestations was presented in different ways, since some institutions couldn't keep the discourse itself, especially those defended public resources to the public educational institutions. That is the ABE case, which promoted, since de 1930th decade, meetings and conferences about the education subject. In that, sometimes the resources were defended, exclusively, to the public schools, sometimes not. The AEC always defended public resources to the private institutions too. Therefore, the education was the center of the society uneasiness in relationship with the law, the legitimating, the financing and, mainly, the different roles that the public and private schools were exert in the national development context.

The LDB processing period, from 1948 to 1961, coincides with the national development. There was an apparent consensus, which became common among the different social actors, a speech based on nationalism and modernization of Brazil. Thus, different projects, related on the national development context, were presented to society, defended by important personalities from various social fields.

San Tiago Dantas e Anísio Teixeira were chosen for this work. They were two important characters in the discussion of the Brazilian education problems. The sources used was: a letter from Anísio Teixeira tu San Tiago Dantas, in July 21, 1959; the San Tiago Dantas's speeches in the National Congress ate the same period of the letter. These sources have the interest in demonstrate the ideas congruence of both.

The politician and thinker San Tiago Dantas had unique importance in the history of Brazil, mainly from the second half of the 20th century, more specifically from 1946 to 1964. Their participation was remarkable in major political events in Brazil, including in the area of education. He was professor in the Faculty of Law in some universities of Rio de Janeiro, fact that approach him to the education area. As deputy, he served in the processing of the bill n. 2.222/57, which was about the guidelines and bases for national education. He was minister of Foreign Affairs (1961-1963) and one of the most important organizers of the Independent Foreign Policy (Sepúlveda, 1999). Dantas had as an object of intellectual interest the question of international relations, in which education had an important role.

Anísio Teixeira started his public life as secretary of Education of the Bahia Government. He studied in the United States with New School philosophers and became an advocate of New School movement, including being a signatory of the Manifest of the New School Pioneers, 1932. In Rio de Janeiro, at that time, the capital of Brazil, he created the University of the Federal District. Soon after the creation of that institution, he withdrew from the position he held in the hall of the Federal District, in opposition to the

hardening of the Getulio Vargas. In the fifties of the last century, he turned to the federal government, with the aid of Vargas, now president-elect. Teixeira directed the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies - Inep - and created the Coordination of Improvement of Higher Education Personnel - Capes. He was very active in the educational field, both as a government employee, as a member of civil society.

Thus, even in different ways in their public lives, Teixeira and Dantas defended similar projects and defining the role of education in Brazil to build a social development that places Brazil, definitely, in the modern world.

The similarity of the projects became possible a change of mailing between both thinkers, occurred when Teixeira was a Congressman, between 1959 and 1963. It is important to say that in this time, Dantas acting on the Culture and Education Commission, evaluating the project n.2.222/57, which intended defining the Guidelines and Bases Law of the National Education, which the substitutive were presented by Carlos Lacerda occupied the main theme on the mentioned mailing.

The Project of the Guidelines and Bases Law of the National Education start to transact from the Message number 605, of the President of the Republic, send by the Education Minister, Clemente Mariani, to the National Congress. That project generated many discussions, as one between the centralists and the decentralists and, mainly, between the enlargement of the public education defenders and the private enterprise defenders. The intense debates between the proposals generated a lot of law substitutive projects. The most important of these, were presented by Carlos Lacerda, with effective proposals of privilege to the private educative institutions.

In that context, the mailing mentioned before aims to clear the behavior adopted by San Tiago Dantas in the Congress and get strong the these that existed a similarity between him and Anísio Teixeira ideas, in relation to the role of education in the society.

Congruence of the ideas about the education role

The Anísio Teixeira participation on the discussion of the education problem was frequently in the Brazilian public life for a few decades of the twentieth century. His presence always was remarkable and generated disagrees about the educational role. however, he defended the public school as a guarantee of the modernization and democratization of the Brazilian society process.

Between the researchers of the education, there is no unanimity about the position defended by Teixeira. Paiva (1973) and Saviani (1980), based in the Jorge Nagle work, defended the theses that Teixeira was just a simple liberal thinker that tried adequate the education to the dominant class interests. However, from the 1990 decade, that idea was changed. According Nunes (2000), Teixeira was an intellectual the battled for a educational Project and he was defeated.

The Teixeira position shows on an incisive way, the critics produced to the Law substitutive presented by Carlos Lacerda, referred to the private educative institutions interests.

That is, in fact, the position that approach the theses of Anísio Teixeira and San Tiago Dantas: the enlargement of the public education defense. They had different theory references - Anísio was involved by the new school ideological theories of Dewey/Kilpatrick and Dantas had theory references in the politic realism of Morghentau - nevertheless, their ideas converged and they interchanged opinions e advices about the situation of the educational theme in the Congress.

Dantas defended a national-developments education. He considered the education a key element, between other important elements, that could help to Brazil to become a modern country. He understood the education was fundamental to the establishment of the national interest, basic concept to the construction of a democratic policy efficient to the country to support his international position. In effect, these ideas doesn't become Dantas a revolutionary, but a man of his time, affiliate to a liberal society matrix. He believed that the development was result of an inevitable necessity impost for all countries which wanted survived in the capitalist world. He defended, as Teixeira, the enlargement, the development and the legitimating of the Brazilian public school.

The first speech

Dantas proffered a speech in the Congress on June of the 1959, therefore, a month before the mailing with Anísio Teixeira and he talked about similar questions with the Teixeira in his mail. It seems that the mailing was consent to the attitudes taken by Dantas in the Congress. However, this speech elevated the importance of the education to the national development. He said[1]:

> Mr. President, the discussion in which the Congress is involved of the Guidelines and Bases Law of National Education Project can be considered one of the tasks with more responsibility of the actual legislature. In the moment that the country was changing a lot on his economical structure and in the way of society working, we can say that the education become a decisive factor, but the most decisive to the Brazilian nation to get the targets which propose itself. (Dantas, 1959, p. 2664)

It is possible to realize, from this fragment, that Dantas understand the national development as economical development. In that way, his preoccupation was in which he named of "transformation effort in a dominant direction is the intensive economical development" (Dantas, 1959, p. 2.664), that is not a result of a simple improvement of the national income; it is result of the dedication of all nation.

Dantas understand that the nation economical evolution is directly linked with the preparation of itself to the development. For that, it is necessary a better distribution of the richness and that must be made for the entire social pyramid.

> To get richness and distribution it is indispensable that the society prepare itself to the incorporation of the development benefits by all social classes,

[1] I decided to reproduce completely the texts of the Congress Diary, either that one doesn't have the necessary revision made by the orator. This is the case of the Congressman San Tiago Dantas speeches.

> and that became active part and been conscientious of the changes in the country. (Dantas, 1959, p. 2.665)

The economical distribution suggested by Dantas demonstrated the liberal character of his proposal, which intend an improvement of the population life quality, but without changing the relations of class:

> As result of a common effort of the old social structure, formed by a little dominant minority, that hold the political and economical power, and a politically and economically inert proletariat, can emerge a organically structured society, in which the intermediated class, solid and stable, and a working class attended in their basic claims, could give to the country a determinate level of moral stability, of economical independence and effective progress which was de civilization objectives. (Dantas, 1959, p. 2.665)

To become possible this economical distribution, Dantas understand that education has a fundamental role:

> So, Mr. President, all countries which were dedicate on a conscientious and collective action, on a transformation of its social structure, founded in the educational system reformation, the mainly instrument, the most effective instrument of orientation and process acceleration. It is not possible justify that the nation dedicate itself to the economical and administrative reformation and, in the same time, don't dedicate attention to the thing that, change the own man, in his mentalities and skills, will became income and fixing to the plans and reformations. (Dantas, 1959, p. 2.665)

Dantas express, at this moment, his consternation with the process f the Guidelines and Bases Law of National Education Project and with the content of the proposal presented to the Council in a substitutive form:

> All of that, Mr. President, it is necessary consider, when we see the Guidelines and Bases Law Project exiting of the Technical specialized Commission and presented as a substitutive to the Council, it seems completely remote, on his general sense, of its signification, of this general way that today it intends to give to the economy of the Brazilian society. (Dantas, 1959, p. 2.666)

Dantas asked for more discussions about the project and ha realize the education as a fundamental element for the national development:

> The Project doesn't present an answer to the public spirit questions, about the educational system adequacy to the society objectives. In the truth, the Project is a consolidation of the educational law and a simple adaptation of the legal dispositive force to the new conditions created by the Constitution of 1946. (Dantas, 1959, p. 2.666)

Now, I present the study about the mailing between Dantas and Teixeira, take into account the context and to problems pointed for both.

The letter

The mailing between San Tiago Dantas and Anísio Texeira demonstrate the cordiality existing between them. They changed mails in the 1930 decade, which present a previous contact before the processing of the first Guidelines and Bases Law. However, it is only in the mailing of 1959 that the complicity relation was open and I want to present that.

In effect, for the purpose of this work, I will dedicate just to the letter of July 1959, because I understand that this mail has relevant elements to clear the positions took by San Tiago Dantas in the Congress. Those elements still aid to clear the Anísio Teixeira's opinion about the processing of the Guidelines and Bases Law.

Although I could not find the original letter from San Tiago Dantas sent to Anísio Teixeira, we know that Dantas asked for advice and invited Teixeira to participate of the discussions about the substitutive projects presented by Carlos Lacerda in the Congress[2]. We can confirm that information on the fellow fragment:

> Dear friend San Tiago Dantas,
> I just returned to Brasilia today, so I could not read your letter in time to talk to you before the weekend. From yesterday to today, I could not find you. I recognize that I spontaneously didn't go to the Education Commission, because I suffered a campaign from a group that judged the right time for the school conquer, with purpose to put it in service of the social groups and we guessed what it means, on an implicit or explicit way. (Teixeira, 1959)

The Anísio Teixeira letter in answer is very large and embracing. There is no preoccupation to hide or limited his opinion. It demonstrates the he is not worried about with the processing and he accuses in details the law obscurantism and its processing. Teixeira still pointed the lack of clarity about the issues that were being decided and presented to the society.

All the time, in the letter, Anísio Teixeira has a consensual with the critical positions to the Lacerda's substitutive made by San Tiago Dantas in the Congress[3]:

> As you see, my dear San Tiago Dantas, the Law is still, despite yours efforts, influenced by the interests of the person which presided the substitutive elaboration - Lacerda. To me, it is still the comfort of your amendment n. º 9 which I support. (Teixeira, 1959)

As already mentioned, the intentionality of obscurantism and lack of clarity of the bill 2.222/C[4] is the main point of Teixeira's criticism:

> Although it is necessary recognize that the decision of the sub commission is better than the Lacerda's substitutive, I must to say that, in my opinion, a

[2] Anísio Teixeira was nominated to the Committee for Drafting Project LDB, under the MEC, by the Minister Clemente Mariani, but did not participate of the meetings, but merely serve to consult his colleagues.
[3] Just as the speeches, I chose to play the parts of the letter in full.
[4] During the thirteen years of discussion of the LDB were presented five versions of the bill n. 2.222, receiving the letters A, B, C, D and E. In case, this is the third and therefore had two more changes.

> substantial portion of intentional obscurity is still present in the project, with the intent of achieve, in the interpretation or in regulation of the law, these was not approved on the legislative debate. (Teixeira, 1959)

Teixeira said that this intentional obfuscation presents diluted within the law, so, is only observed in details after a careful reading of the project. I turn now to consider such details in the letter selected by Teixeira.

The letter "a" of 1st Article of the bill 2.222/C, which is the purpose of education, Teixeira finds the first element obscure, namely: "the understanding of the rights and obligations of the human creature, family, the citizen and social groups that make up society". The author focuses his criticism on the lack of clarity of the words human being and social groups:

> What is the law in this expression: human creature? What are these "social groups"? And their rights and obligations? Does not it seem clear intent to take the law improper and obscure terminology? Let's have finally understanding the rights and obligations? (Teixeira, 1959)

In the second paragraph of 3th Article which provides education for all, Teixeira believes that there is intentionally masking the term "scholarship" mainly "by the State's obligation to provide technical and financial resources necessary for the family to have no obligations of burden of education when proven insufficient means, in order to make them guaranteed equal opportunities for all". (Brazil. Project 2.222/C, 1959, p. 2.178)

According to Teixeira, there is an interest in removing the evidence of private interests of law:

> That will mean requirement to provide technical and financial resources? Why designate thus the idea of scholarships? Why not point out: in the case of non-public school? Clearly, the intention of obscurity the equivocal, to put something into law that allows doubtful interpretations. (1959)

The 4th Article is intended to ban, by the State of the educational monopoly, which is to the State vetoed any favoritism to public education. According to Teixeira, favoring the term is vague and allows for different interpretations:

> What will mean that favor, without any qualification? As the Federal District has the training of their public teachers restricted to public schools officials, which is right now maybe will be not tomorrow, based in the law, considered as matter in "favor" the monopoly? And the simply creation of public schools enough for the school population will also not be considered as a case of "favoring" of the educational monopoly? The term is obviously vague, fluid and obscure. (Teixeira, 1959)

The 5th Article ensures equal conditions between public and private schools in the following conditions:

> The adequate representation of educational institutions in management bodies of education; recognition, for all purposes, the studies conducted in private establishments authorized and recognized. (Teixeira, 1959)

Teixeira realize this Article as an affront to the quality of education in the country:

> Disappear with this article all the real differences between the Institute of Education of the Federal District and the worst private school in Rio between the Faculty of Medicine of São Paulo and Rio and the medical school of any particular initiative. It is a terrible legal validation of the most diverse things and legal prohibition to recognize the differences. (Teixeira, 1959)

Then, Teixeira jumps from 5th to the 10th article, referring to the inspection of schools. According to the project 2.222/C: "The inspection of private institutions will be limited to the minimum necessary to ensure compliance with legal requirements". The author criticizes the minimalist character of the proposal:

> What will be the "minimum essential"? The intention of the article is not bad, but it was better to express it otherwise. In order to give it the positive and not negative sense. Remembering remember the duty of inspection to be stimulating to distinguish the best from the worst, classifying the manner and degree to which "legal requirements" are been complied with. (Teixeira, 1959)

According to Teixeira, the article 11 repeats over the absence of clarity, emphasizing the obscurity of the bill, in which "The States and the Federal District are required to notify the institution and recognition of schools to the Ministry of Education and Culture, for all intents and purposes "(Brazil. Project 2.222 / C, 1959, p. 2,179). The author understands this article as unnecessary and dangerous: "What effects are these? Why not mention them? Why not indicate the items that are set randomly? There will be a dark purposeful? " (Teixeira, 1959).

The article 12 reproduces the tone of the law project: to ensure equality between official and private institutions there is a need in the project to strengthen the thesis of equality of educational institutions. According to Teixeira, this is a preoccupation weird, since for him the essential would be to distinguish the institutions in the search for quality:

> This equality as established by law, is even more surprising as in Articles 48 and 49 in which the difference in provide posts of teachers in private and public school is established. The reality is that neither the public schools are all the same, or, much less, the same as private. The constructive principle to defend would be exactly the opposite, the classify the public or private schools - in good, fair, satisfactory and disabled, and admit the right of any school, public or private, and based on that classification, get privileges and benefits and see the differences recognized ... But the whole law is founded on the suspicion against the public authority. (Teixeira, 1959)

This analysis made by Teixeira makes possible also check that he was not contrary to the existence of private schools, by which he was accused by his opponents. The issue seemed to be the problem of the quality of education, regardless of the nature of the institution.

A change in the form of analysis by Teixeira started from the article 16. Until then, he had the full article, with emphasis on the part to be criticized. Now criticizes the article as a whole, without presenting the original text. The main point of the analysis is the supposed pedantry and the technicality of this article deals with the formation of the high school student:

> I don't know if this article is a reference of pedant or obscurity. But above all it is serious to ignore completely the problem of teaching to think, and the most important and constant finality of all education at all levels. Ahead, corresponding to the high school, in the article, it speeches in training adolescents. Why are not planned training from childhood? (Teixeira, 1959)

It is important to emphasize that the mention in defense of early childhood education, will only become effective with the Guidelines and Bases Law of 1996, thus more than thirty years later.

After this general comment, Teixeira presents and analyzes the article 20, whose criticism was focused on the difference between urban and rural schools. According to the author, this article legitimizes the proposed of educational campaigns linked to specific dates for the eradication of social problems, for example, campaigns against illiteracy in the country or against truancy: "What are these services? Must be the infamous "campaigns" ... Why not also exist in urban areas?" (Teixeira, 1959).

About the article 26, Teixeira criticizes the repetition, in the project, of the ambiguous expression existing in the Organic Law on Secondary Education, of 1946, for example, the terms of disciplines, subjects and educational practices. That confirms, according to the author, the obscurantism of the law: "The obscurity of this dualism is patent. Does the discipline or subject is not educational?" (Teixeira, 1959).

Once again Teixeira reinforces the thesis of intentionality interests disguised within the project. Article 28 introduces an inconsistency with respect to changes in school segments, especially with the end of the entrance examination. According to Teixeira, this proposal would have to be well prepared to not generate chaos in the school system:

> On that device the student who has made the sixth year of primary school is punished with the loss of one year of studies. At age 11 can enter the 1st year of secondary. But at 12 but He cannot enter to the 2nd year secondary. Clearly if convicted 6th grade primary to die for lack of students. (Teixeira, 1959)

In article 30, Teixeira made a critic about the standardization proposal for teaching, calling it confusing, especially the parts concerning the "preparation and full implementation of the programs, the educational process to develop the moral and civic education, and the issuance of legal documents" (BRAZIL. Draft 2.222/C, 1959, p. 2,181). He makes the following questions: "What this will mean full compliance with the programs? What is meant for moral and civic? The article aims to set standards; shipment documents will also be standard?" (Teixeira, 1959).

It is noteworthy that this criticism marks a fundamental question, too obscure inside the project, which is the problem of moral and civic education. Although Teixeira did not deepen on this issue, just point it out, there is a concern about proposals differentiated of socialization political and ideological in Brazil in anticipation of a reality that is performed with force from 1964.

In article 32 the problem, according to Teixeira, is in "c", which deals with "Evening courses with own structure, according to general standards lowered by the administration of education" (Brazil. Project 2.222 / C, 1959, p. 2,181). For him it is not clear who will be responsible for the administration of education.

About the article 38 Teixeira makes two highlights: one for the study of Portuguese and other for professional education[5]:

> Paragraph. 1 - A special attention in the study of Portuguese in its historical, linguistic and literary that will make everything except the clever use of language. It is not enough to say the study of Portuguese? Chapter III - professional education - The Union recently passed a great law of industrial education. It would be highly desirable that this chapter reflects the general standards of that law. It turns out that it was the Congress which voted the law referred: only, by the way, which has succeeded to be approved because it did not hurt the interests of private educators who do not deign to consider this kind of teaching. (Teixeira, 1959)

Teixeira points the elitist character of the Brazilian private education, which is limited to just offer the preparatory teaching to ensure the interests of national elites and leaves the professional education for the public initiative, since this provides no financial return.

When we get to the end of the letter, Teixeira presents the points that most concern him. The greatest emphasis is related to teacher training and shows dissatisfaction with this process:

> Title VII - Chapter I - Teacher training - Chapter maintains the dualisms of regents and primary teachers and teacher rural and urban, and, it seems, reduces the Institutes of Education in specialization and improvement courses. There are many things to say about all this. (Teixeira, 1959)

This fragment reinforces the critique of dualism and alert to the need to discuss more about the teaching issue. However, for reasons not explained in the letter, he does not deepen the question.

The latest articles analyzed by Teixeira (46, 47, 48 and 49) present, incisively, the question of the public/private dualism in Brazilian education:

> Article 46 - This article reproduces itself the consecration of equality between public school and private school, in which, it seems, it intended immediately, all Educational Institutes. Art.47 - This article keeps the formation of secondary school teachers in the Faculties of Philosophy, when teachers of gyms can also be formed by the Institutes of Education

[5] Teixeira refers to the law n. 3,552, of February 16, 1959, which, in general, has made the industrial basic course lost its professional character and the learning course was recognized as the only adequate to the formation of qualified workers.

> and the colleges only by the Faculties of Philosophy. Article 48 and 49 - They are a rich demonstration of the differences between real and legally permitted between public and private schools, only equality, for all purposes, the respective studies. (Teixeira, 1959)

Anísio Teixeira shows a disillusion by the law, which he said has “articles [that] seem primary to indicate that the law has been made by the representatives of private schools, already with their adequate representation in the subcommittee” (Teixeira, 1959).

He understands that the Subcommittee on Education and Culture of the Congress was built with a bigger number of representatives of the private schools, which makes it difficult to attempt to cherish the quality of public schools in Brazil.

Teixeira does not reject the existence of private schools in the country, as already was mentioned. Rather, there is an acceptance and even an agreement on the role of this in the Brazilian society. The question, then, seems to be the way as private schools reproduce themselves in the country without inspection and without care with the quality.

The issue of quality of education permeates all his speech. There is a battle fought by him, Teixeira, on behalf of oversight mechanisms to ensure the quality of both public and private schools. For Teixeira this point has been totally ignored by the project.

It is noteworthy that, at this point in proceedings, the project had its third version, the bill 2.222 / C. The defenders of private schools in Congress tried to approve that version, which did not occur. It was necessary two more years of debate until the law was finally approved.

The Congress also held a few surprises. Exciting speeches to recast proposals emerged. I emphasize the participation of San Tiago Dantas, strongly influenced by the ideas of Anísio Teixeira at that moment.

The second speech

The speech proffered by San Tiago Dantas on July 24, 1959, therefore, after the letter sent by Teixeira, demonstrates the congruence of ideas and the influence of Teixeira on Dantas. In that speech, many of the arguments used by Teixeira reappear similarly, supporting the argument of similarity between both protagonists for the educational projects for Brazil.

Dantas believes that this project has serious defects and that does not respect the new needs of Brazilian society[6]:

> This seems to me to be the first great defect of the project, which justifies its review in depth. In it we found a new conception of the problem, for a society that aspires to transform itself and has already become deeply. (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.878)

The society changes pointed by Dantas start at the growth of the educational demand:

[6] I chose to reproduce the texts of the Congress Diary in its entirety even those who have not had proper review by the speaker, this is the case of the speeches made by Congressman San Tiago Dantas. The speech of July 24 was which presented most problems in the original, yet I kept the procedure.

> The Brazilian education is underpinned since 1930, in a set of fundamental laws, which gave answers to social needs completely different from those presented by the society today. In 1930, there were no more than a hundred thousand Brazilians attending secondary courses or were, in the preparative regimen for college. The rigging of the primary school was much poorer than the present. The number of Brazilians in colleges was tiny and the diversity of courses almost was reduced to three or four major branches, inherited from our academic tradition. The Brazilian society structure was transformed during a quarter century . The number of students from the secondary courses far exceeded the growth rates of the national population. So, in 1930, the country had a few tens of thousands students , today, the number is approximately one million students, more than nine hundred thousand students in both cycles of high school in 1958. This means, Mr. President, that about 90% of the parents of those who now attend secondary schools did not have secondary education. (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.878)

Dantas believes that the proposed changes were not enough to solve the problem of the new occupations of Brazilian society and that the higher education was not prepared to fulfill the new demands of society which was then industrializing:

> The needs of the Brazilian economy changed radically asking for a new structure of higher education, because instead of a society whose economic tasks were extremely simple, almost reduced to commercial and farming activities today we enter a phase of industrialization that involves a complex occupational diversification. And men are ordered to command tasks, management tasks and technological expertise that the higher education as we know it in the past, do not feel able to attend (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.878).

The speech of San Tiago Dantas is very pragmatic. He defends the idea that a law without clear goals, with no goals, is inefficient:

> Mr. President, the first point that characterizes itself as a more perfect adaptation of education to the society in which we live would be the compulsory education planning, to achieve, over time, certain steps. It is no longer possible, feeling enough in building, by way of guidelines bases a legal framework, a mere system of rules, sometimes obscure, rather than formulating the bases and criteria for a program of successive stages through which achieve goals, if saturate certain areas, pre-fixed income levels should be obtained - by converting into actual reality the educational effort of the country. This sense of stage, of plan, it is indispensable for the correct formulation of the problem of education, then we are going through. (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.879)

Dantas argues that the education problem could not be solved only with a set of rules. He believes that for an effective appreciation of education it was more important a national education plan than a guidelines and bases law for national education:

> The National Education Plan is perhaps more important than the National Education Law. But we cannot say that between law and plan exists a incompatibility, and that we have to exchange one for the other. Rather, the law itself should be the structuring of a plan. (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.878)

The idea of planning education is the central point of Dantas criticism. He believed that a law can be prescriptive about to set goals, to create conditions for planning, for which the government can coordinate the efforts of the nation. According to Dantas, as stated in the project, the document is full of ambiguities and dualities:

> What characterizes, Mr. President, the project is just that, far from leading the Brazilian education system to a vision of unity and for a overall goal. It aggravates the fragmentize and the dualism of our educational system, seeking to enhance the facilities for the spontaneous growth of education in the country, and removing the whole of the Brazilian educational activity the possibility of an action coordinated by the Federal Government. (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.879)

Dantas understands that the educational system as established by the 1946 Constitution favored decentralization and let for the federal government to assist those localities where there was no structure to the organization of its educational system. But at the same time, according to the speaker, the Constitution established an element of centralizing power:

> The Guidelines and Bases Law must be the instrument through which the Brazilian education maintains its unity of purpose. May not be as apparent from the project, an elastic frame within which education can grow in all directions and senses with the degradation of the government and its intervention in the educational process, advancing far beyond the limits of the Congress thought. (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.879)

Dantas proposes not deal with specific issues of the project in his speech. He understands that the Congress is the place par excellence for discussions of ideas and viewpoints. But in order to facilitate the understanding of their arguments the speaker mentioned two examples of the project that express his dualism: article 2, paragraph IV and article 5. Both deal with the dichotomy between public and private education. Dantas believes that these items were

> demonstration [s] of this secondary role reserved to public education in the national education fields, discussing by the project. There is , in these articles, the antagonism unprecedented in the history of Brazilian education, the project encourages between public education and private, as these two branches of education if they had to destroy each other instead of finding, in a correct formulation of the Guidelines and Bases Law its complementation and the point of balance. (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.879)

This fragment demonstrates the Dantas concern about public education and the privatizing character in the Lacerda's substitutive. The fragment also demonstrates that San Tiago Dantas was not a supporter of the private education end, as was accused. He believed that the two teaching modalities complemented themselves:

> Private sector and government answer to two objectives, answer two aspects of the educational problem. Through private initiative and flexibility it is possible to the families to have an independence that we must

> recognize to them, to choose the kind of education for their children with the priority which is now recognized by the conscience of the democratic peoples and is incorporated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In another way, however, public education is very important in the society democratization. It is inside of the public schools, better than any other system, which the society is developed, that classes are in contact, that the spirit is democratized and that forms one common consciousness, which the nation needs to face in way than uniform, at least, the problems of its life and the problems of its destiny. (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.879)

Dantas concluded his speech pointing to the need for further debate before final approval of the Project introduced in the Congress:

> Mr. President, I think we often still have opportunity to return to this great subject, and therefore I feel no need to rush me to examine other aspects, which will on other occasions, when possible and appropriate. (Dantas, 1959, p. 3.879)

In the final message of the speech, Dantas said the project would still have far away from the ending. The fact is real, because the process procedure lasted over. Other issues have been addressed and even San Tiago Dantas manifested again in another occasion. However, he did not address the issues related to the Lacerda's substitutive, nor made references to correspondence with Teixeira.

Conclusion

The similarity between the projects of San Tiago Dantas and Anisio Teixeira corresponds to the congruence of ideas about the problem of national education. Both understand that the education possessed an important role for the development of the country and for the insertion of Brazil in the modern world.

The central point of the Teixeira's critique is the obscurantism of the project, expressed in its ambiguity of interpretation, which resulted in a pernicious dualism for Brazilian education: public and private. Most of the points raised by the author reveal a concern with the quality and the democratization of education. Thus, the private interests could not be hegemonic within the law, however, should serve as an aid to the role of government.

Both authors defended the existence of public and private schools in a complementary way, with emphasis on the first, for they realized that public education was the only one able to ensure the democratization of Brazilian society. There was a concern shared by them with the centrality of education in preparing the population for the new demands of the modern world and, therefore, the responsibility of the reduction of social differences in Brazil. So they understood education as preparation for the labor market and the different roles that individuals consciously should have an industrial society, with regard to the construction of a national project.

The central thesis of Dantas for the construction of a Brazilian project was focused on the issue of expanding access to education, he said, would only be possible with the expansion of the public school system. For this, the law should provide conditions for the

establishment of goals and objectives, thus, a Brazilian educational planning process. Dantas gave so much value to the Guidelines and Bases Law, as to National Plan for Education.

The planning was an important point of contact between the authors. Teixeira understood that the obscurity of the law was the result of a lack of objectivity and clarity of the proposals. Indeed, this obscurantism meant a lack of planning of educational activities for the country. He understood the project as a set of intentions without definition, ambiguity that provided the text of the law, which made it difficult to build an education that meets the interests of the whole nation.

Another point which demonstrates a contact between both is the utilization of similar expressions like obscurantism, freedom, ambiguity and duality. Both also use similar interpretive mechanisms, especially regarding the role of public and private schools in the definition of the national project.

The definition of the national project was only possible in an industrialized and democratic society, in which education was the engine of the entire development. Both understood the importance of the period because it is the construction of the first educational law for the country. Thus, in the game was not only the quality of education in Brazil, but also your whole future.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, despite the efforts of both, their proposals for Brazil and especially for education were defeated. Although public education have won legislation that, for example, guarantee their own financing, Dantas and Teixeira considered it insufficient for building a country aligned with modernity. The complexity of social relations in Brazil was characterized by different forces, who understood the problems of national very own way. Relevant issues, such as the dichotomy between the public and private sectors in Brazil, were presented in a diffuse society, embraced by social agents in a very particular way. This prevented a systematization of proposals that reach everyone, which may have resulted in a legislation that met in privileged private interests at the detriment of the quality of public education.

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