

1968-1978: THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AS A NEW CHARACTER?

1968 - 1978: O MOVIMENTO ESTUDANTIL COMO NOVO PERSONAGEM?

1968 - 1978: ¿EL MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL COMO NUEVO PERSONAJE?

Pablo Emanuel Romero ALMADA¹

ABSTRACT: The article analyzes the starting over of the mobilizations by the student movement in the 1970s, particularly on the National Union of Students (UNE) institutional reconstruction, its preparatory events, and repression suffered, such as the invasion of PUC-SP in 1977. Firstly, we discuss Eder Sader's concept of 'new characters,' the relevance of analyzing the student's reorganization process in this theoretical matrix, given the persecution and silencing of their actions. Secondly, through the methodology of historical sociology and document analysis, the article explores, especially in the city of São Paulo, the relationship between the student movement and the progressive sectors of the Catholic Church, especially in the figure of D. Paulo Evaristo Arns. Finally, the article concludes that this approach was fundamental for understanding the student's organizational process and the mobilizations in favor of human rights for a democratic society.

KEYWORDS: Students movement. Human rights. National Union of Students. Democratization. Catholic Church.

RESUMO: O artigo analisa as retomadas das mobilizações do movimento estudantil na década de 1970, com especial atenção a reconstrução institucional da União Nacional dos Estudantes (UNE), seus episódios de mobilização e repressão, como a invasão da PUC-SP em 1977. Questiona-se, a partir da concepção de 'novos personagens' proveniente da obra de Eder Sader, a pertinência do processo de reorganização estudantil, dado a perseguição e o silenciamento de suas ações, no interior dessa matriz teórica. Através da metodologia da sociologia histórica e da análise documental, conclui-se que, na cidade de São Paulo, a relação do movimento estudantil com os setores progressistas da Igreja Católica, em especial na figura de D. Paulo Evaristo Arns, é fundamental para a compreensão de seu avanço organizativo e da construção de mobilizações em prol dos direitos humanos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Movimento estudantil. Direitos humanos. União Nacional dos Estudantes. Democratização. Igreja Católica.

RESUMEN: El artículo analiza el reinicio de las movilizaciones del movimiento estudiantil en la década de 1970, particularmente sobre la reconstrucción institucional de la Unión Nacional de Estudiantes (UNE), sus eventos preparatorios y la represión sufrida, como la invasión de la PUC-SP en 1977. En primer lugar, discutimos el concepto de 'nuevos

¹ São Paulo State University (UNESP), Araraquara – SP – Brazil. Postdoctoral fellow in the Postgraduate Program in Social Sciences. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3729-8360>. E-mail: pablo.almada@unesp.br

personajes' de Eder Sader, la relevancia de analizar el proceso de reorganización del alumno en esta matriz teórica, dada la persecución y silenciamiento de sus acciones. En segundo lugar, a través de la metodología de la sociología histórica y el análisis documental, el artículo explora, especialmente en la ciudad de São Paulo, la relación entre el movimiento estudiantil y los sectores progresistas de la Iglesia Católica, especialmente en la figura de D. Paulo Evaristo Arns. Finalmente, el artículo concluye que este enfoque fue fundamental para comprender el proceso organizativo de los estudiantes y las movilizaciones a favor de los derechos humanos para una sociedad democrática.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Movimiento estudiantil. Derechos humanos. Unión Nacional de Estudiantes. Democratización. Iglesia Católica.*

Introduction

The play *Sei personaggi in cerca d'autore*, by Luigi Pirandello, outlines a rich theatrical game, through which the characters are staged by the actors, guiding them through the creativity of representation and the fiction that stages them. We question, through this metaphor, the limits between the characters and their representations that, as embodied in a new body, that of an actor, start to guide and direct their actions as if they were. This brief digression aims to elucidate the meaning exposed by one of the sociological works that investigated the specificities of 'new characters', the so-called new social movements and the new unionism, with the São Paulo metropolis as a background: 'When new characters entered the scene: experiences and struggles of workers in Greater São Paulo 1970-1980', by Eder Sader (1988).

As in Pirandello and his characters who guide the actors, Sader observes the dimension of novelties outlined by the actors of a civil society created from the (political and democratic) closure of the State. These are characters staged in a "new configuration of the popular classes in the public scenario", which is outlined "by the places where they constituted themselves as collective subjects; by their language, their themes and values; by the characteristics of the social actions in which they moved", and that walk towards "the emergence of a new type of expression of workers, which could be contrasted with the libertarian, of the first decades of the century, or with the populist after 1945" (SADER, 1988, p. 36-37, our translation).

Sader's sociological approach reveals an important combination through which it is possible to understand social actions based on (i) identity, which reflects the position that a certain group assumes; (ii) articulation between practical objects and their values; and, (iii) the lived experiences and the representations derived from them. In this way, his essay on the

new actors brings with it the realization of the formation of a new collectivity, whose identity is mostly conceived in the defense of its interests and in the expression of particular (subjective) wills in the composition of its social struggles. This common condition, present in the Basic Ecclesiastical Communities (CEB), in the neighborhood movements, in the mothers' movements and, mainly, in the new unionism, indicate that the concept of self-representation of these groups is the element that moves away from structural and objectivist conceptions of social classes, bringing to the debate the capacities of constitution of an autonomous subject capable of elaborating the external determinations "in function of what it defines as its will" (SADER, 1988, p. 56). The demonstration of changes in the subjectivity of the working classes, as Sader does, leads the reflection of our research through a relatively multiform bias.

Considering that the armed struggle and political opposition had been practically exterminated in the first half of the 1970s, how is it possible for a new shock to the regime to emerge, represented by these 'new characters'? Specifically, to the student movement of the mid-1970s: could we also classify it in the matrix of 'new characters'?

A methodological path that guides these questions, therefore, passes through historical sociology and analysis of the permanence of the past in the present. And this would happen in two ways: the first, through the knowledge, skills, tastes and activities of the individuals themselves; the second, through the imbrication between memory, identities and collective actions, in order to understand the (faster) changes of institutional memory and its (slower) modeling in the memory of individuals (MONSMA *et al.*, 2017). In this way, our hypothesis is that, as represented by the notion of 'new characters' in Sader, this institutional treatment also leads to the treatment of individual *habitus*, regarding students' behavior in face of political changes in Brazilian society of mid-1970s. In other words, it is necessary to identify how the discourse and practice of the 'new characters' are built and to what extent they are opposed to the discourse of the opposition movements to the military dictatorship of the 1960s, given that the excessive reaction of violence from the State, not only aimed at the physical elimination of insurgents and oppositionists, but also operationalized the concealment and silencing of memory.

In this case, when we shift our gaze to the understanding of the first decade after 1968, we do not observe any kind of memorialistic 'commemoration' of the 'year of students', on the contrary: a kind of "counter-commemoration" is celebrated, guided by the by individual reports, still proud or with critical distance, but above all guided by experiences lived exclusively in the armed struggle (ALMADA, 2021, p. 230). At this point, individual and

memorialistic accounts end up defining biographical and individual trajectories, but they also offer a gap in the continuities of the student movement, since the transmutation of student movement to armed struggle, despite being recurrent in these trajectories, has little to do with continuity of the organization within the universities and their representative bodies. Inquiring about this disjuncture, therefore, involves considering the theoretical and empirical validity of Sader's matrix of 'new characters'. Although there is no analytical treatment of the case of the student movement by Sader, there is an understanding that the field of characters became richer in the mid-1970s than in the late 1960s, allowing us to investigate possible approximations between the student movement and these new characters, which, in the case of this article, will be highlighted around the progressive sectors of the Catholic Church, the Archdiocese of São Paulo and D. Paulo Evaristo Arns.

The end of 1968: enforced disappearances and the extermination of the opposition

The resurgence of the repression of the civil-military dictatorship, at the end of the 1960s, constitutes a fundamental starting point for understanding not only the difficulties of maintaining the opposition's political organization and the subsequent defeat of the armed struggle, but also the tones and the terms by which the democratic opening could be constructed. Institutional Act No-5 was not only a repressive landmark that was erected after the closing of the 30th Congress of the National Union of Students (UNE), but also reinforced the feeling of persecution, clandestinity and radicalism of student activists, allowing that, for many, armed struggle become a necessity and not just a tactical option (ALMADA, 2015).

The repressive-police apparatus, installed by the existing structures of the Department of Order and Social Policy (DOPS), achieved even greater control and presence in society, through Bandeirantes Operation (OBAN) and its development in the Information Operations Detachment - Center for Internal Defense Operations (DOI-CODI). Military and paramilitary agents carried out political and secret investigations on the regime's opponents, which resulted in the indiscriminate use of violence, torture, irregular arrests, forged deaths and several serious human rights violations.

One of the notorious cases of violence against members of the student movement was the death of Alexandre Vannucchi Leme, 23 years old, on 17 March 1973. Vannucchi was a Geology student at the University of São Paulo, a member of the Congregation of the Institute of Geosciences and a militant of the National Liberation Alliance (ALN). Several Academic Centers from USP and PUC-SP signed a letter that described the death of the student, as well

as communicated the arrests of colleagues and invasions of student spaces (COMUNICADO, 1973)².

Reported missing by the family, the student's death was followed by a series of disagreements about the reasons given. First, Vannucchi had been identified as a 'terrorist' and reported as a victim of a hit-and-run after an escape, and his death was revealed days later precisely because his arrest had been followed by that of other USP students, also ALN militants. (TERRORISTA, 1973, p. 4). This version was denied by other political prisoners, although the student's suicide version was also published. However, at that moment, the real reason for the death was hidden: Vannucchi was tortured in the OBAN of DOI-CODI/SP, because he was 'recorded' by the police, and, later, he was buried as a pauper.

It was only in 2013, at the request of the National Truth Commission (CNV), that the continued crime of forced disappearance was allowed to be concluded. The rectification of Vannucchi's death, based on a request from his brothers and the presentation of documents proving his death from torture and ill-treatment (BRASIL, 2014) ended, forty years later, the impasse over the student's fate.

However, in 1973, with the forged causes of the student's death increasingly notorious, solidarity mobilizations took over the student environment. The celebration of the 7th day mass at the Sé Cathedral, by D. Paulo Evaristo Arns, brought together more than three thousand people and resulted in student arrests and blockades of the University City of USP (BRASIL, 2007). Although it is considered that this was one of the first mass movements after 1968, its repercussion did not stop in this episode. Years later, the reorganization of USP's DCE began to adopt the name of Vannucchi in his honor, symbolically identifying this new space of representation and participation to the memory of members and representatives of the 1968 movement, founding a place of memory (NORA, 2008), through which the commemorative perception of students' political resistance is also weaved.

Still in 1973, another case of forced disappearance of militants from the student movement gained prominence. The UNE President and Popular Action (AP) activist, Honestino Guimarães, who had been illegally operating since 1968, was arrested and disappeared in October in Rio de Janeiro. Before his disappearance, he wrote a letter called *Mandado de Segurança Popular* (Popular Security Warrant), in which he affirmed his struggle for Brazilian democracy and explained the way in which the student movement worked:

² See Anex 1.

My current situation is a life in forced hiding for almost 5 years. During this time I suffered several lawsuits, some have already been judged. The result of these trials clearly marks the particular hatred and tenacious persecution to which I am the object. No less than twenty-five years in five cases. All of them, except one, referring to my participation in the student struggles in 1968. Without further evidence, without further criteria, these convictions are some of the hundreds of examples to which justice in our country was reduced. It is true that Justice, being a class instrument, has never been an example of exemption and impartiality. But it is also true that it never reached such a degree of distortion. Starting with the creation of exception courts – the military courts. Then the brutality of the arrests and the greatest violence in the interrogation phase where the confessions, forced, extracted, are obtained at the cost of cruel tortures as a general rule and dozens of deaths as a result. Then the farces of the trials – the intimidation of the public, the impossibility of participation of the press, the countless pressures on the lawyers (how many were arrested and persecuted). Anyway, very similar to the Nazi courts that have caused so many protests to those responsible for their mockery in our country. In one of these processes for participating in the student struggles of 1968 - where decisions were taken collectively, in democratic assemblies, in elections with mandatory voting by the University's own regiment, I was sentenced, in 1970, to several years in prison. In other words, another mistake. Judging facts from a past situation with criteria other than blind hatred. That's why I don't "give myself up". I do not and cannot recognize as "justice" the degree of distortion that has been reached in this field. The justice I turn to is the democratic conscience of our people and peoples around the world. (GUIMARÃES, 1973, our translation).

Honestino's letter revealed that his clandestine militancy was driven by the ideals of realizing a real democracy in Brazil, which was different from the authoritarian political regime at that time. However, Honestino also denounced how the justice and exception procedure he denounced would affect his own life. After his arrest, his mother, Maria Rosa Monteiro, had received a contact from the military authorities for her son's visit to the Criminal Investigations Squad (PIC) in Brasília. However, when he arrived there, contrary to what was reported, he did not find Honestino, and further on, they did not provide him with any further information about his son, nor are there official records on which bodies were responsible for his arrest, death and concealment of the corpse (BRASIL, 2014). What should be noted, in the case of Honestino, is the responsibility of the Brazilian State in hiding this crime. Honestino's arrest was never confirmed by the military authorities at the time and there was also no confirmation of his death by these prison sectors, although there were indeed referrals decreeing his arrest. The forced disappearance and the concealment of the corpse, as crimes committed by the Brazilian State, indicate that they are not isolated cases, since so many other families were deprived of the clarification of the facts.

Another notorious case of violence against students was that of the Araguaia Guerrilla, whose composition was mostly made up of former students who joined their militancy activities in the PCdoB. The case of the Araguaia Guerrilla has, for most of the last decades, been dubious in the investigation of the facts, hidden and silenced in history, only finding further clarification with the surveys of the Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances (CEMDP) and the National Truth Commission. (CNV). The military combat of the insurgent forces brought not only the operationalization and the practical test of the concept of revolutionary war, which materializes the disproportion of the force used by the troops against a few guerrillas (BRASIL, 2014). From 1972 to 1974, there were several operations by the Armed Forces in the forests of Pará, but it was only with the last intervention, Operation Marajoara, that the intention of exterminating the militants was made clear. As presented by the Final Report of the National Truth Commission:

According to a document issued by the Belém do Pará agency of the National Information Service (SNI), in January of that year, the successive loss of guerrillas caused a “decline in their forces and their actions collapsed”. However, this finding did not imply a slowdown in the actions of the Armed Forces, which, even in that document, expressly determines the “cleaning of the area” and expresses the expectation that “such elements will be totally annihilated in the short term”, within the framework of Operation Marajoara. The operation, according to the official reports analyzed, consisted of two phases: the first was dedicated to neutralizing the Guerrilla support network – 90%, according to the Army's estimate, made up of regionals who occasionally made contact with the guerrilla forces; the second consisted of attacking the storage and hiding areas identified by the previous operation. The final result of this operation was the total annihilation of the guerrillas in the region: 56 guerrillas killed (whose bodies are still missing) and more than two hundred peasants arrested on charges of constituting the guerrilla support networks (BRASIL, 2014, p. 691, our translation).

The forced disappearance and the countless atrocities committed by the Brazilian armed forces, especially in the last phase of combating the Araguaia Guerrilla, reveal how the operations were not only nourished by a military tactic, besieging the locality, infiltrating soldiers dressed as civilians or, even, with a disproportionate armament apparatus. Executions, beatings and torture of peasants and residents were commonplace, as well as the decapitation of guerrillas, through the operation of concentration camps in the military bases of Bacaba and Xambioá, where many residents were arrested (kidnapped) without any legal control (TELES, 2011). Years later, in 2010, in the ruling in the 'Case of Gomes Lund and others ('Araguaia Guerrilla') v. Brazil', the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) attributed to this episode the crime of forced disappearance of members of the Guerrilla, and

the Brazilian State must not only repair the losses and damages to the family, but also advance in the consolidation of transitional justice, offering greater acceptance of human rights, both in the domestic legal system and in the training of members of the Armed Forces, in search of the effectiveness of democracy to the detriment of political persecution (CORTE, 2010).

The three cases mentioned so far elucidate a divisive moment, in which the part of the political opposition to the regime, composed largely of former students or militants with a formative trajectory in the student movement, and who perhaps became part of the underground or the cadres of the armed struggle, were killed, and disappeared. We understand, therefore, that the resurgence of police violence and the use of military and revolutionary war tactics against insurgent groups, which intensified after the enactment of AI-5, resulted in an abrupt interruption of opposition political activities, a defeat achieved through persecutions, deaths and exterminations. Here it is not just a tragic end of a 'generation', or an eventual defeat circumscribed in the political field by projects, proposals and rhetoric. It is, rather, the end of political actors constituted at the moment of greatest conflict of the military regime, which, as we will demonstrate, are not fully 'replaced' by new characters. Therefore, considering that, between 1973 and 1977, progressive sectors of the Catholic Church approached students, at least in São Paulo, we can give more complexity to the analysis of their subjectivity.

The student movement as a 'new character'?

From 1974 onwards, the Military Regime gave political signs that there would be a resumption of institutionality, although the repressive state apparatus and its intelligence and information services were in full operation. The resumption of the university student organization was hidden and silent beyond the university walls: although there were elections of new slates for the Academic Centers and Directories, there were no street demonstrations as in the previous decade. The student movement at USP gradually regained prominence after the DCE elections in May 1976, strengthening the interest in revitalizing the UNE and its national congresses. That year, the organization of the I and II National Student Meetings (ENE) - the first in August at the USP campus in São Carlos and the second in October at the USP in São Paulo - continued these debates, in addition to discussing topics that had been student concerns in previous years, such as tuition fees and the consequences of university reforms.

The organizational resumption allowed, on 30 March 1977, to hold one of the first exclusively student demonstrations after 1968, against the reduction of funds for national education, a fact that did not result in conflicts nor was it reported in the newspapers. Leaving from USP, the students wanted to reach the center of São Paulo and protest in front of the Ministry of Education, but were prevented from reaching their destination, marching to the USP School of Medicine and returning to their starting point. Also, on 5 May, there was a student protest against the arrest of Socialist Convergence militants in ABC Paulista and, on 19 June in São Paulo, a national day of student protests was organized, bringing together at the College of Medicine several organized sectors of society and the MDB.

However, on 4 July, in Belo Horizonte, the preparations for the III ENE began. According to the Trotskyist tendency Freedom and Fight (LIBELU), the aim was to articulate the future UNE with trade unions and political parties, defining joint mobilizations of workers and students around four axes of action: 1) democratic freedoms; 2) the democratization of the university; 3) the search for better teaching conditions; and, 4) the reorganization of the student movement (PLATAFORMA, 1977, p. 3)³. However, the event failed and, with the city center practically under siege by police forces, more than 1,200 students were arrested for violating the National Security Law.

As a result, the III ENE was transferred to the 21st of July at USP, but it also failed to take place. The fact is that the student organization was not alone in recomposing the political debate in civil society, and even showing interest in recovering the leading role at the end of the previous decade in carrying out its mobilizations, its organicity was still limited.

These episodes identify that the organization and the strength to unite fractions of the working and popular classes passed, at least since 1972, through the progressive sectors of the Catholic Church, through the action of the Basic Ecclesiastical Communities (CEB) and Pastorals. These organizational practices, carried out together with the 'oppressed people', as analyzed by Sader (1988), composed discourses of construction and political learning of everyday life, bringing together workers from the periphery, immigrants, women and peasants. On the other hand, the creation of bodies such as the Justice and Peace Commission, of the Archdiocese of São Paulo, through D. Paulo Evaristo Arns (HÁ DEZ, 1980)⁴, operationalized the active denunciation of crimes and political arbitrariness, offering visibility to the cases of violence against students, journalists and religious.

³ See Annex 2.

⁴ See Annex 3.

It is notable that the episode of the Mass at the Sé Cathedral, on 30 March 1973, in honor of the student Alexandre Vannucchi, was one of the first mass movements after AI-5, attracting more than 5 thousand people. In 1974, the Fraternity Campaign, with the theme 'Where is your brother?', warned of enforced disappearances, especially of young people and students, and gave D. Paulo greater visibility in the press, as an interlocutor for human rights. The following year, the priorities of Pastoral Action were defined, encouraging the sectoralization of Pastoral Care (Family Pastoral, CEB Pastoral, World of Work Pastoral, Youth Pastoral and Pastoral for the promotion of human rights and marginality) and the affirmation that the The Church could legitimately stand on the side of civil society, as in the episode of the death of journalist Vladimir Herzog⁵, whose mass was attended by Jewish religious authorities, including Rabbi Henry Sobel, resulting in an event with more than 8,000 people.

It was, however, in 1977 that relations between the student movement and the Archdiocese of São Paulo began to become closer, given the great difficulty in effecting the reorganization of UNE:

The student movement mobilizes ever more numerous masses in assemblies and public events. In the first half of this year, 75,000 police officers are mobilized to prevent the concentration of students in the center of the city. Several times student movement leaders meet with D. Paulo, who advocates with the security agencies the cause of freedom of expression for students, in order to avoid greater consequences in clashes with the police. (HÁ DEZ, 1980, p. 3, our translation).

The approximation of workers' representatives, students, journalists and the Justice and Peace Commission, among other progressive Catholic entities, sought to make joint commitments in favor of democratic freedoms and the defense of human rights. With the strengthening of relations between students, professors from the Pontifical Catholic University (PUC-SP) and D. Paulo, who at the time also held the position of Grand Chancellor of that university, several debates were held about the greater social commitment that the university should assume with professional formation and the defense of popular culture. Likewise, it was through the intervention of the Cardinal that the 29th Annual Meeting of the Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science (SBPC), prohibited from being held in Fortaleza that year, was transferred to the space of the Theater of the Catholic University of São Paulo (TUCA).

⁵ Brazil was convicted, in 2018, by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the case of Herzog and others vs. Brazil, sentence of 15 March 2018, charging it with criminal responsibility for the arbitrary arrest, torture and murder of the journalist (CORTE, 2018).

It is around these events that the PUC came to be targeted by repressive forces. Upon confirmation of the holding of the III ENE at TUCA, one of the last episodes of repression and political arbitrariness against students in the dictatorship was experienced. On 22 September 1977, students from several universities had gathered at PUC to continue the interrupted activities in Belo Horizonte. At the head of PUC, more than 2,000 students gathered to read the minutes of the meeting, denouncing the police measures that interrupted the organization of the meeting at USP, when the first police cars appeared. Commanded by the then Secretary of Public Security of the State, Erasmo Dias, there was an explicit interest in prohibiting the public act, because, as the secretary stated, "Rally, marches and any type of public act are prohibited: everyone will be arrested and framed in the Law of National Security. We will not accept challenge. Where are we!" (PRESOS, 1977, p. 1, our translation).

In turn, the students reported the events in a letter from the DCE-Livre of PUC-SP published in the press:

Civilian investigators and riot police got out of the vehicles, slammed the doors violently and began to beat and throw bombs at the protesters who were sitting.

Due to the onslaught of violence, the students got up and ran to the entrance of the PUC, several of them in panic. The police chased, hysterical, clubbing and throwing bombs that expelled gas, others that released flames and still others that splashed liquids that burned the skin. Students who entered PUC clashed with others who were leaving classes and going home. All this added to the panic, causing several students to fall down the ramp and be trampled and burned.

Several students managed to escape down Monte Alegre Street, and others through the back of PUC. But the police, acting in a coordinated and quick manner, surrounded the building soon after, invading it also through the entrances of Bartira, Ministro de Godoi and João Ramalho streets.

[...]

In the restaurant, several students and teachers, on break from class, were having a snack or having coffee, when they saw the rush on the ramp. Frightened, they closed the glass door of the restaurant. Minutes later the police arrived, breaking the door with clubs and invaded the restaurant, beating and insulting students, teachers and staff.

Students who were at the headquarters of student organizations were forcibly expelled, often without even having time to collect their documents and teaching materials. [...]

The offices of the DA for Philosophy and Letters, DA Leão XIII, CA for Social Sciences and Social Service, CA 22 de Agosto and the DCE were totally depredated. Doors that were closed with only the latch were kicked open. The drawers were ripped off the tables and their contents dumped on the floor.

In several remains of doors, the marks of the kicks were very clear. In several rooms, the acronym CCC was spray painted [...]

The library was also invaded and its occupants expelled with shouts and threats of batons. The police threw several books on the floor.

They violently and, using profanity, entered the classrooms, arresting all the occupants, and often beating them. [...]

It should be noted that the police, especially the plainclothes investigators, behaved with maximum violence and arbitrariness. They beat up anyone who passed in front of them. Several people saw a colleague who was shoved and clubbed, and when he fell to the ground on the ramp of the new building, he was kicked. Even after the Public Act was dispersed, they continued to drop bombs. Several policemen were too excited, lacking self-control, with completely “glassy” eyes. Insults, profanity and provocations were made all the time. All this violence was absolutely unnecessary, as there was, at no time, any attempt to react by the victims of the police aggression (DIRETÓRIO, 1977, p. 14, our translation).

The police intervention at PUC resulted in around 1000 arrests, that is, almost all students at PUC, USP and other universities who had a history of participating in the student movement. This violent attitude was condemned by the PUC rectory, Nadir Gouvêa Kfourri, believing that the police violence used was excessive. The students understood, therefore, that the invasion had been premeditated by the police, waiting only for a trigger, obtained by the assembly, to invade the university. In addition, they understood that the episode of repression was intended not only to repress the student movement, but also to curtail the freedom of political organization within the universities, which would lead to the future reorganization of the UNE and the debates by a Constituent Assembly that represented the interests of the majority of the population. It was also considered that the invasion should affect the rector of PUC, who was in favor of university autonomy, and the human rights sectors of the Archdiocese of São Paulo, linked to Arns. The Cardinal, in turn, was quite explicit in his denunciation of police arbitrariness:

The congress for the reconstitution of the UNE, prohibited by the federal authorities, is held clandestinely at the PUC. In retaliation, on the 22nd, while Dom Paulo is in Rome, the Catholic University is invaded by the men of Cel. Erasmo Dias and the University is devastated. Four girls are injured in the bomb blast and more than a thousand people, including teachers and students, are arrested and registered with DEOPS. When visiting the Campus, Dom Paulo says: “His children, being in exams or participating in other activities, were victims and not provocateurs... that this episode can clarify forever that the university is the place for debating the great problems of the country and the humanity.... That they do not force students to go illegal” (HÁ DEZ, 1980, p. 3, our translation).

The PUC case was one of the last moments of open conflict between the dictatorial regime and the students, although it also involved the progressive and human rights sectors of the Catholic Church in São Paulo. Even though the invasion of the PUC had once again tried

to dismantle the student movement, the repressive forces would no longer be able to prevent the advance of the grassroots organizations. For the next years, with less repression, the UNE could be organized again from 1979/1980. What remains of this case is that, despite the student movement presenting differences in relation to 1968, such as the defense of its own organizational freedom and university autonomy, the north of social transformation, towards a democratic society was set.

Final considerations

The case of the reorganization of the university student movement, the approximation with the progressive sectors and the defense of human rights of the Catholic Church and, finally, the conflict of invasion of the PUC, are cases that reveal changes in the political and organizational performance of the student movement towards that from the previous decade.

Firstly, as we have pointed out, the increase in violence following the closing of the UNE and the student prisons, in addition to the commission of crimes of forced disappearance and the extermination of guerrillas in Araguaia, made the 1968 generation forcibly abandon political protagonism. In this case, the growth of intimidation and fear generated by the political opponents of the regime corresponded to the reinforcement of the repressive state apparatus, in addition to the excessive, and therefore illegitimate, application of force. The commission of crimes and serious violations of human rights, which directly affect the student movement, lead to a solidarity created around the victims and the entities that mobilize with them.

In the same way, we can also state that, contrary to a spontaneous resumption of the student movement in the 1970s, it is the approximation of actors such as students and the progressive sectors of the Catholic Church that offer a way of support for the mobilizations and retention of the repression. However, the case of the invasion of the PUC reveals that this approach was still fragile, since the police forces were still concerned with suffocating all possible sources of resumption of the student organization. In this sense, an identity of the student movement is built that, although it combines with the movement of the previous decade, on the dissatisfaction with the military dictatorship, its main difference is the weaving of alliances against the exercise of discretion and police violence. Thus, it could not be categorically affirmed that the student movement is totally spontaneous in its rearticulation, nor that political entities and currents will have the same weight as before. In particular, the struggle for the resumption of the UNE does not only mean that interests have become

bureaucratized or institutionalized around a mere representation and moving away from the bases - which may be true for the 1980s and 1990s, but which already goes beyond the scope of this article's research.

This resumption means that, in the search for a space in a society that would move towards democracy, student movements should find interlocutors who could guarantee some political security and an apparatus of mobilization together with popular struggles. Finally, although it was not a 'new character' in the scope of the new social movements, its work continued towards the construction of a discursive matrix that valued representation and democratic freedoms, not implying a de-ideologization of the movement. At the end of the 1970s, the student movement became 'self-reflective' in terms of safeguarding against human rights violations.

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Annex 1: Communiqué on the death of colleague Alexandre Vanucchi Leme (Pamphlet), 22 March 1973.

COMUNICADO SOBRE A MORTE DO COLEGA ALEXANDRE VANUCCHI LEME

Quinta-feira última (22/3) os órgãos de divulgação noticiaram a morte do colega Alexandre Vanucchi Leme, estudante do 4º ano de Geologia da USP. Esta notícia causou profunda consternação não só nos estudantes e professores de sua escola, como em todos aqueles que souberam do fato.

Alexandre gozava de excelente reputação entre os alunos e professores de sua escola. Estudante exemplar, aprovado em primeiro lugar nos vestibulares, era ativo participante em todos os níveis da vida universitária. Sua dedicação ao curso e o profundo respeito e estima que seus colegas - lhe devotavam levaram-no a ser eleito representante oficial dos alunos na Congregação do Instituto de Geo-Ciências.

O colega foi preso provavelmente na sexta-feira (16/3) e, segundo a nota distribuída pelos órgãos de segurança, foi morto às 11:00 horas do sábado, dia 17. Esta prisão deu-se de forma clandestina, sem ordem escrita de autoridade competente, como inúmeras outras que têm ocorrido no país. Constitui, portanto, uma gritante arbitrariedade e é um claro atentado à Declaração Universal dos Direitos do Homem, da qual o Brasil é signatário, que afirma em seu artigo 9º: "Ninguém poderá ser arbitrariamente preso, detido ou desterrado".

Segundo informações oficiais, a trágica morte de Alexandre teria ocorrido por atropelamento, "ao tentar fugir quando era conduzido por agentes de segurança para encontro com um companheiro" (Folha de São Paulo, em 23/3/73). Atropelamentos de presos políticos têm ocorrido com tão surpreendente frequência que a veracidade desta notícia torna-se questionável. A quem poder-se-ia responsabilizar por este acontecimento senão aos órgãos que mantinham Alexandre em seu poder ?

As notícias acerca da morte do colega afirmam taxativamente sua participação em inúmeras ações. Esquecem-se, no entanto, que "Toda pessoa acusada de delito tem direito a que se presuma a sua inocência, enquanto não se provar a sua culpa, conforme a lei e em julgamento público, no qual se hajam assegurado todas as garantias necessárias à sua defesa" (artigo 11º, item 1, da Declaração Universal dos Direitos do Homem).

Alexandre, entre muitos outros no Brasil, foi rotulado de terrorista, como se isto pudesse justificar todas as arbitrariedades que contra ele foram cometidas.

Não devemos compreender a morte de Alexandre como um

isolado. A realidade nacional nos apresenta cotidianamente fatos que, como este, constituem clamorosas violações à Justiça, à Liberdade e à Dignidade Humana. E a Universidade não foge a essa regra. Encontram-se arbitrariamente presos 3 colegas de História (USP), 1 de Geografia (USP), 1 de Geologia (USP) e a presidente do DCE da PUC (GB). Os Centros Acadêmicos de História e Geografia (USP) foram invadidos, depredados e tiveram alguns mu - rais roubados. Isto para falarmos apenas dos fatos ocorridos nas últimas - semanas.

A situação, porém, atingiu o limite, já que nem mesmo o mais fundamental dos Direitos do Homem, o de viver, está sendo respeitado.

Por tudo isto, os colegas da USP e de algumas escolas da PUC (SP) - estão de luto. Luto que não traduz apenas o nosso imenso pesar pela irrep^{ar}ável perda do colega Alexandre, como também nossa união para repudiar este ignominioso estado de coisas a que nos vemos submetidos e assumir conscientemente a posição de dizer-lhe um basta.

São Paulo, 26 de março de 1973.

CENTRO PAULISTA DE ESTUDOS GEOLÓGICOS (GEOLOGIA-USP)
CENTRO DE ESTUDOS QUÍMICOS "HEINRICH RHEINBOLDT" (QUÍMICA-USP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO "VISCONDE DE CAIRU" (ECONOMIA-USP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO DE ESTUDOS LITERÁRIOS (LETRAS-USP)
CENTRO DE ESTUDOS GEOGRÁFICOS "CAPISTRANO DE ABREU" (GEOGRAFIA-USP)
CENTRO DE ESTUDOS DE FÍSICA E MATEMÁTICA (USP)
GRÊMIO POLITÉCNICO (ESCOLA POLITÉCNICA USP)
GRÊMIO DA FACULDADE DE ARQUITETURA E URBANISMO (USP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO "OSWALDO CRUZ" (MEDICINA-USP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO "XI DE AGOSTO" (DIREITO-USP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO "Prof. JOÃO CRUZ COSTA" (FILOSOFIA-USP)
CENTRO DE ESTUDOS HISTÓRICOS "VISCONDE D'E. TAUNNAY" (HIST.-USP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO "ROCHA LIMA" (MEDICINA-USP-RIBEIRÃO PRETO)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO DE FILOSOFIA (USP-RIBEIRÃO PRETO)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO "LUPE COTRIN" (COMUNICAÇÕES-USP)
ASSOCIAÇÃO UNIVERSITÁRIA DOS ESTUDANTES DE PSICOLOGIA (USP)
CENTRO UNIVERSITÁRIO DE PESQUISAS E ESTUDOS SOCIAIS (C. SociaisUSP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO DE ENFERMAGEM (USP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO "LEÃO XIII" (ECONOMIA-PUC-SP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO "SEDES SAPIENTIAE" (PSICOLOGIA -PUC-SP)
CENTRO ACADÊMICO DE FILOSOFIA (SÃO BENTO-PUC-SP)

Source: Unesp Documentation and Memory Center (CEDEM), Archivo Storico del Movimento Operario Brasileiro (ASMOB), Caixa 116-03

Annex 2 - Platform for the DCE-USP. Freedom and Struggle, May 1977.



Source: Unesp Documentation and Memory Center (CEDEM), Centro de Documentação do Movimento Operário Mário Pedrosa (CEMAP), Livraria Palavra, Caixa 88

Annex 3 - For ten years he has been our pastor. Culture and Faith House, October 1980.

Há dez anos é nosso Pastor

distribuição gratuita, Casa Cultura e Fé, Outubro 1980

Dom Paulo, 1970-1980

Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns foi nomeado arcebispo de São Paulo em 1970. No dia 1 de Novembro, na Catedral Metropolitana, foi celebrada a missa de posse. Dom Paulo então, se apresentou com o povo com as seguintes palavras, abrindo a homília:

“Venho do passado, que se torna presente e futuro pela Palavra sempre viva de Jesus. É o senhor que me envia...

... Venho do passado. De longa convivência com o cristianismo nascente, com homens e mulheres fracos que enfrentavam perseguições do maior e mais organizado gigante da História, o Império Romano. Convivi por quase 30 anos (estudioso da história primeira da Igreja) com homens de grande coração e inteligência como Santo Agostinho, Santo Ambrósio, São Gregório Nazianzeno e São João Crisóstomo, que explicitaram com vigor e arte não ser o cristianismo uma ideologia, mas a crítica fraterna e firme a todas as ideologias. Estive em companhia de Francisco de Assis e dele trago a missão eterna de Paz do Bem. Vi o lobo reconciliar-se com os habitantes amedrontados da cidade...



**Passaram-se dez anos
Este homem e sua ação
marcaram o seu tempo e o
seu povo
Quem é ele o que fez?**

Venho de cátedras de Universidade e dos morros de po-

breza em torno à minha cidade de Petrópolis; morros que rivalizam com os as mesmas cátedras em seus ensinamentos e na demonstração da pequenez do homem diante das tarefas que o esperam.

... Que o Santo Sacrificio da Missa que iniciamos juntos nos una a todos os pobres,

aflitos e famintos, que lutam e esperam e, morrendo, ressuscitarão.”

**Captando
os sinais dos tempos
e ouvindo
a voz de Deus
na história de hoje**

Source: Unesp Documentation and Memory Center (CEDEM), Centro de Documentação do Movimento Operário Mário Pedrosa (CEMAP), Livraria Palavra, Caixa 88