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The formation of a large-scale policy for the production and distribution of school textbooks through COLTED and FENAME (1966–1983)

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Abstract: This article analyzes the constitution of large-scale public policies for the production, evaluation, and distribution of textbooks during the Brazilian civil-military dictatorship, focusing on the period between 1966, the year in which the Commission for Technical and Textbooks (COLTED) was created, and 1983, when the National Foundation for School Materials (FENAME) was dissolved. The article is based on the hypothesis that these state apparatuses played strategic roles in consolidating an educational policy aimed at expanding compulsory schooling, reorganizing curricula, and disseminating values compatible with the regime's authoritarian, technocratic, and anti-communist project. At the same time, it argues that these institutions were traversed by disputes involving the State, the private publishing market, foreign interests, political interference, and corrupt practices. Methodologically, the research employs qualitative content analysis, drawing on official documents, ministerial reports, agreements, correspondence, legislation, and records located especially in the Historical Archive of INEP. The article concludes that the analysis of COLTED and FENAME makes it possible to understand the ambiguities of an educational policy that combined school expansion, ideological control, market-oriented inducement, and the private appropriation of public resources within the civil-military dictatorship.

Keywords: educational policy; textbooks; civil-military dictatorship; COLTED; FENAME.

1 Introduction

This article examines the process of formulating large-scale policies for the production and/or distribution of textbooks under the Brazilian civil-military dictatorship between 1966 — with the establishment of the Commission for Technical and Textbooks (COLTED) — and 1983, the year in which the National Foundation for School Materials (FENAME)¹ was dissolved, spaces of political dispute that were also

¹ The contributions of this article derive from a Master's research project in Education (which resulted in a completed master's thesis) and from an ongoing doctoral study in Education, both conducted within the field of the History of Education in Brazil.



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shaped by conflicts of interest and corrupt practices, as well as by the active interference of the private publishing industry and the capture of this bureaucracy by political family clans.

This hypothesis is supported by the specialized literature on the subject, which has taken the role of COLTED and FENAME as operators of textbook and school materials policies between the 1960s and the 1980s as its object of study. To select the references highlighted in this section, we first conducted a survey of the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (Biblioteca Digital de Dissertações e Teses – BDTD), where we identified 130 records using the search terms “textbooks” and “dictatorship,” subsequently refining the search with the terms “COLTED” or (and) “FENAME,” which yielded five master's theses and doctoral dissertations. Using the same search terms, we also searched the SciELO database, obtaining four results, three of which were directly related to the search terms “COLTED” or (and) “FENAME”; the *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* (33 results for the search term “textbooks” and none for “COLTED” or “FENAME”); the *Revista História da Educação* (ASPHE), which contained three articles related to the search terms “textbooks” and “dictatorship” and none for “COLTED” or “FENAME”; *Cadernos de História da Educação* (UFU), which returned 21 results for “textbooks” and none for the other search terms, although only two of these publications addressed the period of the Brazilian civil-military dictatorship; and Google Scholar, where the search for the term “COLTED” yielded eight results, comprising journal articles (several of which had already been identified through the previous journal searches), master's theses, doctoral dissertations (many of which had also been retrieved from the BDTD database), and papers published in conference proceedings.

Since the time of the events themselves in the 1960s, “contemporaneous” analyses were produced regarding the problems associated with the so-called “MEC–USAID agreements,” offering strong criticism of their anti-nationalist character and of foreign interference in Brazilian educational affairs. One notable example is the polemical work by Alves (1968), which denounced the excessive interference of U.S. experts in the establishment of COLTED and the promotion of the publishing market (private and corporate) as the principal producer of textbook content.

Turning to more recent scholarship, among the master's theses and doctoral dissertations on this subject are studies such as Krafizik's dissertation (2006), which

explains COLTED as one of the most direct outcomes of the MEC–USAID agreements and of the strong steering role played by the U.S. agency in the preparation and implementation of structural changes in Brazilian education, such as the reforms of higher education and of first- and second-level education. Rossi's dissertation (2018), which examines the repercussion of the MEC–USAID agreements in the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* between 1961 and 1973, reconstructs the debate surrounding the political significance of the relationship between Brazil and the United States and the effects of the interference of a foreign power in shaping national issues, including the formulation of educational policies (such as those concerning textbooks) that reflected a technicist and subordinate model, determined by the strong influence of the United States.

Within this body of literature, particular attention should be given to the studies by Filgueiras (2006, 2011, 2013, 2015), who produced in-depth analyses offering a comprehensive view of the roles played by COLTED, the National Book Institute (INL), and FENAME in the process of formulating a coordinated public policy, conceived and implemented from the 1960s onward and subsequently transformed into a long-term program in the early 1980s. Notwithstanding the breadth of Filgueiras's analyses, we argue that the present article contributes, in comparison with those studies, by bringing to the forefront information, figures, and objectives that reveal the horizon envisioned by the architects of COLTED and FENAME and, subsequently, by their operators, namely, to formulate, shape, and implement a nationwide public policy with a capillary structure, designed to address the large-scale production and distribution of textbooks, course textbooks, and instructional materials. To this end, we sought to extract this information from the content of primary sources produced by COLTED, FENAME, the Ministry of Education, and other related agencies (such as ministerial reports, draft agreements, activity reports, incoming and outgoing correspondence, and legislation), many of which are preserved in the Historical Archive of INEP².

² Regarding this archival collection, Campos (2023, p. 17, translated by the authors) explains that “the Historical Archive of the Anísio Teixeira National Institute for Educational Research and Studies (INEP) (<http://arquivohistorico.inep.gov.br/index.php/>) holds a large volume of digitized documents available for access through the World Wide Web, which, taken as a whole, were produced and accumulated as a result of the numerous activities carried out by the Ministry of Education over several decades.” Within this archival collection, numerous documents relating to the activities of COLTED and FENAME, as well as to the day-to-day functioning of the bureaucracy responsible for administering textbook policy during the 1960s and 1970s, can be found.

To examine these sources, we employed qualitative content analysis, a methodology characterized by organizing data sets through an in-depth examination of the implicit codifications embedded in texts — namely, semantics, semiotics, linguistics, and the analysis of representations — which may bring to light the “underlying”, hidden, or veiled meanings that cannot be uncovered through the mere direct reading of written textual sources, as explained by Aróstegui (2006).

In general, the techniques that make it possible to obtain additional information from written primary sources through the analysis of their internal codifications (both explicit and implicit) are referred to as “content analysis” techniques. These techniques enable “[...] quantitative studies of vocabulary, semantics, forms of expression, and all of this permits and, possibly, even recommends comparative analysis [...]” (Aróstegui, 2006, p. 525, translated by the authors)³.

In accordance with this approach to the analysis of documentary sources, we conducted an initial reading of the sources examined in the present study in order to isolate, within their contents, what we considered to be a central object of analysis: the broad scope of the objectives underlying an equally far-reaching intervention in Brazilian public schooling. From this point onward, we proceeded to a second level of analysis, guided by the objective of identifying, within the texts of the bureaucratic documents, the institutional arrangements that had been established, the public and private organizations involved, and the purposes they sought to achieve. We then completed this analytical procedure by highlighting both the passages referring to the intended scope of the planned action as it was translated into an implemented public policy, as reported in the documents, and specific figures concerning the volume of textbook distribution, the programs carried out, and the institutional actors involved. Based on these procedures for reading and systematizing the information extracted from the sources, we organized this article into the following sections: considerations on the MEC–USAID–SNEL agreements; textbook policy under COLTED (1966–1971);

³ According to Julio Aróstegui, content analysis “is an old technique, but one that has now been developed on much more sophisticated foundations, making it essential to qualitative data analysis. It is a technique based on the analysis of language, but its objective is not to understand language in and of itself, but rather to ‘infer’ some other distinct reality through it. [...] A more comprehensive definition is currently the one that describes it as ‘a set of communication analysis techniques’ that seeks to provide indicators (whether quantitative or not) through systematic and objective procedures for describing the content of messages, thereby allowing the inference of knowledge concerning the conditions under which those messages are produced/received (inferred variables)” (Aróstegui, 2006, pp. 525–526, translated by the authors).

the decline of COLTED (partly as a result of corruption scandals) and the rise of FENAME (1971–1976); textbook policy under FENAME (1976–1983); the decline of FENAME in the early 1980s (also partly as a result of corruption scandals); and final considerations.

Having established the organizational framework of the present article, we begin by highlighting some contextual aspects that were relevant to the expansion of the dictatorship's school policies in Brazil and that date back to the period immediately preceding the mid-1960s, when negotiations for the establishment of COLTED began. The mass dissemination of textbook use, for example, had already become a subject of international debate since the late 1950s. The recommendations issued at the Twenty-Second International Conference on Public Education, held in Geneva in 1959, emphasized two important aspects of textbook policy. First, they underscored the importance of textbooks and instructional materials as indispensable resources for school education. Second, they stressed that, in order to ensure the presence of such materials in classrooms, it was essential for countries to promote their large-scale production without compromising the pedagogical and scientific quality of their content. A few years later, these two recommendations would be appropriated by the principal architects of Brazil's textbook production and distribution policy, formulated during the 1960s and culminating in the establishment of the National Commission for Technical and Textbooks (COLTED).

Established in 1966 to provide an institutional framework for a partnership in which the then Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)⁴ of the United States of America, and companies from the Brazilian publishing industry, represented by the National Book Publishers Association (SNEL), were active participants, COLTED was primarily intended to “[...] provide textbooks free of charge to all school students in Brazil and ensure an adequate supply of low-cost books for all Brazilian university students [...]”, undertaking, to this end, the publication and distribution of 51 million copies during the

⁴ Since 2025, as a result of decisions made during the second administration of Donald J. Trump (2025–2029), USAID has been undergoing a process of dissolution, with nearly all of its principal programs and activities in foreign countries having been discontinued and its personnel in the United States and abroad having been dismissed. This measure had immediate repercussions for USAID's presence on the World Wide Web, as we observed when consulting the organization's digital archive. The USAID homepage (see: <https://www.usaid.gov/>) now displays only a notice announcing the dissolution of the agency.

three years following its establishment (Brazil, 1966b). Based on this central objective, COLTED also adopted structural objectives, including strengthening and expanding the Brazilian publishing industry, improving book distribution systems, substantially expanding school libraries, and training teachers in the use of textbooks in the classroom (Brazil, 1966b)⁵. In summary, during the second half of the 1960s, a large-scale policy was being implemented to accompany the prospect of a significant expansion in the reach of schooling among the Brazilian population, a process that would be driven by the educational reforms of first- and second-level education implemented in 1971.

2 The MEC–USAID agreements and textbook policy under COLTED (1966–1971)

To achieve the objectives of the newly established COLTED, USAID assumed the role of an expert in the development of technocratic public policies, as it was responsible for “[...] providing advisory services and technical assistance through specialists [...] to work with publishers and the Ministry on various aspects of the implementation of the program [...]”, including “[...] distribution, printing, bookbinding, paper manufacturing, layout design, book writing and illustration, publishing, librarianship, and other activities related to technical, textbook, and reference books [...]” (Brazil, 1966a, pp. 21–22, translated by the authors). According to the primary documentation relating to the MEC–SNEL–USAID Agreement, the initial estimates established under the agreement were as follows:

The Letter of Agreement dated November 10, 1966, addressed by the Ministers of Planning and Economic Coordination, Finance, and Education and Culture to the Director of USAID/Brazil, constitutes an integral part of this Agreement. In accordance with the provisions established in the aforementioned letter, the amount of Cr\$ 15 billion from the Special Counterpart Fund, derived from Loan 512-L-055 under the 1966 Program, shall be made available to the Ministry of Education and Culture to finance this program during approximately its first nine months” (Brazil, 1966a, p. 17, translated by the authors).

To implement the allocation of these resources — as established in the content of Circular Letter No. 23/67/SG/GD (Subject: COLTED Program), dated June 27, 1967, sent by the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Education and Culture to the Director

⁵ By way of example, and as will be discussed below, by mid-1966, 3,435 libraries had been established for the Secondary Level through the initiatives undertaken by COLTED (Publicações [...], 1966).

of the National Institute of Educational Studies — COLTED adopted as its immediate objective, to be carried out over the following three years, the acquisition and subsequent distribution of approximately 51 million textbooks throughout the Brazilian school system. This initiative was initially to be financed through the resources provided under the Agreement of November 10, 1966, between the Brazilian Government and USAID, and the Agreement signed on January 6, 1967, between the MEC, SNEL, and USAID, which provided for “[...] the release of funds amounting to 30 million new cruzeiros during the current fiscal year [...]” (Brazil, 1967d, translated by the authors).

Concurrently, the National Book Publishers Association (SNEL) was expected to “[...] cooperate with the technical advisors of USAID/Brazil and COLTED in the effective use of such technical assistance to improve the writing, illustration, layout design, printing, and binding of educational books [...]”, as well as to collaborate with the Ministry of Education and Culture in the development of “improved book distribution systems” and “school libraries” (Brazil, 1966a, p. 23, translated by the authors). As for the Ministry of Education and Culture, its role was to assimilate the lines of action devised for this policy and, subsequently, to ensure its implementation through its technical branch responsible for expanding the use of textbooks, fostering the publishing industry, and, above all, financing this policy.

COLTED was designed to serve as the specialized arm of a sectoral policy articulated with broader structural policies, such as the expansion of access to elementary schooling on a nationwide scale, conceived and implemented through the major educational reforms of 1968 and 1971. The 1968 University Reform removed barriers to educational progression, culminating in the abolition of the former admission examinations and, subsequently, in the establishment of competitive university entrance examinations (vestibulares), in which admission was determined by the number of places available in each degree program, among other measures. These initiatives were intended to respond to the demands of the middle classes—whose size had increased as a result of, among other factors, the country's urbanization process, successive cycles of industrialization, the growing need for technical personnel within an expanding state bureaucracy, and the economic growth of the 1950s and 1960s—for access to higher education. At the same time, they sought to increase the years of schooling completed by the popular classes in order to train a large contingent of skilled

labor, in accordance with the objectives projected by the reform of vocational education at the Secondary Education (Segundo Grau) (Cunha; Góes, 2002; Nosella, 2000).

The aforementioned middle classes constituted an expanding socioeconomic segment between 1960 and 1976, accounting for approximately 15% of the country's economically active population and receiving 26.6% of the Gross National Product (GNP), with their share increasing to “[...] 27.38% in 1970 and 28.0% in 1976 [...]” (Alves, 1987, p. 149).⁶ According to Cunha and Góes (2002), as a result of the expansion of bureaucracies in both the public and private sectors, beginning in the 1940s, young people from the middle sectors of Brazilian society increasingly sought places in undergraduate programs at public, tuition-free higher education institutions, which represented a relatively secure pathway for upward social mobility. By contrast, the policies pursued by the military dictatorship were primarily intended to accelerate the process of capital accumulation by large-scale capital, which, in turn, required controlling the demands expressed by the middle classes for access to higher education.

To fulfill its mission of organizing the large-scale production of instructional materials and school textbooks within an ecosystem composed of authors, publishers, publishing companies, printing industries, the Ministry, and the U.S. agency responsible for supervision and dissemination, as well as placing orders and stimulating production through the injection of public funds into the publishing industry, COLTED's leadership, in the years immediately following 1966, organized events intended to bring together representatives of state public education administrations, higher education institutions, Ministry officials, publishers, and textbook authors. These meetings served to disseminate the implementation guidelines for the still-emerging textbook policy. The first event of this kind, the First COLTED Study Week, held from May 2 to 6, 1967, was attended by MEC directors, university rectors, professors, publishers, and representatives of state departments of education and universities from various regions of the country (Brazil, 1967a).

At the opening of the event, with the purpose of presenting the framework upon which this nationwide public policy had been conceived, Édson Franco, Secretary-

⁶ By comparison, the data on income concentration among the wealthiest 5% of the Brazilian population are even more striking, as this segment accounted for “[...] 27.69% of the Gross National Product (GNP) in 1960, 34.86% in 1970, and 39% in 1976 [...]” (Alves, 1987, p. 149, translated by the authors).

General of the MEC and representative of the Minister of Education and Culture, emphasized that the textbook policy, then in the early stages of implementation, rested upon a threefold partnership composed of: a) the Ministry of Education and Culture; b) the National Book Publishers Association, which “[...] brings together all those who, within the sphere of private enterprise, are committed, in collaboration with the Public Authorities and in the name of the common good, to the preparation and dissemination of texts appropriate for Brazilian schools [...]” (Brazil, 1967b, p. 25, translated by the authors); and c) the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), “[...] without which the program would not have achieved the momentum it has acquired, with the purpose of transforming the community by endowing it with the moral, intellectual, material, religious, and technical qualities so essential to its integral development,” as emphasized by Édson Franco (Brazil, 1967b, p. 25, translated by the authors). The opening address made clear to the audience that the organization of the intellectual and material chain of textbook production, structured around the tripartite MEC–SNEL–USAID arrangement, constituted a fundamental component of the policy to be guided — as implied in the MEC official's speech — by the set of values underpinning the political coalition that sustained the regime and envisioned a conservative society, free from social conflict, committed to work, devoid of political demands, and deeply Christian, preferably removed from the reformist perspectives of the Second Vatican Council and Liberation Theology.

At events of this nature, COLTED and MEC officials—assisted by individuals with technical expertise and experience in school education, generally textbook authors involved in teacher education programs and with professional experience both in publishing houses and within the Ministry—presented the textbook policy that had been designed to extend regulatory oversight across all the major stages of the textbook chain, from conceptualization and industrial production to classroom use. This policy encompassed: a) the intellectual development of textbook content by authors and publishers, in accordance with the curricular guidelines that were likewise being developed and implemented during the early years of the dictatorship; b) specifications concerning print runs and production scale, the selection of commissioned titles, and the distribution and allocation of the published materials; and c) guidance on how teachers were expected to use textbooks in the classroom, as well as the pedagogical

practices that these books were intended to promote in work with students within the school environment.

With regard to the intellectual development of textbooks by authors and publishers — and already anticipating the body of knowledge that was expected to reach classrooms throughout the country — Lúcia Marques Pinheiro (a specialist at the then National Institute of Educational Studies [INEP], as well as a representative of the technical personnel who supported the leadership of COLTED and the MEC) argued, at the same event, that the parameters governing both the development of textbook content and its classroom use should be aligned with the needs of Brazilian schools. According to her, school curricula should take into account “[...] the requirements of integration, which presuppose the development of an enlightened love for the country and for the local community, the resulting commitment to the common good, and the capacity to exercise such participation with initiative, reflection, and collective effort [...]” (Brazil, 1967b, p. 51, translated by the authors). For the development of a “local spirit” and of “national unity,” Pinheiro (Brazil, 1967b, p. 51) argued that it was essential for school curricula to include not only Portuguese Language, Mathematics, and Science, but also History and Geography (more precisely, Social Studies), in order to strengthen “[...] emotional balance and an enlightened love for our own values, both of which are so important from the standpoint of a secure and progressive social development [...]” (Brazil, 1967b, p. 51, translated by the authors).

Although these perspectives appeared, at first glance, to be consensual, the speeches delivered by MEC officials and technical staff during the First COLTED Study Week strategically underscored, before a representative audience, the foundational character of COLTED as a product of the MEC–USAID–SNEL partnership, thereby providing the initial impetus for the nationwide dissemination of the new policy through its influence on the actors involved in the production and use of school textbooks within state education systems and classrooms. Equally central to this endeavor was the demonstration that concerns regarding content extended beyond what was printed in textbooks to encompass what would ultimately be taught in classrooms. For this reason, the speech delivered by Lúcia Marques Pinheiro — speaking as a member of the bureaucracy of the Ministry of Education and Culture — left no doubt that the entire textbook production process would be aligned with editorial perspectives consistent

with the ideological grammar of the dictatorial regime, emphasizing themes associated with the lines of intervention in society formulated by the political coalition that sustained the regime and whose representatives and leading figures within the State were responsible for shaping public policies concerning social life, culture, the economy, national security, public security, health, and, above all, education (Campos, 2023).

The grammar to which we refer denotes the set of values that structured a particular mode of producing social cohesion around the principal axes of action organized by the dictatorial regime from its earliest years of control over the State. These axes were oriented toward national security — with the resulting “Brazilian integration” constituting one of their central imperatives — and toward national development through major infrastructure projects, the mechanization of agriculture, and, more broadly, interventions in the economy and sociocultural life. From the perspective of the political coalition governing the regime, these objectives required influencing consciousness, behavior, and individual conduct in order to secure adherence through work while suppressing social conflict — and, whenever deemed necessary, through violence, given that the regime maintained a repressive apparatus operating both behind the scenes and in the public sphere of social life—as well as restricting forms of citizenship based on political demands and collective claims (Campos, 2023).

Two years after the first edition, COLTED's leadership maintained the same event format by organizing the Second COLTED Study Week, held from March 4 to 9, 1968, at the Rotary Club of São Paulo. During this second edition, the discussions focused on major themes, including the evaluation procedures for the selection of book materials, the appropriate use of textbooks in the classroom, and the operation of COLTED libraries. The activities were organized into committees, such as “Use of COLTED Libraries,” “Elementary Education,” “Secondary Education,” and “Implementation,” which were, in turn, subdivided into smaller working groups. In one of these sectoral committees, the “Social Studies Subcommittee,” coordinated by Maria Onolita Peixoto and with Maria Nazaré Corte Costa serving as rapporteur, the principal issue addressed concerned the role of the textbook in the classroom and the understanding that it should not function as a static and passive aid in the hands of teachers and students, but rather as a dynamic instrument capable of contributing to

the achievement of the instructional objectives of the field, which were intrinsically linked to the formation of students' social conduct as active and responsible members of their communities. Consequently, the ideas and facts presented in textbooks should enable children to understand how — and why — human beings adapt to their physical and social environments, thereby fostering the development of relationships and the ability to solve problems applicable to real-life situations (Brazil, 1968a). Furthermore, recognizing that the textbook constituted only one element within the broader repertoire of instructional resources, the subcommittee's report argued that the Social Studies textbook, by virtue of the nature of the discipline itself, could not serve as the “sole textbook” and should therefore be supplemented by other reference materials, including maps, globes, and “specialized reference books,” such as “[...] books devoted to specific subjects, including Geography, History, Civic Education, Anthropological, Sociological, and Economic Studies at the child's level [...]” (Brazil, 1968a, p. 25, translated by the authors).

The record of the debates held during COLTED's events also reveals the expectations placed upon the educational processes set in motion through textbooks, insofar as they were expected to give rise to pedagogical practices that required not only teachers' ability to use these materials effectively, but also the establishment of classroom dynamics aimed at fostering patterns of conduct and mental dispositions which, at first glance, appeared reasonably neutral but, in fact, reflected the content prescriptions established for Social Studies. Strictly speaking, these prescriptions promoted a patriotic interpretation of Brazilian nation-building — exemplified by the notion of “the student's social conduct as an active and responsible member of the community” — as well as of the country's institutions and of humanity's place in the world, all of which were taught within a society shaped by the rule of a dictatorial regime.

In addition to its agenda of mobilizing and persuading actors within the specialized field of school education — through initiatives such as study weeks, teacher education courses, and institutional meetings — another strategy adopted by COLTED was to mediate the relationship between the private and public sectors as part of its responsibilities for implementing Brazil's textbook policy. Between 1966 and 1971, the network responsible for the production of instructional and school materials, of which COLTED was an integral part, already demonstrated that meeting the

challenge of expanding production and distribution on a large scale depended directly on commissioning large print runs of textbooks and manufacturing school supplies in corresponding quantities. Publishing houses, for example, operated within the framework of the MEC–USAID–SNEL partnership and COLTED's textbook policy by including titles — often organized into complete series — from their catalogs to be produced, purchased, and delivered to the Ministry in print runs numbering in the thousands of copies for nationwide distribution.

Representatives of publishing houses approached COLTED with a thorough understanding of how the mechanisms of this policy operated, as illustrated by a 1968 letter from the director of Livraria José Olympio Editora S/A addressed to Elza Nascimento Alves, the Commission's director, who also held a degree in Pedagogy, served as an MEC education specialist through the civil service examination system, and worked as an elementary school teacher and teacher educator (teaching the subject Teaching Practice) at the Santos Anjos Teacher Training School, in the state of Minas Gerais. She was also “[...] former head of the Educational and Vocational Guidance Section of INEP [...]” (Brazil, 1968b, p. 78, translated by the authors), as well as “[...] an INEP specialist who, throughout the 1950s, participated in the research conducted at the Brazilian Center for Educational Research (CBPE) on educational guidance and school organization [...]” (Filgueiras, 2015, p. 93, translated by the authors).

In the letter, Geraldo Jordão Pereira, the publishing house's deputy director, provides a remarkably perceptive account of the conditions surrounding the production of school textbooks by summarizing the relationship between the publishing industry and the Ministry, as well as the conduct of publishing houses within the framework of the educational policy then in force. In the correspondence, the director of José Olympio sought to secure the adoption of a book series published by an American publishing house, emphasizing the quality of the proposed collection and indicating precisely within which branch of the textbook production and distribution policy that series would fit:

Rio de Janeiro, July 4, 1968.

To the Esteemed Ms.
Elza Nascimento Alves
Distinguished Member of the Technical and Textbook Commission (COLTED)
In this City

Dear Madam,

In response to the aspirations expressed by educators and scientists participating in the Thirteenth National Education Congress, as well as to the government guidelines established in the Three-Year Education Plan, José Olympio Publishing House has incorporated popular science publications into its publishing program.

The first publication of this kind is the Life Science Library, whose first four titles were released to the public in December of last year. We had the honor and satisfaction of receiving an order from COLTED for 2,835 copies of each title.

Of the 3,435 secondary-level libraries established during the second phase of the COLTED Plan, 500 secondary schools and 100 industrial schools did not receive these titles.

In order that these libraries, as well as the 1,975 libraries of the same educational level and the 2,000 libraries established under the PAMP during the first phase of the aforementioned plan, may include the books of the first Life Science Library series in their collections, we would greatly appreciate receiving an order from this Commission for that purpose.

Continuing the publication of the Life Science Library, we have just released the second series, comprising the following titles: MATHEMATICS, THE HUMAN BODY, MACHINES, and THE MIND. Next September, we will publish the third series, which will include the following volumes: LIGHT AND VISION, SOUND AND HEARING, THE SCIENTIST, and THE PLANETS.

We are confident that this Commission will wish to include, in its 5,410 secondary-level libraries and 2,000 elementary-level libraries (PAMP), the titles comprising the second and third series of the Life Science Library.

Given the importance of this collection, we consider it appropriate to enclose the opinions of two distinguished Brazilians who have devoted their efforts to the advancement of our national culture — Rachel de Queiroz and Péricles Madureira de Pinho.

Thanking you in advance, we remain,

Yours sincerely,

[stamp] José Olympio Publishing House S/A

[stamp] Deputy Director

[signature] Geraldo Jordão Pereira (Publicações [...], 1966, p. 8, translated by the authors).

Directly and formally approaching directors and members of the educational bureaucracy — particularly at the federal level — was not an unusual practice among publishing house representatives. After all, sending catalogs accompanied by reviews prepared by specialists of recognized expertise and public prestige formed part of the business strategies adopted by publishing companies, which operated within a “[...] market that had been shaped over the course of the twentieth century in Brazil, following the successive cycles of educational expansion and the growing reach of schooling among the population [...]” (Campos, 2023, p. 45, translated by the authors). The body of documents accumulated during the years of activity of COLTED and FENAME and preserved in the Historical Archive of INEP contains numerous letters of

this nature, in which representatives of publishing houses — such as Companhia Editora Nacional, Melhoramentos, and Civilização Brasileira, among others — approached COLTED's leadership in order to secure the inclusion of titles from their catalogs in government procurement programs, already specifying projected print runs and identifying the distribution and school supply networks through which their publications could be incorporated — as in the case of the Life Science Library, a publishing series offered both to the general public and through the government purchases promoted by COLTED.

The aforementioned PAMP (*Programa de Ação Para o Material de Ensino Primário* — Primary Education Materials Action Program) was a program that supplied books directly to school libraries and formed part of COLTED's broader initiatives to establish and expand library collections in educational institutions on a scale reaching thousands of schools throughout the country. In the context under discussion, the objective was to promote the publication catalogs of these publishing houses “[...] during the 1966–1968 biennium, with the purpose of presenting series and titles ranging from technical books and pedagogical works for teacher education programs to children's literature collections and textbooks [...]” (Campos, 2023, p. 45, translated by the authors).

This process of public–private collaboration was supported by the creation of a political–educational ecosystem conducive to the expansion of the publishing industry. By way of illustration, in November 1967, an internal COLTED report recorded the establishment of the following number of primary-level school libraries: 16 in Acre, 115 in Alagoas, 53 in Amazonas, 500 in Bahia, 298 in Ceará, 12 in the Federal District, 105 in Espírito Santo, 183 in Goiás, 84 in Guanabara, 274 in Maranhão, 647 in Minas Gerais, 96 in Pará, 183 in Paraíba, 317 in Paraná, 295 in Pernambuco, 127 in Piauí, 212 in Rio de Janeiro, 89 in Rio Grande do Norte, 350 in Rio Grande do Sul, 104 in Santa Catarina, 634 in São Paulo, and 58 in Sergipe (Brazil, 1968b).

3 The decline of COLTED and the rise of FENAME (1971-1976)

Despite the figures achieved and its role as the implementing agency of a large-scale public policy established within a few years, COLTED's decline began as the dictatorial regime entered a period of even greater political closure and repression.

Reflecting the political context of 1968, marked by the enactment of Institutional Act No. 5, pressures exerted by the military wing of the regime's governing coalition began to affect COLTED as early as the beginning of 1969. Filgueiras (2011) notes that the replacement of the Commission's Executive Director — from the civilian specialist Ruy Baldaque to Colonel Ary Leonardo Pereira — clearly reflected this authoritarian intensification. In turn, this change indicates that, during this period, the regime's increasing repression was accompanied by renewed efforts to extend its control over the state apparatus through both large- and small-scale purges carried out in the name of counter-subversive purification of the bureaucracy, thereby creating opportunities for greater military occupation of positions within the State, we argue. Moreover, this was also a period of transition, marked by the rise of the hybrid model — a public foundation with characteristics of a business enterprise — represented by FENAME over the bureaucratic structure previously embodied by COLTED.

Although COLTED continued its activities throughout 1970 — including the submission of book lists to Companhia Editora Nacional for the acquisition of titles under the Book Program for Students, the COLTED Library Expansion Program, and the COLTED Library Supplementation Program (Filgueiras, 2011) — the Commission was drawn into a new crisis triggered by allegations of scandals in 1971 involving suspected irregularities with transportation companies, publishing houses, and manufacturers of boxes used to assemble the libraries. The allegations focused on specific illicit practices, “[...] such as cases in which boxes supposedly containing textbooks were filled with telephone directories in order to justify the weight and quantity of materials to be distributed, thereby benefiting the transportation companies [...]” (Oliveira; Guimarães; Bomény, 1984, p. 56, translated by the authors). Corroborating the seriousness of the growing doubts regarding COLTED's effectiveness as the agency responsible for implementing the policy and administering public funds, Maria Alice Barroso, who served as director of the National Book Institute (INL) from 1970 to 1974, stated that “[...] at the beginning of her tenure she identified the case of a distribution company whose existence coincided exactly with that of COLTED [...]” and that, with the termination of the “[...] MEC program, the company also ceased to exist [...]” (Oliveira; Guimarães; Bomény, 1984, p. 56, translated by the authors).

As the crisis intensified following the corruption allegations, on March 5, 1971, Jarbas Passarinho, then Minister of Education, established a Commission of Inquiry (Ordinance No. 6) to investigate the allegations of irregularities involving COLTED⁷. Shortly thereafter, on April 5, the Minister ordered the creation of a task force (Ordinance No. 178)⁸ charged with preparing a proposal for restructuring the agencies responsible for textbook policy, from the production of textbooks to their distribution to libraries. In essence, the task force was instructed to determine whether agencies such as the INL, COLTED, and FENAME should continue to exist or whether the responsibilities of one institution should be partially or wholly absorbed by another, with the aim of optimizing public expenditure and productivity, as well as strengthening government oversight of the sector. More than simply pursuing efficiency in a rather loosely defined sense, however, as Filgueiras explains, “[...] Ordinance No. 178 issued by the Minister of Education reflected the government's concern with reducing and exercising greater control over the agencies responsible for textbook policy [...]” (Filgueiras, 2011, p. 198, translated by the authors).

As a consequence, COLTED was abolished on June 9, 1971, by Decree No. 68,728 (Filgueiras, 2011; Oliveira; Guimarães; Bomény, 1984). As a result of these measures, implemented under the authority of the Minister, and considering that Jarbas Passarinho was one of the principal architects of the dictatorship's major educational interventions and policies during the late 1960s and the early 1970s, textbook policy entered a period of institutional reorganization, as responsibility for its implementation was transferred to other institutional bodies associated with COLTED, such as FENAME and the INL.

Between 1966 and 1967, in addition to COLTED, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) created a second institutional structure to play a complementary role in implementing the national textbook and instructional materials policy: the National Foundation for School Materials (FENAME). Established by Law No. 5,327/1967, FENAME was conceived as a non-profit entity whose primary purpose was to replace the former National Campaign for Teaching Materials (CNME), created in 1956 during

⁷ Walter de Toledo Piza, Hugo Quintão Duarte, and Paulo Condorcet Barbosa Ferreira served on the aforementioned Commission of Inquiry, the findings of which were never made public (Oliveira, 1984).

⁸ The task force consisted of “Ivan Pontes, Secretary of the National Book Campaign; Maria Arruda Baccarat, technical advisor to FENAME; Benedito Carlos Gouvêa de Medeiros, representative of COLTED; and Maria Helena Rangel Geordane, advisor to the INL” (Filgueiras, 2011, p. 198).

the administration of Juscelino Kubitschek. FENAME was entrusted with the responsibility for producing and distributing instructional materials to schools, as well as supplying school materials to the market for sale to the public at cost price (Filgueiras, 2015). Regarding its organizational structure, the law establishing FENAME authorized the Executive Branch to create a foundation linked to the Ministry of Education and Culture, organized as a non-profit entity and administered by an Executive Board supported by a Fiscal Council (responsible for “issuing an opinion on the accounts annually submitted by the Executive Board”) and a Technical Advisory Council (responsible for “formulating the national policy for the production and distribution of textbooks and school materials”). Accordingly, among its institutional purposes, the Foundation was charged with “[...] the production and distribution of instructional materials in order to contribute to improving their quality, affordability, and use [...]” (Brazil, 1967c, p. 1, translated by the authors). In addition to its lean organizational structure — especially when compared with COLTED — FENAME inherited the assets accumulated by the former CNME, supplemented by budgetary appropriations and federal grants, donations and/or contributions from private entities, revenues derived from the sale of teaching materials, and any other incidental sources of income (Brazil, 1967c).

Initially functioning more as an implementing body than as a policymaking institution for textbooks and school materials, FENAME was, during its early years, directed first by Heloísa Araújo — who resigned from her position as Executive Director of the Foundation later in 1967 following allegations of subversive activities brought by the National Information Service (SNI), arising from the publication of the work *Pequena Enciclopédia de Moral e Civismo* — and subsequently by Professor Humberto Grande, who had maintained close ties with the military since the *Vargas Estado Novo* and who would later become a member of the National Commission on Moral and Civics during the 1970s (Filgueiras, 2015). The Foundation was responsible for implementing part of the public policy on school materials, carrying out specific operational functions, particularly with regard to the distribution and supply of educational materials to schools throughout the national territory. In this regard, Filgueiras (2015) further notes that the principal differences between FENAME and COLTED lay in their distinct institutional responsibilities, since “[...] whereas COLTED was intended to promote the expansion of the publishing industry, FENAME was

responsible for producing instructional materials for distribution or sale at cost price [...]” (Filgueiras, 2015, p. 85, translated by the authors).

The issue of textbook prices, already debated during the COLTED period, was also taken up by FENAME, which adopted as one of its principal objectives the provision of textbooks and instructional materials to economically disadvantaged students throughout the country (Filgueiras, 2011, 2013). To this end, the Foundation was entrusted not only with producing and selling state-produced educational materials at cost price, but also with regulating prices in the book markets of the country's major urban centers — thereby distinguishing itself from COLTED, “[...] which allocated financial resources to the private publishing industry with the aim of reducing the price of textbooks [...]” (Filgueiras, 2015, p. 97, translated by the authors).

From its establishment onward, FENAME sought to maintain the production of textbooks and instructional materials inherited from the now-defunct CNME, while introducing some new titles and expanding the financial resources injected into the publishing and printing industries. Following the dissolution of COLTED, the Textbook Program, assigned to the INL, was divided into several branches directed toward the different sectors of Brazilian school education, already under the framework established by the 1968 Higher Education Reform and the 1971 First- and Second-Level Education Reform. These included PLIDEM (*Programa do Livro Didático - Ensino Médio* — Textbook Program for Secondary Education), PLIDES (*Programa do Livro Didático - Ensino Superior* — Textbook Program for Higher Education), PLIDESU (*Programa do Livro Didático - Ensino Supletivo* — Textbook Program for Supplementary Education), PLIDECOM (*Programa do Livro Didático - Ensino de Computação* — Textbook Program for Computer Education), and PLIDEF (*Programa do Livro Didático - Ensino Fundamental* — Textbook Program for Elementary Education) (Oliveira; Guimarães; Bomény, 1984, translated by the authors).

Among all these programs, according to Oliveira, Guimarães, and Bomény (1984), PLIDEF had its objectives defined in particularly detailed terms, with actions intended to: a) involve FENAME in co-publishing initiatives and distribute textbooks for the common core subjects of First-Level Education, to be allocated to public schools operating under agreements with the state departments of education; b) promote lower textbook prices, improve their quality, and strengthen the rigor of the textbook selection and evaluation processes; c) contribute to improving the technical and pedagogical

standards of the Brazilian teaching profession through the distribution of teachers' manuals; d) implement the "Book Bank" in the educational institutions covered by the Program; and e) secure financial resources from both the federative units and the National Textbook Fund.

4 Textbook policies under FENAME (1976-1983)

In 1976, the institutional arrangement established to implement textbook policy following the dissolution of COLTED was once again restructured, with the functions previously performed by the INL being transferred to FENAME. From that point onward, FENAME became the principal agency responsible for the Textbook Program, a role previously assigned primarily to the INL, particularly as a result of political pressures exerted by the Institute's then director, Herberto Sales, and the Minister of Education, Ney Braga. As an underlying issue in these institutional interventions, according to Cosette Ramos — who served as coordinator of the Program at the INL during this period of transfer of responsibilities from the Institute to FENAME — the controversy surrounding the integrated textbook may have been the principal factor motivating this change. In this regard, Oliveira, Guimarães, and Bomény (1984, pp. 63–64) state that the INL advocated a proposal according to which the integrated textbook was conceived as a product that "[...] could be organized either vertically, by subject across the four grades, or horizontally, integrating the four subjects within a single grade [...]"; on the other hand, the publishing houses — because they opposed this proposal — "[...] strongly pressured against this measure," acting "directly upon the Minister of Education [...]" and ultimately succeeded in obtaining, in 1976, a formal opinion signed by the Director of the INL stating that the Institute would no longer administer the Program because it "did not possess the necessary infrastructural conditions to do so" (Oliveira; Guimarães; Bomény, 1984, pp. 63–64, translated by the authors).

With the enactment of Decree-Law No. 77,107 of February 4, 1976, FENAME's responsibilities were expanded to include the implementation of the Textbook Program through a system of co-publishing and distribution of textbooks to First- and Second-Level Education schools, thereby financing the publishing industry — a process that had been carried out by the INL in collaboration with commercial publishers since 1971

and had previously been structured by COLTED. By this stage, therefore, the general foundations of textbook policy were reasonably well established and operational, with several defining characteristics: a) the policy was administered by an intermediary body operating between the State (represented by the Ministry of Education and Culture) and the market, a model that began with COLTED (a direct product of the USAID–MEC–SNEL partnership), continued under the INL, and, from the mid-1970s until the transition to the National Textbook Program in the 1980s, came under the responsibility of FENAME; b) the state agency (whether COLTED, the INL, or FENAME) established guidelines for the preparation of textbook content, organized procurement, allocated budgetary resources to the publishing industry, carried out large-scale acquisitions (having previously determined production scale and, consequently, procurement volume), and distributed textbooks nationwide to public school systems, while remaining, throughout the entire process, receptive to lobbying efforts by publishing houses seeking to have their publications included in procurement processes intended to supply the various subprograms for the development of school library collections and the direct provision of textbooks to students; c) COLTED and FENAME, in particular, both stimulated the commercialization of textbooks and school supplies at low cost through subsidized production and operated extensive book distribution networks serving public schools across several regions of the country.

After more than a decade (from 1966 to at least 1976) during which the policy operated according to these institutional foundations, the federal government, through agreements signed among the Foundation, the National Fund for Educational Development (FNDE), and the state departments of education, assumed responsibility for distributing textbooks free of charge to economically disadvantaged students enrolled in the public First-Level Education system. In turn, the states participated in these agreements by providing material and financial counterpart contributions — these contributions accounted for “[...] approximately 12% of the resources invested and, of this 12%, 10%” was “retained by the state for the development of activities complementary to PLIDEF, such as teacher training, book banks, lectures, etc.” (Oliveira; Guimarães; Bomény, 1984, p. 64, translated by the authors). As Oliveira, Guimarães, and Bomény (1984, pp. 93–94) explain, the interactions between political society (materialized in FENAME) and civil society (represented by private publishing houses) took place through a market-State dynamic initially driven by government

procurement, followed by the “[...] selection of titles to be co-published, carried out at both the federal and state levels [...]”, and subsequently by the “[...] analysis of the budget for publishing the selected titles, the definition of the volume of investment to be undertaken by FENAME, and the establishment, jointly with the publishing house, of the price of each book [...]”. Within this arrangement, FENAME acted as a catalyst for production, supervised the selection of titles, and served as a co-publisher of textbooks (displaying its acronym on the covers, title pages, and back covers of books published jointly with the publishing houses responsible for the works), which were then purchased by the State and distributed to schools throughout the country.

As leading actors in the publishing industry, a select group of publishing houses, according to the data compiled by Oliveira, Guimarães, and Bomény (1984, pp. 93-94), operated as “regular partners” by virtue of the “largest number of co-published titles,” with particular prominence given to Editora do Brasil, accounting for “14% of the co-published titles,” followed by “FTD, with 10%,” “Abril, 8%,” “IBEP, 7%,” “Ao Livro Técnico, 6%,” and “Tabajara, with 5%.” Together, these six publishing houses accounted for “50% of the PLIDEF titles co-published” over the ten-year period from 1971 to 1981. In another sphere of activity, in addition to exercising control over the publishing market and accumulating influence over the national agencies responsible for implementing textbook policy, commercial publishing houses also came to exert considerable influence over state departments of education to ensure that their titles were selected and incorporated into the co-publishing programs organized by FENAME. With regard to the final recipients of textbooks — students and their families, whether as potential purchasers or beneficiaries of the copies acquired for free distribution in schools — publishers also sought to enhance and refine their publications by adopting more attractive formats and graphic designs to appeal to consumers (Oliveira; Guimarães; Bomény, 1984).

In 1978, FENAME became part of PREMEN (Programa de Expansão e Melhoria do Ensino — Program for the Expansion and Improvement of Education), through which additional financial support was provided for the publication of school materials. In the same year, a report published in the journal *Educação* (Filgueiras, 2015) stated that the Foundation had distributed approximately 20 million textbooks to economically disadvantaged students enrolled in First-Level Education throughout Brazil. Between the late 1970s and the early 1980s, FENAME was also responsible for

managing several large-scale projects, including five Textbook Programs, to which approximately Cr\$ 700,000,000.00 in financial resources were allocated.

Through PLIDEF, FENAME distributed an annual average of 20 million textbooks to all the states of the Federation. To achieve this objective, the Foundation held annual competitive bidding processes for private companies interested in distributing the books (Brazil, 1980). Between 1977 and 1978, 19 million books were distributed at a cost of Cr\$ 50,000,000.00; between 1978 and 1979, 20 million books were distributed at a cost of Cr\$ 79,000,000.00; and between 1979 and 1980, 19 million books were distributed, with the cost increasing to Cr\$ 61,000,000.00 (Brazil, 1980).

However, the fact that FENAME operated the distribution of books on a scale of millions of copies and served as the principal implementing agency of the national textbook policy following the dissolution of COLTED and the withdrawal of the INL from this function was not sufficient to prevent its dismantling. During the early 1980s, following allegations of irregularities, changes were introduced in the Foundation's administration. Milton Durço Pereira assumed the position of Executive Director and, by order of the Minister of Education and Culture, established a Control Office headed by Raul Fontes Cotia to investigate irregularities in the previous administration. In April 1980, however, Raul Fontes Cotia resigned from his position because of his disagreement with the “administrative abuses” committed by Milton Durço Pereira, and the Control Office was subsequently dissolved. According to the findings of the Ministry of the Army, these changes proved ineffective, as the new administration was “[...] unlawfully favoring members of and associates connected to the Portella, Sabato, and Durço families, turning the Foundation into a veritable ‘fiefdom’ of Mr. Francisco Portella's family [...]” (Brazil, 1980, p. 9, translated by the authors).

According to confidential documentation (at the time) from the Ministry of the Army, Milton Durço Pereira was a former journalist and employee of the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), uncle of Vera Sabato (the wife of Francolino Portella), and assumed the position of Executive Director of FENAME in March 1979 upon Francolino Portella's recommendation, receiving approximately Cr\$ 249,500.00 per month in fixed salary and per diem allowances (Brazil, 1980). Among the irregularities attributed to his administration were:

a) He was primarily responsible for turning the institution into a “patronage haven” and for maintaining employees with high salaries who performed no work; b) To facilitate the hiring of new personnel, he created several administrative units headed by highly paid officials. One example was the division of the Department of Administration into three separate departments: the Department of Administration, the Department of Finance, and the Department of Human Resources, whose directors were, respectively, Pedro Paulo de Albuquerque, Eduardo Portella’s brother-in-law; Ary Cereto, a personal friend of Milton Durço Pereira and a retired INCRA employee; and Élcio de Abreu e Silva, fiancé of Tânia Maria Sabato, who was Eduardo Portella’s sister-in-law and Milton Durço Pereira’s niece (Brazil, 1980, pp. 10-11, translated by the authors).

The new Executive Board, which headed FENAME between 1979 and 1980, increased the number of permanent employees from 500 to approximately 750, “[...] with positions being arranged for relatives and friends, all under the direction of Francisco Portella, brother of former Minister Eduardo Portella [...]” (Brazil, 1980, p. 10, translated by the authors). Beyond the employment arrangements established among the Sabato, Portella, and Durço families, FENAME was also investigated for entering into questionable agreements. The principal agreement, concluded between the Foundation and the Department of Documentation and Dissemination (DDD), allegedly had “[...] the actual purpose of supplementing the salaries of ‘protected’ employees, relatives, or friends of the Sabato and Portella families [...]” (Brazil, 1980, p. 9, translated by the authors). According to the allegations, unnecessary regional offices were also created in Salvador (BA), Recife (PE), São Paulo (SP), Brasília (DF), Belo Horizonte (MG), and Manaus (AM), for the sole purpose of employing friends and relatives of Francolino Portella, consuming Cr\$ 998,783.00 per month in salaries alone (Brazil, 1980).

These findings concerning the partitioning of FENAME among political family networks were subsequently reinforced by Information Report No. 0128/0944/81/30/DSI/MEC, issued by the Division of Security and Information of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and point to the various and opaque illicit practices that permeated state institutions during the dictatorial period and which, according to Heloísa Starling (2012), formed part of the widespread and pervasive patterns of corruption under the dictatorship. At a deeper level, as Starling (2012, p. 218, translated by the authors) explains, “[...] the military regime’s political survival strategy included the construction of a State that appeared to be very strong, chiefly because of its continuous capacity to expand the instruments of arbitrariness and violence [...]”;

on the other hand, however, it accommodated inequality, privilege, the extensive appropriation of public assets, and impunity.

Still within the context of the (slow, gradual, and secure — that is, controlled) political opening of the civil-military dictatorship, FENAME was transformed into FAE (Student Assistance Foundation), which incorporated the PLD (Textbook Program), pursuant to Law No. 7,091 of April 18, 1983. According to that law, the new Foundation would have the “[...] purpose of supporting the Secretariat for First- and Second-Level Education (SEPS/MEC) by developing student assistance programs at the preschool, First-Level Education, and Second-Level Education levels in order to facilitate the teaching-learning process [...]” (Freitag; Costa; Motta, 1993, p. 16, translated by the authors). As a result of these measures, several government assistance programs were consolidated within a single foundation, “[...] including the National School Feeding Program (PNAE), PLIDEF, publishing programs, school materials programs, scholarship programs, and others [...]” (Freitag; Costa; Motta, 1993, p. 16, translated by the authors).

5 Final considerations

Although they were established several years before the First- and Second-Level Education reforms implemented in 1971, COLTED and FENAME became integral components of the dictatorship's political project aimed at expanding schooling throughout Brazil. The establishment of compulsory schooling for children between the ages of 7 and 14, for example, defined a broad age group of children and adolescents as the target population of formal education. Over time, this policy produced a numerically significant school population for which textbook and instructional materials policies supplied substantial quantities of textbooks, educational resources, and school supplies on a scale of millions of copies and items.

The 1971 reforms provided the legal and institutional foundations that enabled the government to expand school enrollment in conjunction with the extension of compulsory schooling for children and adolescents. Among the many objectives pursued by these reforms, at least three stand out: 1) the expansion of school enrollment and the increase in the number of students attending school; 2) the training of a skilled workforce in accordance with the national-developmental strategy

formulated and embraced by sectors of the dictatorial government; and 3) the preparation of teachers to meet the demands generated by the large-scale expansion of school enrollment (Cunha; Góes, 2002; Nosella, 2000). In light of the increase in average years of schooling, together with the cycle of school construction undertaken by the states to meet the demands of a predominantly urban and growing population, the production of instructional materials became an essential component of the educational policy implemented during the 1970s, although it had been conceived from the very outset of the dictatorial regime established in 1964.

Amid the process of curriculum reform associated with the extensive restructuring of school education in the early 1970s, COLTED had already been administering, since the mid-1960s, the mechanisms that linked the State's guidelines for textbook production to commercial publishing houses. Following the Commission's dissolution in 1971, these responsibilities were redistributed between the National Foundation for School Materials (FENAME) and the National Book Institute (INL), which assumed responsibility for implementing policies related to instructional materials. Nevertheless, despite this institutional transition and the impetus provided by the 1971 Education Reform, a central challenge remained: the need to produce textbooks and educational resources on a substantially larger scale in response to the continuing expansion of schooling among the popular classes (Filgueiras, 2015; Moreno, 2013; Nosella, 2000).

COLTED and FENAME, therefore, spanned at least two distinct phases within the educational policy of the civil-military dictatorship. The first corresponds to their creation and initial years of operation, which, although preceding the 1971 reforms, already demonstrate that both institutions possessed a clear capacity to support the regime's objective of materially sustaining — through the large-scale production of educational materials, combined with public support for the publishing and printing industries — a process of educational expansion that was already under preparation.

The second phase unfolded after 1971, alongside the effects of the restructuring of basic education and vocational education. Despite the dissolution of COLTED, this sector of the state educational bureaucracy had by then become sufficiently institutionalized to retain its capacity to continue inducing the large-scale production of school textbooks (indeed, it would have been highly surprising had the opposite occurred), including textbooks aligned with the new curricular guidelines

established by Law No. 5,692 of 1971, the provision of school libraries, and the production and distribution of technical and vocational textbooks. These activities were now carried out within a context in which the objectives of expanding school enrollment, increasing the student population within schools, and, consequently, accommodating the year-by-year growth of Brazil's school-age population were being effectively implemented.

Within this framework, FENAME continued to operate the large-scale policy for the production and distribution of textbooks and school materials, whereas COLTED was abolished in 1971. Although COLTED did not survive beyond the first year of the 1970s, the central point is that the foundations for planning and implementing textbook policy, forged during the early years of the dictatorial period, had already become sufficiently consolidated through the implementation of the MEC–USAID–SNEL agreement, which guided the Commission's activities. These foundations remained in force until the implementation of what is now known as the National Textbook Program (PNLD), in operation since 1985.

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