

**State actions during the civil-military dictatorship:
human rights violations against university professors in Paraná¹**

As ações do Estado na ditadura civil-militar:
a violação dos direitos humanos aos professores universitários do Paraná

Las acciones del Estado durante la dictadura civil-militar:
la violación de los derechos humanos de los profesores universitarios en Paraná

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Abstract

The period of civil-military dictatorship (1964–1985) in Brazil had a significant impact on higher education, particularly on university professors. Legislation created a legal framework that enabled repressive practices violating human rights. The aim is to analyze the State's repressive actions and the professors' resistance during the civil-military dictatorship. The sources used were individual and thematic dossiers produced by the Department of Political and Social Order of Paraná (DOPS–PR). In discussing the findings, theoretical foundations were drawn from studies on the context of the dictatorship (Schwarcz; Starling, 2018; Motta, 2014) and human rights violations (Nordås; Davenport, 2013; Escribà-Folch, 2013; Earl, 2011; Loveman, 1998). The DOPS/PR dossiers reveal surveillance as a repressive tool that extended into the private lives of professors, tracking personal information, and demonstrate that professors organized themselves in resistance and used various tactics to demand their rights.

Keywords: State repression; Human rights; Faculty resistance.

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Resumo

O período de ditadura civil-militar (1964 – 1985) ocorrido no Brasil impactou a educação superior, especificamente os professores dessas instituições. A legislação formava um arcabouço legal que permitiu práticas repressivas que violavam os direitos humanos. O objetivo é analisar as ações de repressão do Estado e de resistência dos professores durante a ditadura civil-militar. As fontes utilizadas foram os dossiês individuais e temáticos produzidos pela Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social do Paraná (DOPS-PR). Na discussão dos resultados foram utilizadas as bases teóricas sobre o contexto da ditadura civil-militar (Schwarcz; Starling, 2018; Motta, 2014) e violação de direitos humanos (Nordås; Davenport, 2013; Escribà-Folch, 2013; Earl, 2011; Loveman, 1998). Os Dossiês DOPS/PR revelam a vigilância como recurso repressivo que se estendia à vida privada dos professores, rastreando informações de caráter individual, e evidenciam que, os professores se organizavam em resistência e utilizavam de táticas para reivindicar seus direitos.

Palavras-chave: Repressão estatal; Direitos humanos; Resistência docente.

Resumen

El período de dictadura civil-militar (1964–1985) ocurrido en Brasil tuvo un impacto significativo en la educación superior, especialmente en los profesores universitarios. La legislación conformó un marco legal que permitió prácticas represivas violadoras de los derechos humanos. El objetivo es analizar las acciones de represión del Estado y las acciones de resistencia de los profesores durante la dictadura civil-militar. Las fuentes utilizadas fueron los expedientes individuales y temáticos producidos por la Delegación de Orden Político y Social de Paraná (DOPS-PR). En la discusión de los resultados se utilizaron fundamentos teóricos sobre el contexto de la dictadura civil-militar (Schwarcz; Starling, 2018; Motta, 2014) y sobre la violación de los derechos humanos (Nordås; Davenport, 2013; Escribà-Folch, 2013; Earl, 2011; Loveman, 1998). Los expedientes DOPS/PR revelan la vigilancia como recurso represivo que se extendía a la vida privada de los profesores, rastreando información de carácter personal, y evidencian que los docentes se organizaban en resistencia utilizando tácticas para reivindicar sus derechos.

Palabras clave: Represión estatal; Derechos humanos; Resistencia docente.

Introduction

The civilian-military dictatorship that took place between 1964 and 1985 was marked by a dynamic "defined by considerable variations in the use of discriminatory powers, selective repression, control of the public flow of information, and support for an economic development program with a modernizing approach" (Schwarcz; Starling, 2018, p. 451). One of the first measures taken against universities was "Operation Cleanup," initiated as early as 1964. This operation aimed to purge professors deemed a threat to the regime from within these institutions. To this end, professors were expelled, removed from their positions, forced into retirement, or dismissed. Two professors at the Universidade Federal of Paraná were dismissed.

In 1968, the University Reform was enacted through Law No. 5,540/68, which restructured the country's universities. This new framework hindered faculty collective organization (Lira, 2010), paved the way for the expansion of private higher education institutions (Silveira, 2008)—which grew from 142,000 students in 1964 to 885,000 students in 1980 (Martins, 2009)—and established short-term courses² (Costa, 2009). These courses were intended to address the shortage of spots within institutions through rapid training and to accelerate preparation for the job market. Consequently, the job market became flooded with professionals.

The following year, university professors were taken by surprise by Decree-Law No. 477/69, which defined disciplinary offenses and imposed greater restrictions on their activities. Similar to AI-5 and the National Security Law, the decree prohibited organizing or participating in strikes or marches, distributing subversive material, or using public institutions to carry out acts contrary to morality or public order.

In Paraná, the repression directly affected higher education, targeting professors, students, and institutions. DOPS archives show that universities were treated as strategic sites for surveillance (Candido, 2022). The expansion of state universities occurred alongside increased political control. Institutional creation or reorganization was subordinated to a project of conservative modernization marked by administrative interventions, purges, and restrictions on university autonomy.

The Report of the Paraná State Truth Commission (2017) highlights the following cases as examples of serious human rights violations involving the student movement and professors: "Três Reis and Brianazi—the student movement in Apucarana (PR)" and "Chácara do Alemão—the student movement in Paraná, reorganization of the UNE" and "Operation Marumbi." Operation Marumbi took place in 1975 and targeted several individuals, including professors, under the pretext of defending peace and social order (Peron, 2014).

Over the course of twenty-one years, the country was led by five presidents who shaped this period with moments of both progress and setbacks in repressive practices and in the construction of a legal framework to sustain the use of violence. Among the apparatus of repression, the actions of the Political and Social Order Police Departments (DOPS/PR)—which had been created during the Estado Novo—deserve special mention. The DOPS/PR,

were state public security agencies linked nationwide, responsible for maintaining the country's political and social order. They did so through investigative activities, censorship, and repression. They based their operations on an archival system that stored and updated daily all the information supporting their actions. All kinds of documents were archived. In summary, there were three types of material: documents produced by political police agents following interrogations,

² The short teacher-training degree programs created in 1964 as a way to accelerate teacher training and address the shortage of these professionals in the market.

surveillance, and infiltrations into subversive institutions; documents produced by individuals and agencies under surveillance that were subsequently seized; and documents produced by the press regarding those under surveillance (Braggio & Fiuza, 2019, p. 18).

The agency was responsible for monitoring and maintaining public order, which included investigating and punishing actions that posed a risk to the nation's development and national security. According to Mansan (2013, p. 17), "The goal was to compile a vast amount of raw data on society that could be cross-referenced and used to produce reliable information whenever necessary."

This information formed a database for the political police, with details recorded in individual and thematic files containing personal information, documents, relationships with other people, newspaper clippings, photographs, and descriptions of acts committed by individuals or institutions. This material was compiled based on suspicion concerning legal entities or individuals (Braggio & Fiuza, 2013), which made it easier for the political police to identify and persecute those labeled by the authoritarian government as enemies of the nation. It also enabled the police to monitor their actions and punish dissidents (Candido, 2021).

From the coup until 1985, the "Brasil Nunca Mais" report states that there were approximately 10,000 political exiles, 4,682 politicians stripped of their political rights, 245 students expelled from universities under Decree 477, and thousands of citizens held in political prisons. There were also more than three hundred dead or missing persons (Archdiocese of São Paulo, 2011). The National Truth Commission (CNV) later confirmed 434 deaths and disappearances.

In consideration of the context previously delineated, the present article endeavors to address the following inquiry: It is imperative to examine the actions undertaken by the State during the period of civil-military dictatorship, particularly about the treatment of professors who were subjected to human rights violations. The objective of this study is to analyze the State's repressive actions and the professors' acts of resistance during the civil-military dictatorship (1964–1985).

This study makes a significant contribution to the field of the history of education by deepening our understanding of the forms of surveillance, repression, and resistance experienced by university professors during the civil-military dictatorship. It does so by shifting the focus from repression to the acts of resistance carried out by persecuted professors. The present study utilizes the DOPS/PR files as a historical source to engage with research that has examined the relationship between education, authoritarianism, and state control. For example, Braghini's (2015) analyses of the actions of right-wing and left-wing youth in the 1960s address this relationship. As demonstrated in the research conducted by Braggio and Fiuza (2013), the discourse surrounding the political police archives and their significance in the history of education continues to be a subject of significant interest and academic inquiry. This research contributes to the advancement of the field by specifically highlighting the impact of repression in Paraná on teachers' careers, institutional practices, and forms of collective organization. It thereby helps to fill regional gaps and strengthen the research agenda that links human rights, memory, and education.

Research methodology

The files produced by DOPS/PR are archived at the Paraná Public Archives, which are located in the city of Curitiba. The collection is comprised of 37,000 individual files and 2,143 thematic files, which are available in the catalog for public consultation. To select the files relevant to this research, the catalog was searched for higher education institutions,

associations, and unions of higher education professors. A total of 1,038 names of individuals were identified, of whom 160 were professors. The 160 files were analyzed individually to identify the following aspects: file identification number, the individual's name, profession, and charges against the person in the file.

The present study employed a methodological approach that entailed a thorough analysis of the documents using a technique known as documentary analysis. This methodology utilizes methodologies that facilitate the comparison of information from documents of various types, incorporating the dimension of time into the social analysis (Almeida, Guindani, Sá-Silva, 2009). The analysis is grounded in a comprehensive review of the DOPS/PR files, supplemented by select data from the State Truth Commission and the newspaper **Voz do Paraná**³. A clipping of an article featuring a photograph of the professors' mobilization as they voiced their demands was obtained from the newspaper. This corroborates the records of resistance found in the DOPS archives.

To interpret the collected data, we drew on theoretical and academic discussions regarding the context of the civilian-military dictatorship (Schwarcz; Starling, 2018; Motta, 2014) and human rights violations (Nordås; Davenport, 2013; Escribà-Folch, 2013; Earl, 2011; Loveman, 1998).

Human rights violations in the state of Paraná

The Report of the Paraná State Truth Commission (Comissão Estadual da Verdade do Paraná-CEVP)⁴ details various human rights violations that transpired in the state of Paraná during the civil-military dictatorship, including "Operation Marumbi" in 1975. According to Peron (2014), this operation was executed under the pretext of maintaining social order and had a significant impact on numerous professors. According to Brunelo (2009), the Military Police Inquiry (Inquérito Policial Militar-IPM) 75⁵ was the largest operation carried out in the state. This operation was conducted by the DOPS/PR and the Information Operations Detachments—Internal Defense Operations Center (Destacamentos de Operações de Informação—Centro de Operações de Defesa Interna- DOI-CODI)⁶. The objective of the operation was to arrest individuals accused of reorganizing the Brazilian Communist Party (Partido Comunista Brasileiro-PCB), resulting in the arrest of more than 100 people, 65 of whom were indicted.

According to the Report of the Teresa Urban State Truth Commission (Comissão Estadual da Verdade Teresa Urban-CEVTU, 2017), the human rights violations that occurred during the operation were severe. The report states that,

³ The newspaper **Voz do Paraná** was founded by Bishop Dom Manoel da Silveira D'Elboux in May 1956 and was produced by the Archdiocese of Curitiba to serve as a link between the archdiocese and the Catholic community.

⁴ The Paraná State Truth Commission (CEVP) was established by State Law No. 17,362, dated November 27, 2012, with the aim of "examining and clarifying the serious human rights violations committed in the State of Paraná between September 18, 1946, and October 5, 1988, and contributing to the National Truth Commission" (PARANÁ, Law 17,362, dated November 27, 2012, Art. 2). In 2014, the CEVP was renamed the State Truth Commission – Teresa Urban (CEVTU).

⁵ "IPM 75 was compiled by the Brazil: Never Again (BNM) project; when it reached the Superior Military Court (STM) during the legal process, it was renamed BNM 551" (Brunelo, 2009, p. 468).

⁶ The DOI-Codi "was established in January 1970, marking the formalization within the Army of a command structure that encompassed the other two branches of the Armed Forces. In each territorial jurisdiction, the Codi units gained effective command over all security agencies in the area, whether they were part of the Armed Forces or the state and federal police" (BNM, 2019, p. 96).

According to numerous testimonies and sources, torture took place both at the Military Police headquarters located, at the time, in Rui Barbosa Square in Curitiba, at military facilities in the interior of the state, and at the aforementioned 30th Motorized Infantry Battalion in Apucarana, as well as at unidentified clandestine locations, such as the aforementioned “Marumbi Clinic,” in Curitiba, possibly in a building that formerly housed the Reserve Officers’ Training Center (Centro de Preparação de Oficiais da Reserva-CPOR), at the corner of Brigadeiro Franco Street and Benjamin Lins Street..

The torture was carried out either individually or in the presence of other victims or family members, including adolescents, as reported by Ms. Lurdes Manso Vieira and Ildeu Manso Vieira Júnior at a hearing of the Paraná State Truth Commission (CEVP, 2017, p. 137).

This coordinated—and even clandestine—action demonstrates the extent to which Paraná was well-organized and prepared to act brutally in accordance with the dictatorship's ideals. It underscores the repression of democratic actions by civil society through the dismantling of a political party opposed to the civil-military dictatorship, concurrent with the occurrence of human rights violations at both the state and federal levels. The authoritarianism of that era, manifesting as a form of government, permeated various spheres, including culture, society, politics, and the economy, in an attempt to impose a new order on the country.

Impact of the civilian-military dictatorship on higher education

The education legislation enacted during the civil-military dictatorship was inextricably linked to the political agenda of the period, which was characterized by selective repression, control of information, and support for a modernizing yet conservative economic program (Schwarcz; Starling, 2018). The restructuring of higher education occurred in a manner that primarily aligned with the conservative modernization agenda that was adopted by the military regime. This agenda entailed the following elements:

in the rationalization of resources, the pursuit of efficiency, the expansion of enrollment, the strengthening of the private sector, the organization of the teaching career path, the creation of departments to replace the chair system, and the promotion of research and graduate studies [...] On the conservative front, the military regime combated and censored leftist ideas and anything else it deemed dangerous or deviant—and, naturally, the defenders of those ideas; it controlled and subjugated the student movement; it created the ASIs⁷ to monitor the university community; it censored research, as well as the publication and circulation of books; and it attempted to instill traditional values through propaganda techniques, the creation of courses dedicated to teaching morality and civics, and initiatives such as the Rondon Project (Motta, 2014, p. 15).

⁷ The Security and Information Offices (Assessorias de Segurança Informações-ASIs) were tasked with managing the flow of information among the various branches of the state.

As delineated in this manner, higher education exposes the authoritarianism of the military regime, which implemented changes that contributed to the State's repressive actions, culminating in the University Reform—Law No. 5,540/68—which established the regulations governing the organization and operation of higher education. However, it was predicated on earlier legal reforms, including Decree-Law No. 53 of February 18, 1966, which established principles and rules for the organization of Federal Universities:

Article 1. Federal universities shall be organized with a structure and operating methods that preserve the unity of their teaching and research functions and ensure the full utilization of their material and human resources; the duplication of resources for identical or equivalent purposes is prohibited [...]

Article 4: Existing units, or parts thereof, that operate within the same field of study shall form a single unit within the structured university (Brazil, 1966).

After this period, a series of modifications were initiated in the organizational framework of higher education institutions. These developments were subsequently reinforced by Decree-Law No. 252 of February 28, 1967, which introduced novel organizational components for universities, including the establishment of departments and the implementation of didactic coordination by a collegial body. A novel approach to the organization of universities emerged, one that prioritized the structure of institutions over the curriculum itself.

The DOPS/PR files help us understand the surveillance carried out by agents. One such case occurred in October 1968, when a law professor at the University of Maringá was placed under surveillance; the political police agent's report details the surveillance and intelligence-gathering process in the following terms: "He is a representative of the Maringá Teachers' Association, who stated that he came to Curitiba to convey the unanimous support of the teachers in that city during the teachers' strike" (DOPS/PR, File FI 000.961). The record reveals that university professors were mobilized in response to the changes taking place in education at various levels of schooling. University professors were also coordinating with elementary and secondary school teachers, as the strike—held in October 1968 in the state of Paraná—demanded the approval of the Teaching Statute, solutions to the problems faced by contract teachers, a step system for salaries, and rights and guarantees for substitute teachers in Paraná's state schools (Bello, 2013).

The reorganization of universities was intended to prevent efforts by university professors to organize and mobilize, as illustrated above, so that they would focus solely on teaching (Costa, 2009, p. 88). For this reason, the University Reform, enacted through Law No. 5,540 of November 28, 1968, was defined in the following terms:

Art. 11. Universities shall be organized according to the following characteristics:

- a) unity of assets and administration;
- b) an organizational structure based on departments, whether grouped into broader units;
- c) unity of teaching and research functions, with duplication of resources for identical or equivalent purposes prohibited;
- d) rational organization, with full utilization of material and human resources;

e) universality of scope, through the cultivation of fundamental areas of human knowledge, studied for their own sake or for the sake of further applications and one or more technical-professional fields;

f) flexibility in methods and criteria, considering students' individual differences, regional characteristics, and the possibilities for combining knowledge to create new courses and research programs; [...]

Art. 48. The Federal Council of Education, following an administrative inquiry, may suspend the operation of any individual institution of higher education or the autonomy of any university for violation of education legislation or of statutory or regulatory provisions, and shall appoint a Director or Rector pro tempore (Brazil, 1968).

It is clear from the law that the reform did not limit itself to pedagogical and curricular issues. The university reform had the,

objective to enhance the productivity of existing material and human resources through the implementation of measures such as departmental organization—aimed at eliminating duplication of work—and by increasing the utilization rate of human and material resources through course-by-course enrollment and the credit system, under which students enrolled in each course assemble their curriculum according to established prerequisites. The University Reform also established the fundamental curriculum, unified entrance examinations by region, introduced admission based on qualifications, and fragmented the undergraduate degree through short teacher-training programs (Lira, 2010, p. 73).

Thus, the country's universities underwent a restructuring aimed at enhancing oversight of their operations and disrupting the cohesion among students and professors. The introduction of a credit system and the requirement for individual enrollment in courses had the effect of fragmenting the student body, leading to the dissolution of long-standing bonds among students and professors.

The state's repressive apparatus was supported by both national security legislation and the University Reform. The definitions of crimes and arbitrary measures were not only used to justify the defense of national interests; they were also used to control society through education during the civil-military dictatorship. While military governments sought to implement these initiatives, "the regime employed a salvationist discourse for its own ends—one that guaranteed order, discipline, and national security—preaching principles of obedience, organization, and respect for order and institutions" (Künzle, 2018, p. 60).

The legal apparatus devised during the civil-military dictatorship was instrumental in enabling the state to act in contravention of human rights. Although repression is typically linked to physical violence, the State has also employed repression through the restriction of rights when confronted with organizations that posed a significant threat to the State.,

“Although intuition often associates repression with killings, torture, and other brutal practices, the violation of physical integrity is not the only repressive instrument at hand. Autocrats may also ban political parties, close legislatures, and suspend basic civil rights. Thus, repression has another dimension: restrictions on individuals' civil rights aimed at limiting the coordination and mobilization capacities of groups and individuals” (Escribà-Folch, 2013, p. 544 - Above translation by the author).

The restriction of civil rights aims to prevent organizations from coordinating their efforts, thereby hindering collective action by groups within the country (Escribà-Folch, 2013). During the military regime, the restriction of rights—not only civil rights but also political rights—sought to weaken the movements of professors, students, and other social groups. With the state's authorization to use repressive force and the diminishing resistance, the civil-military dictatorship was able to impose its vision of the nation through education and violence.

Repression and Resistance Movements

During the civil-military dictatorship in Brazil, various civil society organizations came to pose a threat to the military governments, as they were dedicated to advocating for rights and denouncing the state's violent actions. The archives examined reveal that university professors in Paraná played important roles in organizing resistance movements, as can be seen below from the information contained in the individual file notes:

07/27/79 - The individual in question was elected to the Advisory Board on the morning of 04/03/79 for the first executive board of the Association of Faculty Members of the Northern Paraná Regional University Hospital;

02/26/80 - The individual in question is a candidate on the “Mutirão” party list, which is composed mostly of left-wing doctors. The slate is registered for the elections for the Board of Directors of the Londrina Regional Branch, a body of the Paraná Doctors' Union (SIMEPAR), scheduled for February 28, 1980 (DOPS/PR, File FI 34.006).

Just as the individual under surveillance held two distinct positions in different agencies, there are recurring reports of professors holding positions such as president, leader, coordinator, author, advisor, and board member. This phenomenon is indicative of the organizational structure of university professors, who occupied a social position of authority. They spoke on behalf of an institution and expressed its interests.

The existence of the DOPS/PR files on the organizations and activities of university professors, as well as the individual files on these individuals, reveals that they posed a greater threat to the state, according to the prevailing discourse of the time. In turn, this discourse employed repression depending on the degree of threat posed by these groups. This discrepancy becomes evident upon examination of the analyzed documents, as certain files lack a comprehensive record of the subject's data. For instance, File FI 3.964 contains only the following information: name, date of birth, gender, current residence, and two brief entries.

The extent and detail of the information concerning the subjects under surveillance, as well as the description of their activities, demonstrate that these university professors warranted closer scrutiny by the state, which sought to identify the risks they posed. The hypothesis posits that the greater the perceived threat, the more probable it is that the state will resort to repression (Nordås; Davenport, 2013). Earl (2011) observes a similar phenomenon, noting that “the more a movement or protest threatens the authorities, the more likely it is to face repression” (Earl, 2011, p. 266, author's translation)⁸. Consequently,

⁸ “the more a movement or a protest threatens authorities, the more likely it is to face repression” (Earl, 2011, p. 266).

Violent attacks are perceived as being more threatening than non-violent ones and therefore are more likely to trigger extremely harsh responses from the state [...] The more organized a protest activity is, the more threatened the government is expected to be by this activity" (Carey, 2010, p. 171–172—Translation by the author).

However, educators played a significant role in the working class's resistance to the state's oppressive actions. A review of the experiences of teachers in Paraná during the civil-military dictatorship reveals their commitment to "political clarity and a firm resolve to uphold justice, freedom, and the restoration of the rule of law" (Peron, 2014, p. 123). The newspaper *Voz do Paraná* provides a detailed account of this struggle by professors in an article about the university faculty assemblies that took place at the UFPR Rector's Office. The text from the September 9–14, 1984, edition provides a vivid picture of the demands made by the professors, as indicated by Peron (2014), as can be seen in Figure 01.

Figure 01: Demands of UFPR Professors in 1984



Source: VOZ DO PARANÁ, 09 to 15 of September 1984

As illustrated in Figure 01, two signs are discernible. One in the foreground bears the inscription "Democracy Now, at the University Too"—a slogan that guided the actions of the professors during the civil-military dictatorship. In the background, another sign is visible, which bears the following words: "university | strike | funding." The struggle for funding for universities was also a cause for mobilization among professors, since, after the military coup, "the presidents of the country's higher education institutions began to face difficulties, as they were pressured from student groups and were also politically repressed by the military regime through the suspension of funding" (Costa, 2009, p. 33). According to Ridenti (2010, cited in Veras, 2014, p. 99), "between 1964 and 1968, the Ministry of Education's (MEC) share of the federal budget fell from 11% to 7.5%, and federal universities experienced budget cuts of over 30%."

During the military regime, teachers organized themselves in various ways, with a sense of community being a key aspect. This is evident in a public protest against the Cost of Living Crisis that took place in the city of Cambé, Paraná, on August 24, 1980, in which university professors participated. On that occasion, banners were displayed bearing the following slogans: “Down with the cost-of-living crisis | Unity is strength | The people united will never be defeated” (DOPS/PR, File FI 44.533). Based on these facts, a contradiction in the process of repression becomes evident, since, while it was used to control social organizations, it also fostered collective organization to combat human rights violations:

Existing theories postulate that repression deters collective action because of the material costs and human loss associated with it. However, under certain general conditions, repression fosters collective action, regardless of the costs. I suggest that repression can strengthen collective identity, the sense of belonging to a group, by operating as a symbolic reminder of a group's shared circumstance vis-à-vis authorities and their agents of control. And salient identity implies increased within-group solidarity” (KHAWAJA, 2018, p. 66—Translation by the author).

As Loveman (1998) also demonstrates, "state repression can stimulate collective organization and opposition from certain sectors of society" (Loveman, 1998, p. 517, author's translation)⁹. The authors posit that a societal movement may emerge as a response to state repression. Collectivity assumes a pivotal role through the unification of identity; that is, collective action fosters cohesion among individuals around a common identification with a specific shared objective.

This resistance manifested as a collective action in response to state repression, the absence of political freedom, and the infringement of rights imposed on society and on professors by the regime. Consequently, university professors in Paraná mobilized against the civil-military dictatorship in various forms. On the one hand, they engaged in protests, marches, and public rallies in the streets and public squares. On the other hand, they organized themselves institutionally through the formation of professional associations. Despite their collaborative efforts at the local level, these professors also engaged in state-level organizations and national events, thereby facilitating diverse strategies for mobilizing against repression. For instance, the Londrina Committee for Amnesty and Human Rights (CLADH) was chaired in 1979 by a professor from UEL (DOPS/PR, Dossier FI 31.115), and the Second National Teachers' Conference, held on March 15 and 16, 1980, was attended by professors from Paraná (DOPS/PR, File FI 36.531).

A subsequent investigation identified other organizations to which university professors in Paraná were affiliated. These included the following: the HU Faculty Association (DOPS/PR, File FI 41.810); the MDB Municipal Committee in Londrina (DOPS/PR, File FI 30.703); the Paraná Journalists' Cooperative in Londrina (DOPS/PR, File FI 31.115); the Londrina Student Movement (DOPS/PR, File FI 31.115); the Editorial Board of the Paraná Journalists' Cooperative (DOPS/PR, File FI 31.115); the Northern Paraná Dental Association

⁹ “state re- pression may stimulate collective organization and opposition from certain sectors of Society” (LOVEMAN, 1998, p. 517).

(DOPS/PR, File FI 47.078); the Jornal do Paraná Cooperative (DOPS/PR, File FI 31.115); the Association of Faculty Members of the Northern Paraná Regional University Hospital (DOPS/PR, File FI 34.006); and the Paraná Doctors' Union (According to the records of the Department of Public Security of the State of Paraná (DOPS/PR), the following organizations are listed: the Association of Certified Teachers of Paraná (APLP) (DOPS/PR, File FI 2.141); the Group for a Democratic Society (DOPS/PR, File FI 19.390); the Association of Teachers of Paraná (APP) (DOPS/PR, File FI 2.294); the Londrina Teachers' Union (DOPS/PR, File FI 15.292); the Teachers' Opposition Movements (DOPS/PR, File FI 32.613); and the Londrina Teachers' Professional Association (APROL) (DOPS/PR, File FI 30.703)..

The actions of Paraná's university professors not only took place in different groups but were also clever in devising strategies to circumvent the law: "The individual on file is one of the main leaders of the professors' strike in Londrina, a strike of a congressional nature" (DOPS/PR, File FI 31.115). This act of resistance, in which higher education faculty played a leading role, took place between August and September 1978 in various cities across Paraná and refers to the strike by professors in the state school system (Ilkiu, p. 92). Conducting the strike in the form of a congress was intended to circumvent the ban imposed by AI-5 and the National Security Law, a tactic that can be understood as,

procedures that are valuable for the significance they give to time—to the circumstances that the precise moment of an intervention transforms into a favorable situation, to the speed of movements that alter the organization of space, to the relationships between successive moments of a "move," and to the possible intersections of heterogeneous durations and rhythms (Certeau, 2014, p. 97).

At a certain moment, university professors took advantage of the prevailing circumstances to act against the state. One such example of this is when they referred to a strike as a "congress." The employment of other institutions as a tactic by professors can be understood as a strategy employed by the aforementioned professors, such as the Catholic Church, which never held a unanimous position on the military regime—not even within the dioceses. Occasionally, it has been observed to defend the regime, while at other times it has been noted to participate in and denounce the atrocities committed by the state and to collaborate with the actions of the university professors in Paraná:

on March 12, 1982, a political debate on the Social Security Package was held in the Parish Hall of the Sagrados Corações Church. The debate was chaired by the signatory, who asserted that the government was corrupt and incompetent because it was sacrificing the people by raising social security contribution rates, thereby increasing hunger and social misery. The hall was adorned with posters bearing the following slogans: The following demands are put forth: AN END TO HUNGER AND OPPRESSION, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FREE AND SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, DIRECT ELECTIONS, AND FREE EDUCATION. THE LSN IS TO BE OVERTHROWN, BETTER WAGES ARE TO BE IMPLEMENTED, UNEMPLOYMENT IS TO BE ELIMINATED, AND CORRUPTION IS TO BE OPPOSED (DOPS/PR, DOSSIER FI 44,533).

Actions such as these strengthened the process of resistance and condemnation of the state's violent actions, highlighting human rights as an integral part of democracy (Torres; Barroso, 2019). Human rights played a central role in mobilizing society to demand rights and engage in acts of resistance.

Final considerations

The civilian-military dictatorship, established through a coup against the democratic state and guided by the National Security Doctrine (DSN), imposed a regime of exception on the country by suppressing citizens' rights and violating their human dignity. The result was a significant number of deaths, cases of torture, and disappearances—all victims of state violence—and a deep imprint of authoritarianism on Brazilian political culture and society.

The government's characterization of these individuals as the "internal enemy," a term espoused by the DSN, served as a primary rationale for the persecution of individuals harboring left-wing political or ideological leanings, or who, in general, voiced discontent, criticism, or opposition to the dictatorial regime. These individuals were regarded as subversive, as they transgressed the political and social order imposed by the dictatorship in the name of "conservative modernization."

The state employed a legal apparatus to legitimize its actions, which were in violation of human rights. AI No. 5 and Decree-Law 314/67 are significant examples of the use of the law for repressive actions against those considered subversive. These legislative measures illustrate that the curtailment of citizens' civil liberties was employed as a tactic to impede and diminish the mobilization of civil society.

The civilian-military dictatorship had a profound impact on universities and their faculty members. Despite the absence of consensus among faculty members regarding their political stance toward the military regime, these institutions were regarded as significant contributors to the propagation of communism. This phenomenon can be attributed to the social reforms that were advocated by professors at institutions of higher education and by students.

The DOPS/PR was entrusted with the responsibility of investigating and prosecuting university professors, meticulously documenting their actions deemed to be in opposition to the prevailing regime. The responsibility for monitoring these individuals fell to the political police, whose mandate was to gather intelligence that would substantiate suspicions about them and serve as evidence to be used against the professors. A review of the DOPS/PR files reveals that surveillance was a tactic employed during the civil-military dictatorship that was not limited to the confines of universities; it extended to other institutions and groups of which university professors in Paraná were members. Furthermore, the program invaded the privacy of the professors, monitoring their personal information, including the places they frequented and the people with whom they had relationships.

Despite having endorsed the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the Brazilian state during its military regime engaged in a pattern of violations of the rights stipulated in the aforementioned declaration. The ongoing violations of fundamental rights, including those related to freedom of expression, thought, movement, equality, personal safety, the presumption of innocence, assembly and association, and work, have profoundly impacted university professors. Moreover, the recurrent and arbitrary arrests, with documented incidents of torture, amount to egregious violations of fundamental human rights.

The defense of human rights and the struggle for democracy compelled professors to take action even in the face of persecution. The DOPS/PR files contain documentation of

various forms of collective action, including rallies, strikes, marches, demonstrations, and the distribution of materials by university professors. The execution of acts of resistance against the military regime was facilitated by various tactics, including strikes, which were referred to as "congresses," and the various organizations to which professors belonged. These professors collaborated with other groups, such as students, elementary school teachers, doctors, and the Catholic Church.

A review of the DOPS/PR files reveals that the majority of the records were generated during the latter half of the 1970s, a period marked by the initiation of political liberalization and the relaxation of repressive policies within the nation. The persistent repression that occurred during this period serves as a testament to the pervasive nature of human rights violations within the Brazilian authoritarian regime, as evidenced by the persecution of university professors. These violations were deeply entrenched in the cultural fabric of the nation, reflecting a systemic and entrenched pattern of repression. Concerning the surveillance of professors, the SNI persisted in the compilation of data on university professors until 1988, and there is extensive documentation on Paraná in the National Archives. In Brazil, a notable escalation in concrete human rights initiatives occurred during the 1990s, marked by the ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. These instruments were designed to ensure the effective implementation of human rights within the Brazilian context.

This research contributes to the theoretical and investigative advancement of human rights in the history of education in the state of Paraná. The identification of human rights violations and the documentation of the state's repressive practices—whether during the civil-military dictatorship or at other times—are imperative to ensure that such actions are not repeated and that democracy is increasingly recognized as an indispensable system for the promotion of human rights. The autonomy granted to universities and their faculties is instrumental in fostering societal advancement by facilitating the generation of knowledge and an education that is characterized by critical thinking, emancipatory values, and a civic-mindedness.

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