


THE CURRENT BRAZILIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY, THE OLD AND THE NEW PNE: without denying reproduction and exploring contradictions

A ATUAL POLÍTICA EDUCACIONAL BRASILEIRA, O VELHO E O NOVO PNE: sem negar a reprodução e explorando contradições
LA ACTUAL POLÍTICA EDUCATIVA BRASILEÑA, LA ANTIGUA Y LA NUEVA PNE: sin negar la reproducción y explorando las contradicciones

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Received: 04/01/2024
Accepted: 09/01/2024
Published: 11/30/2024

ABSTRACT:

From a historical materialist perspective, this article discusses public education policy as the product of two very particular circumstances: a) they are legitimized and regulated by the bourgeois state and b) they are the product and result of political disputes and clashes between classes and fractions of social classes. The historical and current aspects of educational policy and the PNE help us to affirm that if the articulations and mobilizations for the approval and compliance with the new PNE are restricted to repeating the same practices, articulations and corporate mobilizations without advancing in the construction of a popular project for Brazil that is based on structural transformations in Brazilian society, we will be doomed to experience a repetition of history in relation to the failure to comply with the PNE and, consequently, the right to education itself. It is essential to build perennial, daily work at the grassroots of organizations and movements that goes beyond the limits 'granted' by the bourgeois state.

KEYWORDS: Educational Policy; Bourgeois State; National Education Plan (PNE); Mobilization.

Introduction

Understanding that the history of educational policy in Brazil is permeated by discontinuities and non-compliance helps us not to create illusions about norms, decrees and laws, since there is an objective distance between the promulgation and materialization of an educational policy. This distance is conditioned by the struggle between classes and fractions of social classes.

In order to approach educational policy from a historical perspective, Saviani's (2017) assertion that Brazilian educational policy can be characterized by procrastination, fragmentation, improvisation and philanthropy will be very useful. With

this, we can say that our goal is to demonstrate how mass mobilization in defense of the approval and materialization of the new PNE is the most viable alternative to ensure its fulfillment.

The formulation of the concept of an education plan that came from the 'Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education' and was widely used in Brazil - which is summarized by Saviani (2016) as a logical, effective and coherent organization of all educational activities - suffered deauthorizations, misrepresentations and discontinuities throughout the 20th century, especially during dictatorial periods.

This doesn't happen by chance, but rather because, in short, public education policies exist under two very specific circumstances: a) they are legitimized and regulated by the bourgeois state and b) they are the product and result of political disputes and clashes between classes and fractions of social classes. As Saes (2001, p. 45-46) states, "[...] the fundamental social processes in capitalist social formations are those that take place between collective agents: social classes, class fractions."

Here, albeit briefly, we will return to the concept of the bourgeois state based on the valuable contributions of Poulantzas (2019), Saes (1993) and Boito Jr. (2021) on the Marxist theory of the state, because of its importance not only in a theoretical sense, but also for the practical action of the working classes. In taking this stance, we are not doing so out of preciousness, but because this theory "[...] seems to provide the most effective concepts, that is, concepts that are indispensable for explaining the processes of conservation and transformation of concrete human societies" (Saes, 1993, p. 9).

When debating educational policy, it doesn't seem prudent to overlook the role played by the bourgeois state in today's society, given that it is the institution that organizes the domination of one social class over others. This domination inexorably requires the existence and action of the state to maintain itself, given that society is divided into classes and fractions of classes in constant distributive conflict (Boito Jr., 2021).

The state presents itself as representing the 'general interest' and competing and divergent economic interests that conceal their class character from the agents as they experience it. Through direct consequences and a complex ideological apparatus, the capitalist state systematically hides its political class character at the level of its political institutions. It is, in the most automatic sense, a class-popular-national state that presents itself as the embodiment of the popular will of the nation (Poulantzas, 2019, p. 133).

Therefore, our theoretical attention and practical mobilization cannot be restricted to the diagnosis, formulation of goals and strategies of the National

Education Plan (PNE 2024-2034) and its approval, since the existence of a PNE 'legally protected' by law in Brazilian dependent capitalism is not the same thing as the guarantee of its materialization. In this respect, Silva et al (2018) state that

[...] public policies and the state that implements them are limited by the capitalist system, pointing out that the social contradictions intrinsic to capital cannot be suppressed by a state that is a tool for domination and perpetuation of the capitalist system (p. 210).

According to Höfling (2001), public policies via the bourgeois state, in general, are based on a double process that takes into account, on the one hand, bourgeois political interests in their primacy and, on the other, part of the needs and demands of the working classes through their demands and mobilizations. It is on the basis of these issues that the following problem arises: what are the implications of the failure to mobilize the masses in defence of the approval and compliance with the new PNE?

Approaching the PNE from a historical perspective: contradictions, changes and reproduction

The first debates and formulations in the field of education on the idea of National Education Plans can be traced back to the 1930s, more precisely to the 'Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education'.

The idea of a plan coming from the Scholasticist formulations is close to the idea of an educational system "[...] that is, the logical, coherent and effective organization of all the educational activities carried out in a given society or, more specifically, in a given country" (Saviani, 2016, p. 187). It was based on this idea of a plan that the Federal Constitution of 1934 was formulated, even establishing that it would be the responsibility of the Union to establish the PNE.

During the Vargas dictatorship, the idea of a plan was completely supplanted with the justification that the idea of science and rationality would not be the most suitable to provide the basis for educational legislation, as the plan should only operationalize educational policy, without 'political-ideological control' (Saviani, 2016).

Between 1946 and 1964, the idea of a plan ended up being polarized by two visions that, in short, conveyed the political polarization between class fractions: the first, in favour of national developmentalism, tried to materialize planning and development via the state, without leaving the country completely subject to external dependence; the second defended private initiative and dependence, calling any state initiative monopolistic interference. "These two tendencies had repercussions on the

debate that took place when the National Congress discussed the draft of our first National Education Guidelines and Bases Law" (Saviani, 2016, p. 189).

The trend that prevailed was the second, of a privatist nature. The idea of a National Education Plan stemming from this trend guided the first LDB. Even the idea of a plan was reduced to an instrument that merely distributed resources to the various levels of education. "In fact, the plan was intended to guarantee private schools, especially Catholic schools, access to public resources earmarked for education" (Saviani, 2016, p. 189-190).

Throughout the bourgeois military dictatorship, education plans were a consequence of the formulation of the National Development Plans, which is why they were called Sectoral Education and Culture Plans.

[...] If in the period from 1932 to 1962, apart from the different nuances, the plan was understood, roughly speaking, as an instrument of transition from the scientific rationality of education under the aegis of the Scholastic conception, in the following period, which lasted until 1985, the idea of the Plan became an instrument of technocratic rationality in line with the technicist conception of education (Saviani, 2016, p. 191).

With the 1988 Constitution, the idea of a plan formulated by the Scholasticists was taken up again, with all due respect. From the point of view of drawing up the PNE, it was assumed that the law referred to in article 214 of the Constitution would be the National Education Guidelines and Bases Law (LDB) provided for in article 22, XXIV, as the exclusive responsibility of the Federal Government.

Well, this specific education law only came into force in 1996 (Law No. 9.394/96) and the PNE appears there in the transitional provisions, specifically in article 87, which established the 'decade of Education'. Paragraph 1 of the same article states that it is up to the Union to submit to the National Congress, within one year, "the National Education Plan, with guidelines and targets for the following ten years, in line with the World Declaration on Education for All" (Brazil, 1996). We can therefore see that the constitutional article was included in the transitional provisions of the LDB, which can be interpreted as something whose duration, once completed, would strictly not require a new draft.

Even with the changes in the 1988 Constitution, the 1990s did not resolve the problems related to the PNE. Five years after the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, the MEC published the Ten-Year Plan for Education for All. This plan differed from previous plans in two respects: 1) it did not deal with education as a whole, but only with basic education, understood as equivalent to basic education; 2) it

was not limited to rules for the distribution of financial resources. It is worth noting that the theoretical foundation of this initiative was the World Declaration on Education for All, formulated in 1990 (Saviani, 2017).

The Ten-Year Plan practically never got off the ground. According to Saviani (2016), the aim of this plan was more to meet the conditions imposed by international organizations in order to obtain educational funding via the World Bank than to guide educational policy.

The proposals formulated for the post-LDB National Education Plan explicitly call for the Ten-Year Plan for Education for All; in fact, these proposals are seen as a continuation of the latter.

An analysis of the document in question as a whole leads to the conclusion that the Plan's proposal was limited to reiterating the educational policy that had been carried out by the MEC, which involves compressing public spending and transferring responsibilities - especially for investment and maintenance of education - to states, municipalities, the private sector and philanthropic associations, leaving the Union with the attributions of control, evaluation, direction and, eventually, technical and financial support of a subsidiary and complementary nature (Saviani, 2016, p. 196-197).

Once again, what we saw was systematic non-compliance. But more than that, the beginning of the 1990s was a phase that reorganized the same class fraction hegemony that, after the election of FHC, consummated the hegemony of the financial capital fraction and the bourgeoisie associated with it in Brazil (Boito Jr., 2018).

The National Education Guidelines and Bases Law (Law 9394/1996) established a deadline of one year after its publication for the bill relating to the PNE to be sent to Congress. These deadlines - like most deadlines dealing with Brazilian education policy - were not met, since the LDB was published in December 1996, so the deadline was December 1997. The first bill presented to the Chamber of Deputies was the proposal drawn up by the educational organizations that met at the First and Second National Education Congress in February 1998 (Saviani, 2016).

The government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) tried to prevent popular participation in the 2001-2011 PNE throughout the process, so the bill lasted approximately three years until it was enacted as Law 10.172/2001, on January 9, 2001.

The text approved by Congress had nine vetoes by President FHC. According to Saviani (2016, p. 280), the main divergences were not related to the diagnosis and needs; "the divergences will manifest themselves more specifically with regard to the objectives and goals, especially those that relate, directly or indirectly, to the problem of financing".

In the 2001-2011 PNE, the financial impact concerns all of the constituent aspects; therefore, neglecting, sidelining the goals and strategies that deal with the financing of basic education is tantamount to turning the plan into a mere letter of intent. Saviani (2016) states that President FHC's vetoes had a direct impact on the funding target, which was the target that would make the plan a National Education Plan.

Cury (2013) justifies the existence of a National Education Plan in our country as a way of ensuring that the right to education is duly offered and guaranteed, since it thus becomes a legally protected right. However, this seems to us to be an extremely legalistic argument because it disregards the conflicts and struggles between classes, as well as the history of Brazilian education itself. As if 'legally protected' rights, especially in relation to education in Brazil, meant anything when we analyze the positions and interests of the classes and fractions of the internal and associated bourgeoisie in Brazil.

Currently, the PNE is the radiating center of public policies aimed at education in Brazil (Dourado, 2017). However, this centrality must not lead to the PNE being seen as a panacea for Brazilian education policy, but rather to the understanding that the current plan, even though it has been systematically ignored and sometimes boycotted, is the main public education policy of the Brazilian state and, despite its limits and contradictions, needs to be demanded.

The PNE 2014-2024 is a leap forward in the materialization of a state policy, the achievement of which was only made possible by the arduous and day-to-day work of organizations and entities run by the working classes as a whole.

However, before there was a real and feasible proposal for a new PNE, Constitutional Amendment 59/2009 was sanctioned, changing the wording of art. 214 of the Federal Constitution of 1998, which qualifies the plan as a state policy and establishes a duration of 10 years for the plan, whose objective is to articulate the SNE.

The first government initiatives to formulate a new National Education Plan took place shortly after the launch of the Education Development Plan (PDE). In 2008, the MEC announced that it planned to hold a National Conference on Basic Education (Coneb) with the aim of promoting the creation of the National Education System (SNE).

It took almost four years for the PNE project to make its way through the legislative houses. Inevitably, various political events took place that had repercussions on the plan's progress. The concrete reasons for the excessive delay in approving the plan's law are conditioned by the conflicts of interest between the classes and fractions

of the bourgeois class that hegemonize the interior of the ruling bloc and those of the working classes and their entities in defending an educational project opposed to that of the bourgeoisie, the main point of this divergence being the direction of the public fund for financing education.

The National Education Plan, sanctioned by President Dilma Rousseff on June 25, 2014, ends up fulfilling the political function of sealing, through concessions, a political compromise, however precarious and provisional, between different social classes, with the aim of reorganizing the same fraction hegemony.

According to Ludovice (2023), it is possible to understand, from an analysis of the initial body of Law 13.005/2014, that there are concessions that corroborate unstable and occasional political compromises that satisfy, to a certain extent, different social classes. This initiative seeks to reorganize political hegemony in order to maintain the same structure as before the political instability¹. However, it is important to emphasize that this process did not lead to a draw in which all interests ended up being covered. In fact, those who already held hegemony ended up having more leverage to enforce their interests and try to block any devices that might harm them.

We are not saying here that the percentage of GDP is insignificant, but that the limitations imposed by the access of education companies to public funding have remained the same and this has not fundamentally altered the provisions that deal with the funding of basic education. As Amaral (2017) says, a reading of the goals that precede goal 20 will allow us to understand, when analyzing the financing goal, that for the PNE to be truly fulfilled it will be essential to increase public resources for education as never before, both in basic education and in higher education.

By making this historical analysis, it is possible to say that the next plan will also carry this same legacy. In other words, the subsequent plan will try to accomplish what the previous one could not.

The plan approved in 2014 was permissive in expanding and ratifying the right to education. Given the characteristics of Brazilian capitalism, the PNE is an achievement, but it remains incapable of prohibiting private education companies from accessing public funds. It even leaves loopholes for relations between public and private interests and for outsourcing policies, typical of a precarious compromise between different class fractions, since the government's role in the process and approval of the PNE was

¹ According to Martuscelli (2016), we can say that political instability is related to the inconsistency of exercising political hegemony within the ruling bloc, caused by the contradictory process of the development of relations and conflicts between classes and class fractions in a given social formation.

to 'reorganize the same fraction hegemony' within the ruling bloc in the face of the political crisis that was being established in the country (Luduvic, 2023).

Educational policy under the PT governments has made progress, especially when compared to the governments of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB). However, it is also noticeable that it is insufficient in relation to the qualitative transformations expected by academic, union, student and popular organizations and entities that have always presented their formulations as counter-hegemonic alternatives. Failure to adhere to these alternatives ended up allowing the fractions of the internal bourgeoisie to continue, in general terms, to hegemonize educational policy and, more particularly, public funding policy.

Ultimately, the provisions that deal with funding express the interests of the various classes and fractions of classes that remained in conflict throughout the PNE process. This shows that the 2014-2024 PNE was pushed through by the PT governments in order to fulfil the political function of sealing, through precarious and provisional concessions and compromises between different social classes, the reorganization of the same fraction hegemony within the ruling bloc, a fraction which, at the same time, supported them politically.

Therefore, it is essential that we popularize the educational debate and the formulations on the right to education made possible by the National Education Plan, thus going beyond the corporate limits of education organizations, because otherwise we will not achieve progress beyond what we have today; however, regress is always possible.

Some elements of the current educational policy situation

The current situation in Brazilian education policy is the result of a coup d'état that ousted President Dilma Rousseff in 2016 and continues to be determined by the setbacks caused by the governments of Michel Temer - Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), and Jair Bolsonaro - Liberal Party (PL).

In the educational field, we have seen some facts that confirm this statement, such as: the High School Reform (REM), the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC), the 'school without a party' projects, the National Civic-Military Schools Program (Pecim), the successive attempts to implement 'home education', non-compliance with the PNE 2014-2024, the advancement and complexification of the process of privatization of schools, educational funding and the effects of successive cuts and disinvestments in public education funding caused by the new fiscal framework.

Another implication for Brazilian education policy arising from the corrosive management of the Bolsonaro government was the preparation and conduct of Conae 2022 - subject to questioning both in terms of diagnosis and formulation, and the process of emptying popular participation - and the pro-forma compliance with legislation and demobilization of society for the implementation of the current PNE.

A counterpoint in the situation is the attempt to re-establish education policy as a state policy. This has been seen in the re-establishment of the National Education Forum (FNE), which had been dismantled by the Temer government and was re-established by Ordinance 478 in March 2023. Among the FNE's other purposes is the coordination of the National Education Conference (Conae) and the monitoring and evaluation of its deliberations. Conae officially aims to evaluate the implementation of the current PNE and provide input for identifying and overcoming Brazil's educational problems in the formulation of a new PNE.

This resumption made it possible to convene Conae 2024, on an extraordinary basis, by means of Decree No. 11.697/2023. The theme of the conference was "The National Education Plan 2024-2034: a state policy to guarantee education as a human right with social justice and sustainable socio-environmental development".

Given the low turnout of delegates, its online format with various connectivity problems and the absence of various scientific, trade union, student and social movement organizations, Conae 2022 could not be considered a legitimate precursor process to the PNE 2024-2034.

If there was already a tendency for the PNE 2014-2024 not to be materialized due to the internal contradictions of the document and the law - especially in relation to its financing - with the coup d'état and the resumption of an orthodox neoliberal policy by the Temer and Bolsonaro governments, the search for compliance with the PNE has become a mere formality.

The latest assessment of the PNE 2014-2024, produced by the National Campaign for the Right to Education (CNDE) in 2023, points out that 85% of the goals have not been met, 65% are in retreat, 35% have data gaps and 15% have been partially achieved. Historically, the Plans carry the legacy of previous Plans, and this is no different with the current PNE 2014-2024 and probably won't be the case with the PNE that is about to be approved, given that many of the goals and strategies approved at Conae 2024 were already contained in the PNE 2014-2024.

With regard to these difficulties in implementing effective transformations in education, Mészáros (2008) problematizes:

Few would deny today that educational processes and the broader social processes of reproduction are intimately linked. Consequently, a significant reformulation of education is inconceivable without a corresponding transformation of the social framework [...] (p. 25).

Everything that has been said so far shows that it is essential that the debate, formulation and actions on Brazilian education policy do not take second place to the analysis and action of politics in general, much less treat politics as an accessory to economic conditioning factors.

As Hobsbawm (2012) says, we need to question this "invented tradition" that the current way of doing politics, including educational policy, seems to condemn us to only doing any and all actions through or subordinated to institutions.

The period that opened up after the Federal Constitution of 1988, and more particularly in these first two decades of the 21st century, invariably validates itself and seeks the terrain of institutionality, state apparatuses and the bourgeois state itself to make the right to education viable. When we problematize this issue, we are referring to the limited 'room for manoeuvre' we have in the National Congress, governments, ministries, forums, councils, the justice system, legislative assemblies, state education departments, city councils and municipal education departments. According to Silva (1992, p. 64),

[...] again, we are so immersed in these elements, we take them for granted, that we are practically incapable of seeing them as just one possibility among many others and also of realizing how much of what we can do is shaped and limited by these definitions. And the determining and limiting effect of these elements is all the more effective because they work invisibly, i.e. no one would challenge them because their definition is accepted by all of us. This is where the main reproductive force of structural elements like these lies.

We need to rethink the collective theoretical and practical political action of academic, trade union, student and social movement entities and organizations, since it was outside the institutional framework that these organizations were created and it was against the bourgeois dictatorial institutional framework that they demonstrated their greatest strength and mass mobilization.

There is a contradiction between the need for social legitimization of bourgeois democracy, the 'democratic rule of law', through social participation, while at the same time maintaining control of the methods of organization, information, production and socialization of knowledge, as well as the participation of the working classes and their organizations. This contradiction makes it possible to think about and carry out politics and educational policy outside the structures of the bourgeois state; as the history of the victorious proletarian revolutions in the 20th century shows, it was outside the

structures of the bourgeois state that the most significant ruptures and transformations in terms of social change were generated, including in the field of education, such as the transformations produced in Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam and Burkina Faso shortly after the revolutionary processes.

With regard to the educational advances promoted by the Cuban revolution, Romo (2020) argues:

In the case of revolutionary Cuba, one of the first visible indications of the importance that education has acquired can be traced when, a few months after the rebel victory, all the military fortresses began to be transformed into schools (Romo, 2020, p. 116).

In the current resumption of bourgeois democracy after the presidential elections, we need to think about our actions in constructing educational policy beyond the institutional arrangements that are laid down in current legislation. If we don't take a look back in history to understand where we have advanced, where we have stagnated and where we have gone backwards, we will be incapable of perceiving the reproductive effects of the educational policy materialized by the bourgeois state.

This is a difficult task, given that political action itself is the product and result of a political culture, of a history; and in order to overcome this situation, it seems essential to understand what truly limits us and what drives us forward.

Conae 2024: reproducing, but also producing and exploiting contradictions

Making a political analysis of Conae at this time is fundamental, given that the debate on Brazilian education policy in the coming period will be hegemonically centered on the assessment of the 'old' PNE and the processing and approval of the new National Education Plan (2024-2034).

Conae 2024 was convened on an extraordinary basis. This was mainly because Conae 2022 was extremely undemocratic, since the Ministry of Education (MEC) and the FNE were authoritarian in the decisions and conduct of the conference by imposing its holding in virtual format, with only 1,200 registered delegates, which ended up damaging the debates and discussions. At Conae 2014, 3,600 delegates were present in Brasília; in 2018, the number of delegates was reduced to 1,500.

In short, the reference document produced in 2022 did not correspond to the formulations approved at the municipal and state stages. It was based on this situation that the FNE was reorganized in 2023 and organized an Extraordinary Conae with the government and the MEC to resume the debate and formulate a new reference document.

The idea of popular participation was minimally recovered in the FNE's renewed articulation; Conae had 2,400,000 participants and its representativeness encompassed various segments of society, from basic and higher education teaching professionals to parliamentarians and business institutions (FNE, 2024²).

During the month of January 2024, WhatsApp groups and social media pages circulated alleged articulations, lives and public positions of Bolsonaro figures disqualifying the process of the municipal, regional and state stages of Conae; at the same time, they threatened to participate and intervene, in the most diverse ways, in the progress of the national stage that took place in Brasília between the 28th and 30th of the same month and year. In fact, some conservative and reactionary groups in the National Congress called for Conae to be postponed a week before the national stage was due to take place³.

As was to be expected, the corporate foundations were present and had no noticeable public interventions. In fact, the very structure of the bourgeois state guarantees the priority of its interests, so disputing a space like Conae would generate completely unnecessary wear and tear for the bourgeois fractions.

Todos pela Educação (All for Education), which acts as the 'public face' of the business foundations linked to the internal bourgeoisie, is not present in spaces where they do not completely control the initiatives, such as the MEC, the National Council of Education Secretaries (Consed), the National Union of Municipal Education Directors (Undime) and the Municipal and State Education Secretariats.

The organized participation of education workers in the colloquia, the axis plenary sessions and the final plenary session was very well organized by the CNDE organization. In addition to the CNDE's ongoing work, throughout January the reference document was debated and planning was carried out on how to act during the Conae.

This coordination is essential for the approval of the reference document, which has been going through Congress since the first half of 2024. According to Camilo Santana, in his speech at the opening of Conae, the MEC would send the document to Congress, as approved at Conae. Despite being an attitude that interests us, there were doubts that this would be done, and even if it was done, given the correlation of forces

² The regulations for Conae 2024 can be found on the FNE website.

³ It is possible to find on various websites of the conventional media, non-commercial press outlets and the websites of popular organizations and social movements the articulations of conservative and reactionary parliamentarians to try to postpone Conae 2024, so that the extension of the PNE 2014-2024 has become an agenda in the National Congress..

in Congress, it doesn't mean a guarantee of approval, quite the opposite, it could end up demonstrating that they believe, even after more than 88% of the PNE 2014-2024 was not complied with, that approving a new PNE is a guarantee of the materialization of the educational policy that came from it, however, this is not enough, as the history of Brazilian educational policy shows.

The formulation approved at Conae 2024 is, in many ways, more politically advanced than the 2014 elaboration because it confronted and decided to repeal the High School Reform, the Common National Curriculum Base and the Common National Base for Teacher Training. It also repealed the neo-fascist government's attempt to dismantle the Initial Cost-Pupil-Quality System and the Cost-Pupil-Quality System, as well as ratifying the 10% of GDP for education (FNE, 2024).

However, it will have to face a larger number of enemies that are more advanced and more deeply rooted than between 2010 and 2014. These enemies are: the corporate foundations embedded in the municipal and state education departments and in the MEC itself, the neo-fascist groups that operate organically in the neo-Pentecostal churches and on social networks, the civic-military schools that continue to be created, by the hundreds, in various states with fractions of the working class itself among their supporters, the benches of federal and state deputies, senators, councillors, mayors and governors in the most diverse Brazilian states.

In a brief analysis, we can say that in the PNE 2014-2024, the setback occurred more effectively in the content of Law 13.005/2014, since this law allowed funding to continue to be drained to the private sector (Luduvicé, 2023).

This is why there is an objective tendency for the text coming out of Conae, in its goals and strategies, to be drastically modified and for the future law not to embody what was decided by Conae 2024.

During the Bolsonaro administration, the main contradiction in the education field was between business foundations and neo-fascism. However, there seems to be a convergence of political factors that have altered this correlation of forces, so that the main contradiction in the education field at the moment is between left-wing organizations defending public education and public management, on the one hand, and business foundations and neo-fascist groups, on the other.

However, unlike the period before the 2016 coup d'état, when the content of this educational dispute was centralized by the debate on funding (10% of GDP), in the current situation there seems to be a tendency for the central content of the dispute to become ideological. One fact that shouldn't change is the time it takes to process the bill, given that procrastination is one of the hallmarks of Brazilian education policy. If

the processing and approval of the current PNE took almost four years, it is unlikely that the new PNE will be approved before three years.

Final thoughts on reproduction, but also on the production of the new

Even with the change of government and the survival of deteriorating bourgeois democracy, the consequences of the educational policy of the post-coup administrations of 2016 continue to be preserved by the MEC in its most essential aspects, as we highlighted earlier.

What seems to be most significant about the changes that have been made is the removal of the main names from the neo-fascist group - the military, the neo-Pentecostal church and the 'Olavists', who occupied important positions in the Bolsonaro administration - and the resumption of dialogue with organizations that work in defence of public education under public management.

However, the business foundations have regained a great deal of influence within the MEC, in a similar way to the period when the 2014-2024 PNE was approved, given the various public and private agendas involving these bourgeois fractions of the educational field and the outsourcing of the agenda to organizations and social movements in the educational field; in short, there is no balance between the political forces in the internal debate within the MEC.

If we take into account the influence of "business reformers" (Freitas, 2018) in state and municipal education departments across Brazil, we will see that the PNE is marginalized as a state policy, in favour of training packages, teaching systems, courses, assessments and curricula produced by education companies.

In light of the above, it is clear that there are concrete limits to the materialization of the PNE outside of mass popular organization and mobilization. Just as vital as formulating a PNE that guarantees the right to education for the working classes is building a culture that enables new social mobilizations for the approval and implementation of the PNE that came out of Conae (2024), which won't happen if we just keep calling for events and stoppages. It is essential to build perennial, effective, daily work at the grassroots of organizations and movements.

With reference to the historical and current aspects of educational policy, and more particularly the National Education Plans discussed so far, it seems reasonable to say that if the articulations and mobilizations in favor of the processing, approval and fulfillment of the new PNE are restricted to repeating the same practices, articulations and corporate mobilizations without advancing in the construction of a popular project for Brazil that is based on structural transformations in Brazilian society, we will be

doomed to experience a repetition of history in relation to the non-compliance with the PNE and, consequently, the right to education itself.

It is therefore essential to maintain active resistance work in the spaces, congresses, symposia, seminars, councils and organic forums of working class organizations. Preserving independence from state apparatuses in order to accumulate forces and knowledge for action, work that is structured around a tripod of organization, training and popular struggles that goes beyond the limits of the education professionals' movement, but above all the limits "granted" by the bourgeois state.

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RESUMO:

Com perspectiva histórica materialista este artigo tematiza a política pública educacional como produto de duas circunstâncias muito particulares: a) são legitimadas e reguladas pelo Estado burguês e b) são produtos e resultado das disputas e embates políticos entre as classes e frações de classes sociais. Os aspectos históricos e atuais sobre a política educacional e o PNE nos ajudam a afirmar que se as articulações e mobilizações em prol da aprovação e cumprimento do novo PNE se restringirem a repetir as mesmas práticas, articulações e mobilizações corporativas sem avançar na construção de um projeto popular para o Brasil que tenha como fundamento transformações estruturais na sociedade brasileira, estaremos fadados a vivenciar a repetição da história com relação ao não cumprimento do PNE e, por consequência, do próprio direito à educação. É imprescindível construir um trabalho perene, cotidiano pela base das organizações e movimentos que ultrapasse os limites 'concedidos' pelo Estado burguês.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Política Educacional; Estado Burguês; Plano Nacional de Educação (PNE); Mobilização.

RESUMEN:

Con una perspectiva histórica materialista, este artículo tematiza la política educativa pública como producto de dos circunstancias muy particulares: a) son legitimadas y reguladas por el Estado burgués y b) son productos y resultados de disputas políticas y choques entre clases y fracciones de clases sociales. Los aspectos históricos y actuales de la política educativa y del PNE nos ayudan a afirmar que si las articulaciones y movilizaciones a favor de la aprobación y cumplimiento del nuevo PNE se limitan a repetir las mismas prácticas, articulaciones y movilizaciones corporativas sin avanzar en la construcción de un proyecto popular para Brasil que se base en transformaciones estructurales en la sociedad brasileña, estaremos condenados a vivir la repetición de la historia en relación con el incumplimiento del PNE y, en consecuencia, del propio derecho a la educación. Es imprescindible construir un trabajo perenne y cotidiano de las bases de organizaciones y movimientos que vaya más allá de los límites "concedidos" por el Estado burgués.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Política Educativa; Estado burgués; Plan Nacional de Educación (PNE); Movilización.