

THE COLD WAR AND TEACHING MANAGEMENT IN BRAZIL: THE CASE OF THE FGV-EAESP

GUERRA FRIA E ENSINO DO MANAGEMENT NO BRASIL: O CASO DA FGV-EAESP

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ABSTRACT

The Cold War lasted from the end of the 2nd World War to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. It covered an important period in the development and spread of ways of thinking about and teaching management. This article analyzes whether the Cold War exerted any influence on the way management was imported into Brazil. This is undertaken by analyzing the setting up of The Sao Paulo School of Business Administration at the Getulio Vargas Foundation, a pilot institution for the

importing of management to Brazil. The article focuses on the first minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and Administrative School Council and shows the influence of the US on the creation of the FGV-EAESP and how this influence was embedded in the rationale of the Cold War and the way it led to the development of Third World nations. The article paves the way for an investigation into the extent to which there was an Americanisation of business teaching in Brazil.

KEYWORDS Management, Cold War, historiography, modernization, FGV-EAESP

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Resumo A Guerra Fria durou do final da II Guerra Mundial até o colapso da URSS, em 1991. Trata-se de uma época importante no desenvolvimento e difusão da forma de pensar e ensinar o management. Este artigo analisa se a Guerra Fria exerceu alguma influência na importação do management para o Brasil. Para tanto, analisamos a criação da Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo da Fundação Getulio Vargas, instituição piloto na importação do management para o Brasil. O artigo foca nas primeiras atas das reuniões da Congregação e do Conselho de Administração da Escola e contribui ao mostrar a influência dos EUA na criação da FGV-EAESP e como tal influência está imersa na lógica da Guerra Fria de levar o desenvolvimento às nações do Terceiro Mundo. O artigo abre possibilidades para investigar até que ponto houve uma americanização do ensino de administração no Brasil.

Palavras-chave Management, Guerra Fria, historiografia, modernização, FGV-EAESP.

Resumen La Guerra Fría duró desde el final de la II Guerra Mundial hasta el colapso de la URSS, en 1991. Se trata de una época importante en el desarrollo y difusión de la forma de pensar y enseñar el management. Este artículo analiza si la Guerra Fria ejerció alguna influencia en la importación del management a Brasil. Para ello, analizamos la creación de la Escuela de Administración de Empresas de São Paulo de la Fundación Getulio Vargas, institución piloto en la importación del management a Brasil. El artículo enfoca las primeras actas de las reuniones de la Congregación y del Consejo de Administración de la Escuela y contribuye al mostrar la influencia de EEUU en la creación de la FGV-EAESP y cómo tal influencia está imersa en la lógica de la Guerra Fría, de llevar el desarrollo a las naciones del Tercer Mundo. El artículo abre posibilidades para investigar hasta qué punto hubo una americanización de la enseñanza de administración en Brasil.

Palabras clave Management, Guerra Fria, historiografía, modernización, FGV-EAESP.

INTRODUCTION

“The peoples of the Earth face the future with grave uncertainty, composed almost equally of great hopes and fears. In this time of doubt, they look to the United States as never before for good will, strength, and wise leadership”. This extract from the inaugural speech of President Harry S. Truman on taking office on 20th January, 1949, shows how the world scene appeared in the aftermath of the 2nd World War. With the destruction of nazi-fascism, the world saw two superpowers emerging: the United States of America (USA) and the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) which, being the victors of the World War, would soon enter into conflict for world hegemony.

Nonetheless, this dispute did not occur through an openly declared war between two powers but rather through hostilities, at times of a subtle kind, at times explicit, between two ways of living. One of the main arenas of struggle in the Cold War was in the ideological plane. In countries where it was important, the Cold War affected the way that people understand the world and judge their own behavior. This conflict directly affected a large number of the nations of the globe (CF. KELLY, MILLS, COOKE, 2006)

The Cold War lasted from the end of the 2nd World War to the collapse of the USSR in 1991, and represents an important epoch for the development and spread of ideas about management and the best way to teach it. Without doubt, an organizational ability has formed a part of our civilization from earliest times but it is within a particular historical and economic context that a specific kind of business administration has emerged.

This particular type of administration which arose in the US and is held in high esteem because of its effectiveness, efficiency and ability to maximize results, claims to be politically neutral, and is called ‘management’ (ALCADIPANI and ROSA, 2011). In spite of its importance for the post-war world, it is only recently that the effects of the Cold War have begun to be analyzed in a way that allows thought to be given to the diffusion of ideas about ‘management’ (KELLY, MILLS, COOKE, 2006).

The teaching of Business Studies began to spread in Brazil in the 1950s, through the intermediation of the Getulio Vargas Foundation, during a period when the Cold War was strikingly evident. The purpose of this article is to analyze whether the Cold War played some role in the development and consolidation of the teaching of Business Studies in Brazil. This article is included in studies related to the history of business

administration and its organizations (e.g. VIZEU, 2008; CURADO, 2001).

It is essential for us to study the history of business administration because this research can help us become aware, as distinct from simply describing, how and why we understand the kind of administration and organizations that prevail today.

The FGV-EAESP was founded in the 1950s at a time when Brazil was living in a historical context where it was concerned with independent national development, as is shown in the writings of thinkers at the Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies (ISEB) which was founded in the same decade. Several distinguished intellectuals formed a part of ISEB, such as Helio Jaguaribe, Roland Corbisier and Alberto Guerreiro Ramos. The ideas of these academic figures influenced the thinking about business administration in Brazil, as can be seen in the work of Guerreiro Ramos and the study of Joao Ubaldo Ribeiro (RIBEIRO, 2006), which he undertook as a part of a Master’s Degree in this field, when he was in the US and on his return to Brazil, and reflects his concern with the question of adapting the teaching he had been given there, to the reality of local circumstances.

The relationship between concepts of development and the teaching of Business Studies was analyzed by Fischer (1984) who shows us how these intellectual projections were of crucial importance in teaching management in the country. To a certain extent, this article complements the studies of Fischer (1984) by setting the analysis in an international context. Thus, this study can be of value in two ways: first of all, in showing the importance of the Cold War in understanding how the teaching of Management spread in Brazil, and secondly, to illustrate how the influence of the Cold War on Management was felt in other parts of the world and not just in Europe and the US.

THE RISE OF THE COLD WAR AND POINT IV

From the standpoint of the West, and particularly the US, the Cold War conflict was lent support by two radically opposed ideologies. The West, commanded by the US, was seen as on the democratic side, with rational political institutions and representatives, where everybody enjoyed freedom and access to opportunities and above all, a market economy that recognized the value of individual creativity and entrepreneurship. The Soviet Bloc was seen as an autocratic regime, where the

institutions supported an oligarchical mandate buttressed by the Communist Party, where only a small minority exercised power and opportunities were limited.

The economy was centrally planned and not only were there no incentives for individual initiative, but it was even repressed in the name of the rationale of centralized planning. The US always played up this ideological perspective by demonizing everything that came out of the Soviet Bloc (SPECTOR, 2006). From Harry Truman to Ronald Reagan, communism was treated as a malign force, that was plotting to conquer the world from top to bottom, and only bent on the complete destruction of the United States and the “free world”.

In the words of Truman in a speech delivered on assuming office on 20th January, 1949, “People everywhere are coming to realize that what is involved is material well-being, human dignity, and the right to believe and worship God. [...] The communist philosophy is a threat to the efforts of free nations to bring about world recovery and lasting peace”.

The world of the Cold War was a world divided between two models and ways of life that were polarized between two contrasting positions. Both the US and the USSR sought to absorb the maximum number of countries possible within its sphere of power and influence. Hence, forming a part of one of the blocks meant following the principles defended by the leaders of these countries.

The Cold War was a decisive factor in modeling the second half of the last century, and its consequences are still being felt to this day (ROBERTS, 1999). This war was bound up with political, ideological, and, to a limited extent, economic fields since, although a military threat, the USSR never succeeded in becoming a great economic power (Hobsbawm, 2008).

From this standpoint, the end of the Cold War, with the triumph of the West and capitalism, was predictable, since the Soviet Union was not concerned with developing an economic system that was able to support its political and ideological ambitions. When the English historian J.M. Roberts (ROBERTS, 1999) drew a world map of the Cold War, he left out Latin America. In the sub-continent, the Cold War began with the outbreak and unfolding of the Cuban Revolution. Until then, the relations in the region were regarded as being tense, while the countries remained submissive to the US.

Despite the ideological propaganda of being the leader of the “free world”, the US was the traditional ally of the conservative governments and oligarchies of the region. Cuba began to be seen as a threat, in so far as it

adopted a policy of exporting the Cuban revolution and creating a focal point for guerillas in other countries in the region. The North American reaction was manifested not only in the diplomatic isolation of the land and economy of Cuba, which has continued until this day, but also in the way it sought to pay more attention to Latin America. The Alliance for Progress launched by the Kennedy government expressed the intention of the United States to assist economic development in the region.

Latin America was certainly never at the center of the Cold War. The ‘hot spots’ of the war were Europe and some other places like Turkey, the former French Indo-China (VIETNAM, LAOS and CAMBODIA) and North and South Korea. However, it should not be forgotten that it had repercussions in Latin America because a large number of events would never have occurred if it had never existed. During the 1960s and 1970s, Latin America underwent a period of political instability in the form of military dictatorships, which can be characterized as undermining the fragile democratic institutions of the region. We recall that the region experienced dictatorships such as those of Somoza (Nicaragua), Trujillo (Dominican Republic), Duvalier (Haiti), Manuel Odria (Peru) and Pinochet (Chile) and in particular, the various generals that headed the governments of Brazil and Argentina for over 20 years. If the US Government was not proud of these allies, at least they were seen as bulwarks against the rising tide of communism.

The region also adopted a policy of containment with regard to communism as announced by President Truman, which was enacted in legislation concerned with National Security and which had an influence on the actions of governments in the region. National Security was interpreted very loosely and served to support repressive movements.

Another important movement in the North American foreign policy, and which preceded the Cold War, was the interest in moulding a world that resembled the West. This involved a capitalist economic system, political institutions like those that had evolved in Western Europe and, also, in the US, the elimination of poverty. There was a sharpening awareness that economic reasons lay at the root of many wars and conflicts and that a peaceful and just world must be a world without poverty. In this way, economic development began to occupy a place in the foreign policy of the US, as well as in the policies of the developed countries and during the Brehznev era, they were also adopted by the USSR.

Commitment to economic development was announced in the inaugural address of President Harry

Tuman in January, 1949. The president outlined four points which were designed to guide the foreign policy of the United States with the aim of “containing” communism and establishing a “free world”. The first was to give support to the United Nations and its various bodies, with the aim of strengthening democracy in the world; the second was to continue with programs for economic reconstruction, which had already begun in a Europe that was still feeling the devastating effects of the war; the third was the strengthening of peace-loving nations against potential aggressors and finally there was the fourth point:

“we will embark on a new and audacious program with the aim of making the benefits of our scientific advance and economic progress available for the economic growth and progress of undeveloped areas. More than half of the world’s population live in conditions close to misery, with inadequate feeding and disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant Their poverty is an obstacle and threat to themselves and to the more prosperous areas” (TRUMAN, 1949).

As can be noted, the predominant role of science and technology is thus very clear in Truman’s speech, where he states that “greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern and scientific technological knowledge”. One of the central features of management, since Frederick Taylor, has been the application of technical and scientific measures to increase production. Thus, it can be argued that, among the areas of knowledge that can increase production and encourage the spread of management, this can be seen as a policy that corresponds to the rationale outlined by Truman.

The underlying idea behind Point IV is that by bringing prosperity and development to various regions of the world which follow the principles defended by the US, the communist threat will be automatically removed in these places (see FRIEDMAN, 1958; LITTLE and CLIFFORD, 1965). Point IV was turned into an official government program, tied to the State Department and was committed to financing projects with the technical assistance of the United States to help undeveloped countries.

The aim of this program was to spread the cultural and social system of the United States by disseminating the knowledge and skills that could allow it to operate.

The technical training programs were important for the US in spreading a market economy since these could be controlled. This was because of the skills that originated from the universities and research centers of the US, the fact that they were not burdensome and above all, that they helped the market undertake research into new business for the North-American companies. (SENARCLENS, 1997).

During the brief presidency of Jânio Quadros, Brazil flirted with the non-aligned group although it remained in the sphere of the US and aligned with the West. The country was more interested in its own development than with the conflict between communism and capitalism. Moreover, at that time, development was regarded by Brazil as synonymous with industrialization (FURTADO, 2007, 2009). It was necessary to put its past experience as a colony and agricultural country behind it and by means of industry, position itself in the vanguard of the world economy.

The US had every interest in keeping Brazil within the Western block and supporting its economic growth through industrialization. Finally, the Cold War and Point IV converge and by coming together in a capitalist market economy, it attracted both Brazilians and North Americans, though not necessarily for the same reasons.

MANAGEMENT AS A COLD WAR PHENOMENON

One of the key areas in which the Cold War unfolded was in the search for supremacy in the sphere of science and technological development by both the US and the USSR. In the climate of that epoch, a central idea was that research would foster the interests of the US (TADAJEWSKI, 2006). Undoubtedly, the Cold War redefined the directions of the sciences in that country and its military apparatus began to have a decisive influence on research and development projects in both the universities and industry.

In this way, the Cold War was an important catalyst for the creation of an ‘academic-military-complex’ (see LESLIE, 1993), which is exemplified in the ‘spatial corridor’ in which organizations such as Pan American Airways were affected and actively helped to establish the discourse of the Cold War (HATT et al., 2009).

As well as this, the Marshall Plan, which had been drawn up to arrest the communist threat and the aims of the Soviets in Europe (SENARCLENS, 1997), was of

fundamental importance in the economic development of the region and played a crucial role in the reconstruction of the industrial construction of that continent, in the same way as the US helped in the reconstruction of Japan (cf. DJELIC, 1998), in addition to providing aid to various countries in the spirit of Point IV.

The financial aid always came attached to undertakings by governments to make use of the assistance and technical training that originated from the USA. As a result, the Cold War was decisive in the spread of the American model of productivity around the world (cf. FRENKEL and SHENHAVY, 2003) or in other words, it directly affected the productive strategies of a wide range of organizations in various countries.

The Cold War took place between 1946 and 1989, a crucial period in the development and consolidation of ideas about management, when important theoretical matrices for this kind of thinking were established, such as the Theory of Human Relations, the Theory of Systems and the Socio-technical Theory, to mention just a few (KELLY, MILLS and COOKE, 2006). There is clear evidence that the Cold War affected important theoretical developments in the field. For example, Cooke, Mills and Kelly (2005) argue that a part of the training work by H. Igor Ansoff, an important theorist of strategy, took place at the Rand Corporation, a think-tank set up by the US Air Force.

Furthermore, the more detailed explanation of Edward Schein about Lewin's model of three stages of planned change (thawing/ moving/ freezing again) was grounded on an analysis of the attitudes of American prisoners who underwent brainwashing in Korea; the concept of 'groupthink' was drawn up by making use of the Korean War and the missile crisis in Cuba.

The influence of the Cold War on management was not only felt through the objective factors involved in forming the perspectives that shaped it, as we have highlighted. It also supplied a long narrative within which the field is embedded during most of its development. This means that, to a considerable extent, the culture that was created at that time, sets out the boundaries of the opportunities that management can deal with, as well as the form and type of management that this field should acclaim (cf. COOKE, MILLS and KELLY, 2005; KELLY, MILLS and COOKE, 2006; LANDAU, 2006).

Cooke, Mills and Kelly (2005) argue that this culture is characterized by some central features, one of the main ones being an idealization of Americanism and the resulting demonization of non-Americanism (or anti-Americanism). Anti-Americanism was associated with a number of key practices and organizations regarded as

opposed to the values cherished by the US, such as the refusal to swear an oath of loyalty to the country and to divulge information about friends or acquaintances who have practised acts regarded as anti-American, association with organizations viewed as subversive, demonstrations of sexuality that are not of a heterosexual nature and a lack of a religious commitment.

Suspicious activities include supporting peace movements, taking part in campaigns against racism and civil liberties and supporting trade unions. McCarthyism was an expression of this era. The culture of the Cold War also included ethnocentrism backed up by a defence of the American Way of Life and a growing suspicion of foreigners. In addition, this culture laid stress on factors that contrasted with communism in terms of a defence of democracy and a belief in God, while, at the same time, it supported key features of a culture of mass capitalism, involving individualism, consumption, material progress, productivity and a 'liberal' economic vision (see COOKE, MILLS and KELLY, 2005).

Within this long narrative, it was expected that academics would foster the values of the US and capitalism in a way that questions communism (TADAJEWSKI, 2006). Hence, the political culture of the Cold War and the struggle of management for hegemony aided the revival of a rationalized systematic approach as a means of thinking about and practising management. (LANDAU, 2006).

This culture also had a direct influence on the development and acceptance of the work of Maslow (COOKE, MILLS and KELLY, 2005; COOKE and MILLS, 2008). It enabled 'action-research' to assume a managerial character, (leaving aside a version that is devoted to social questions), which in its origins, was typical of this approach (COOKE, 2006). As well as this, the fact that management theories, to a great extent, assist schemes that lead to the assertion of male supremacy, is related to the discourse of the Cold War which is in favor of the family and work (RUNTE and MILLS, 2006)

Unquestionably, with regard to the standpoint it adopts, this culture excluded ideas that existed 'on the left'. In this way, the culture of the Cold War influenced the way management was formed by treating it as a field of pragmatic knowledge, which is driven by an empiricist (cf. TADAJEWSKI, 2006), technocratic and supposedly neutral logic, with regard to its policies (cf. COOKE, 1999).

Since it was a long narrative covering an entire epoch, the Cold War had a decisive influence on publications in the area of management. The Harvard Business Review actively embraced and fostered the ideology of this war in its publications (SPECTOR, 2006). In the same era, in

the business media in Finland, a dispute arose between journalists who defended a pro-soviet position and those that adopted a pro-US stance.

With the passing of time, this dispute grew into arguments in favor of the neoliberal ideology. Text books and the Academy of Management itself, espoused causes that arose from the Cold War (e.g. a 'liberal' view of the market, anti-communism, objectivity, elitism, ethnocentrism and masculine virtues), and these became translated into a philosophy of management which, to a striking degree, influenced the character of organizations for decades (GRANT and MILLS, 2006).

During the Cold War, business administration schools began to appear and become consolidated in the United States, Europe, and various other countries, including Brazil. What stimulated the setting up and growth of these teaching institutions was the wish to follow the model for management schools that, to a considerable extent, had become prominent in the United States. Through the activities of American teachers, and the sending of academics from a wide range of countries to do post-graduate courses in that country, together with the importing of programs and translation of text books, the business schools followed the management model, even in countries where institutions had existed before the 2nd World War (LEAVITT, 1957; SRINIVAS, 2009). It should be stressed that US foundations, like the Ford Foundation, played a key role in this process (GEMELLI, 1996), as well as giving support to the culture of the Cold War (PARMAR, 2006).

Thus, management became consolidated within a US industrial military complex (WESTWOOD and JACK, 2008) where it was influenced and shaped within the huge narrative of the Cold War (COOKE, MILLS, KELLY, 2005; COOKE and MILLS, 2008). For this reason, it can be understood as a phenomenon where the Cold War acted as a catalyst (cf. KELLY, MILLS, COOKE, 2006), and spread throughout the world (ALCADIPANI and ROSA, 2011), with the aim of protecting the "free world" from a communist threat. On the basis of this rationale, we analyze the creation and growth of the Sao Paulo Business Administration School of the Getulio Vargas Foundation and seek to show the influence of the Cold War in this process.

METHODOLOGY

The historical methodology which we employ in this

article, reflects a growing interest in the field of theory on the part of the organizations and administration (CLARK and ROWLINSON, 2004; BOOTH and ROWLINSON, 2006), while, at the same time, drawing attention to what can be regarded as a historical approach in organizational studies.

In particular, historiography adopted the method that emerged from the History of Business Administration and Organizations (BOOTH and ROWLINSON, 2006; COOKE, 2006), which can be distinguished from Business History in so far as it treats ideas, practices and discourses in business as historical, social and geopolitical phenomena. This perspective advocates that historical studies should deal with the present and past concomitantly (COOKE, 2003) by taking into account that the way choices are made depends on the manner in which history is written. Moreover, past events are either selected or ignored, since they are moulded by the present and include power relations and the ideologies that are currently in force.

But however great the attempt may be to speak of the past objectively, it is an irrefutable fact that the past has now passed and, as a result, any statement about the past is epistemologically bound to an interpretative perspective.

Historiography allows us to show that the present is not something natural, but rather, the result of particular activities and practices that could have been different (JACQUES, 2006). In this article, our analysis is grounded on the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors (between 1959-1966) and the Administrative Council (between 1956-1966) of the FGV-EAESP, which were the main consultative bodies and forms of management. These documents, which can be found in a digital format, were available in the files of the organization, which granted us access to them.

The FGV-EAESP was chosen as the subject for analysis because it can be regarded as one of the principal and most prominent schools in the country. Although it was not the first of its kind, this school has become consolidated as a leader and model for other institutions that teach Business Studies in Brazil.

Our analysis of the minutes complies with the technique of open codification (COFFEY and ATKINSON, 1996). In employing this technique, we read through the minutes of the Board of Directors and the Administrative Council and attempted to find recurring themes which were embedded in the codes. After a first reading, these themes were linked to the documents and following this, were closely examined

as a means of confirming their suitability. The process of making adjustments of the codes to the content of the documents was repeated three times and this resulted in 16 codes.

Only the data found within the Cold War code was made use of for this text. Subsequently, we drew up a time-line to correspond with the main events. In this article, we decided that our focus should only be on the data that relates to the documents referred to, owing to their importance in the history of the institution.

There are underlying constraints in research studies that are based on material from archives. In the first place, we cannot be certain that the files contain all the information concerning the organization with regard to the subject being researched or, at least, assume that the events that occurred were duly recorded in the files. In addition, when we are dealing with the documents, facts and factors that have to be taken into account, it might be found that they are mere formalities in the epoch when they were produced. In spite of this, archives are important sources of information and represent one of the main sources of data when undertaking research of a historiographical kind.

FGV-EAESP: THE TARGET OF POINT IV IN LATIN AMERICA

The founding of a Business Administration School in Sao Paulo was a commitment undertaken by the Getulio Vargas Foundation in 1953, by means of an official agreement signed with the Brazilian Federal Agency for the Support of Higher Education (CAPES). The decision was preceded by agreements between the Brazilian Government and the US authorities, which played a crucial role in obtaining technical and financial support for the school.

The reasons for this decision were, on the one hand, the foreign policy of the United States which, by means of Point IV, was designed to provide aid to undeveloped areas. This was strengthened by the climate of the Cold War which now went beyond acting as a catalyst in international relations, as it had at the beginning of the 1950s. On the other hand, it was in the interests of Brazilians to bring forward the national development project as a backcloth to the whole concept of national development (see Fischer, 1984). In this part of the article, we outline the significance of Point IV in the initial phases of EAESP.

The Brazilian Bocconi?

In reality, the commitment undertaken by the Foundation to establish a business school of administration in 1953, derived from a former desire by FGV to fulfil an ambition as, since it was originated, it had planned to have a school of this nature. The President of the Foundation of that time (Luiz Simoes Lopes) stated, at a meeting of the FGV-EAESP Administrative Council, that there had been a previous agreement between the Foundation and Count Francisco Matarazzo as early as 1944, when this entrepreneur had shown an interest in creating a similar school.

However, Simoes Lopes was of the opinion that the count's project was a little vague, given the fact that it was officially described as involving "advanced economic studies and sciences". On the basis of the agreement, the count would construct the building which he would then endow to FGV and contribute monthly payments for the maintenance of the school.

The program and supervision of the teaching would have been the responsibility of FGV. However, as Simoes Lopes explained, Count Matarazzo "insisted on establishing a school which would not have been accepted by Brazilian legislation. He did not even know what the curriculum of the school that he envisaged would be or even its name. He wanted to call it a university because the law forbade the teaching of 'aziendais' sciences because nobody knows what is meant by this word". FGV turned down this name and also did not want a school where the focus was on economics because it had already established a school for this purpose.

The proposal made by FGV was to set up a school that was solely devoted to business administration. There were protracted negotiations but no agreement. The construction of the building where the head office of the Governor of the State of Sao Paulo is currently situated was begun in 1955 and dragged on for several years. Dr Simoes ends his report by adding that: "Time alone has managed to solve the problem in itself. The Getulio Vargas Foundation established its school without the Count and, leaving modesty aside, with great success. But until today, the Count has not managed to carry out his side of the bargain, except the easiest part, which is the construction of the building".

The root of the disagreement between the FGV and Count Matarazzo can be attributed to the teaching model for Business Studies which will be adopted in the new school. In a book based on the testimony of the

leading figures who created the FGV and its different departments, Maria Cecilia D'Araujo (D'ARAUJO, 1999) interviewed Geraldo Lins who was involved in the earliest stages of the FGV-EAESP project. Lins relates how he met the Count, together with Simoes Lopes and an executive director of FGV but did not reach an agreement with regard to the model that would be followed.

The Count did not want the academic supervision to be handed over to the responsibility of North Americans but rather, that it should be entrusted to the Bocconi Institute of Milan which, in his opinion, was the best business school in the world. In the view of Lins, the European model for teaching business administration was “rather old-fashioned and geared towards financial areas and accounting. Basically, it was a school of accountancy. The part on efficiency and Marketing which the Americans attached importance to, had not developed very far.” (D'ARAUJO, 1999, p.140). It is worth noting that management arose in the discourse as more modern than its European counterpart.

The case suggested that FGV was interested in a school of business administration that followed the model that was openly endorsed by the North-Americans while at the same time, the model of that country was not the only one that could be employed, although it was regarded by the members of FGV as the most modern available at that time. It should be underlined that modernizing countries as a means of combating communism is one of the central features of the position of the US in the Cold War, and as well as this, this discourse posits the US as the most modern country and the model to be followed (cf. COOKE, MILLS and KELLY, 2005).

The lack of an agreement with Count Matarazzo as a potential investor, led the FGV to seek other financiers for its project. Negotiations began with the US Government, which was the leading world financier of modernization projects, owing to the climate of the Cold War.

Financing – made in the USA

Geraldo Lins was an officer in the Brazilian Navy and became involved in the EAESP project almost by chance. After obtaining his Master's Degree in Naval Engineering at the MIT, Lins did a course in Industrial Administration with the aim of acquiring knowledge to improve the effectiveness of the arsenal of the Navy. For personal reasons, he returned to Brazil and, as he had had contact with management teaching, he visited various national institutions that dealt with business administration.

In the meeting, there was a representative of the Government of the United States who was responsible for the Point IV projects in Brazil. At the beginning of the meeting, a provisional school curriculum was laid out. Lins said that he thought the course was too academic and theoretical, “because it spoke about ‘business sciences’ and ‘the philosophy of business administration’” (D'ARAUJO, 1999, p.138). On being invited to express his opinion, Lins said that in the US, he had studied materials like finance, accountancy, production and marketing and made clear the difference between a more philosophic orientation and a more pragmatic orientation.

In the remainder of his testimony, Lins was emphatic: “While I said this, the American, who was almost asleep, woke up ‘Dr Mattos, if the gentlemen provide a curriculum with the subjects that Commander Lins mentioned, we will be able to supply American teachers, train Brazilian teachers in our schools and offer teaching material. Now, with this curriculum that I'm looking at here, I would even suggest that the gentlemen make contact with the Sorbonne” (D'ARAUJO, 1999, p.138). The comments of Lins drew FGV and Ponto IV to a closer relationship and the North-American agency was willing to discuss the agreement for the creation of the EAESP.

In what followed, Lins was invited to take responsibility for the project and for preparing a curriculum in the exact form that he had outlined at the meeting, which would ensure the technical support and funding of the US Government. It was evident that there existed alternative management models for teaching business administration, but the North-Americans naturally were only prepared to finance, and give their support to, projects that would follow their own peculiar ideas about carrying out business studies. The US was the country which offered most financial aid to the countries of the so-called Third World, within the spirit of Point IV and, on account of this, were in a position to dictate the exact form, circumstances and terms that should apply to modernization in these countries.

It could be sheer coincidence, but it is worth pointing out the fact that the person entrusted with the responsibility of producing the curriculum in the EAESP, in accordance with the expectations of the North Americans, was an officer in the Navy who had made contact with the management because he had wanted to improve the navy's military effectiveness. As we mentioned in a previous section, there was a very close relationship between the military and research during the Cold War. During the era when the plan for a business

school of administration was being discussed, the choices in higher education had been reduced, since there were only the three most traditional professions (engineering, medicine and law) and the recently-formed course in economics.

Before the creation of the EAESP in 1952, a panel was set up comprising businessmen, representatives of the Institute of the Advisory Organization of Labor (IDORT) and the Getulio Vargas Foundation. The panel was chaired by Luis Simoes Lopes, then President of the Foundation. The reaction to the proposal to create a school for training business managers, met with resistance. The engineers, lawyers, economists and accountants thought that the needs for training business managers were catered for by the higher education courses that already existed.

Curiously, the company leaders remembered that, since Brazilian business concerns were controlled by families, the top managerial positions, which the projected school intended to train, would naturally and inevitably be filled by members of these dominant families (TAYLOR, 1969).

Despite this, the FGV overcame the resistance and continued with its attempts to establish the school since it could already count on the support of the US Government. The Commission chaired by Lins also made contact with CAPES which, in principle, proved to be sceptical but later, rescinded the project basically because, at that time, the president of the agency and his family who owned a company of their own, could not find suitable personnel to take on the role of management.

Thus, the president realised there was a pressing need for a school that could train managers for private companies. CAPES supplied an equivalent amount to the US investment from the Brazilian Government. The US Government support was contributed through the Foreign Operation Administration which formed a part of Point IV. The program was the main sponsor of the partnership between the FGV and Michigan State University (D'ARAJO, 1999). The agreement, which was signed between FGV and the US Government through the intermediation of CAPES, laid down the basis for which the EAESP project could materialize. A North American university team with lecturers from Michigan State University was responsible for assisting the FGV in the creation of the EAESP.

The agreement established the creation of a Council of Administration (CA) for the school. The purpose of this council was to take responsibility for defining the

school's policies and strategies, the financial planning of the institution, the annual schedule of activities and the timetabling of future developments. It was in effect the largest decision-making body of the institution.

The Council comprised three members appointed by the US and approved by FGV, three members appointed by FGV and approved by the US Government, the Director of the EAESP, the head of the North American staff of teachers and a representative of former students (1st SO Minutes CA 04.06.1956). It was clear that the US was not just offering technical support and resources. Point IV played a key role in decision-making with regard to the strategies and policies of the school and gave directions about how it should prosper. From what is stated here, it can be believed that, at least in its earliest stages, the school was a project that was shared between the US and FGV. It should be stressed that the first minutes of the Council were recorded in English and the discussions seem to have been held in this language too.

In the first meeting of the CA (1a SO Ata CA 04.06.1956), the head of the staff of North-American teachers in Brazil, Leonard Hall, issued a report of the measures taken for the creation of the school. According to what he said, in 1953, FGV became a candidate to receive assistance from Point IV to help set up education in Business Administration in the country. On being contacted by Point IV, Michigan State University responded positively and its rector visited FGV to finalise the details.

Owing to the numerous regulations and formalities, it was only on 1st April, 1954 that two teachers from Michigan came to Brazil to explore the possibility of "setting up a business administration school at university level". Two more teachers arrived in July 1954 and "with the personnel of the Foundation" (the term used by Hall) began to undertake a definitive program. What is interesting here is that, in the document, the North-Americans are referred to as "teachers" and the Brazilians only as "personnel".

The Courses

As stated by Hall (1a SO Ata CA 04.06.1956), the first scheme was to run an intensive course lasting for 12 weeks with another week for executives to make visits to industrial plants. The course, which was called an Intensive Course in Administration (CIA) had to be run at a minimum of three times a year. The students were senior business managers and the course was a success.

The teaching material for business studies, the finances and accounting were administered by the teachers from the North-American team; the taxation and auditing in Brazil, labor laws and social welfare schemes were subjects that were taught by Brazilian teachers.

In the context of Brazil, it would be very difficult for a higher level school to become consolidated and achieve a secure position without having a graduation course. After all, it is a graduate degree course which provides the necessary credentials for a professional career. In view of this, a degree course was established which was designed in a way that was innovative for that time. In the first two years, the students did not study subjects linked to Business Administration. What was innovative was the predominance of social sciences, sociology, psychology, political science and commercial, fiscal and tax legislation, as well as labor laws which were a peculiar feature of Brazil. As well as this, there were subjects that were regarded as preparatory or ancillary to business administration, such as accountancy, mathematics and statistics.

In a degree course that had to be completed in four years, it was only in the last two years that there were specific subjects in administration which basically followed the traditional areas of business studies or in other words, managerial accounting, finance, marketing, human resources production and strategy which came under the designation of business policies. Hence, it was concerned with a program that was modeled on North-American degree courses of that time and, perhaps of Michigan State University itself.

In his statement, Professor Hall said that “[...] this is a regular university course in the United States, and while it is not exactly the same here, the problems of Brazilian business are very similar so that American methods can be used” (1a SO Ata CA 04.06.1956). This is a clear sign of the fact that, at that time, there were differences in the capitalism of the two countries which were not necessarily taken into account by the head of the team. Thus, the EAESP began its graduation course in 1959 and in 1964 there were already 164 bachelors in Administration (TAYLOR, 1969, p.109).

For a long time, the teaching material used in the school courses was entirely North-American. In the opinion of one of the members of the EAESP Council, “undeniably 99%, even 100% will be American” (50a SO Ata CA 05.01.1962). At the same time, the member stressed the need to produce Brazilian teaching material and this ended up by being the objective of a project carried out by the Ford Foundation for EAESP. The

EAESP graduation course had a decisive effect on other graduation courses in the country.

In fact, the school and Point IV influenced the minimum curriculum laid down for the area of business administration in Brazil. In 1962, the school director of that time informed CA that he had received a request from the office of Point IV in Rio de Janeiro. The writer wanted information about what the minimum curriculum of business administration consisted of, and what could, from his standpoint, represent the adoption of the model employed in schools throughout the country. The curriculum that was sought was sent to the Brazilian office of Point IV (54ª SO Ata CA 25.05.1962).

School Model

The new school was regarded by one of the members as a “yardstick to many others that will be organized in the country for the education of people for the future”. Another member of CA declared that “the people responsible for Point IV have made a very good program” and insisted that Brazil had shown rapid economic growth but had not had time to get organized and the school was committed to showing the country what business administration was because “Brazilians do not realize what it means and, in good faith, resist changes” (1a SO Ata CA 04.06.1956)

In reality, Point IV used EAESP as a basis for providing support for the creation of schools of administration (aimed at giving technical assistance) in the North-East (UFBA) and the South of Brazil (UFRGS). There were also attempts in Minas Gerais, although the UFMG rejected the contract. Point IV financed seminars on Business Administration which were held in Belo Horizonte (1954) at the Federation of Industry (Minas Gerais). The University of Para requested teachers for a seminar and the Federal University of Ceara was visited so that it could be included in the program.

Point IV and the North-American team wanted to change the school into a national training center, something which has already partly occurred. The agreement between FGV and Point IV lasted from 1954 till 1965 and was signed in stages (1954-56, 1956-8, 1958-60 and 1962-64). Leonard Hall made it clear that the objective was to allow Brazilians gradually to take control of the school with the passing of time: “to this end, assistants receive practical training in Brazil during 18 months, working with the American professors in and out of classes and attending seminars; after that they are sent to North-American Universities for an 18-month

graduate training in advanced business administration” (1a SO Ata CA 04.06.1956).

At the outset, the North-American professors were responsible for the courses. Later, these professors began to supervise Brazilian professors and even to help to organize the school departments, which they directed until 1958, when the Brazilian professors moved into the driving-seat.

In 1960, the teachers in the team began to play an important role in fostering research among their Brazilian colleagues and to achieve this, sought the support of the Ford Foundation (41a SO Ata CA 20.03.1961). The team of teachers not only taught and provided lessons for the Brazilians, but also took part in the general direction and planning of the courses (16a SO Ata CA 25.07.1957).

The documents that were analyzed show that Point IV did much more than finance the arrival of teachers from the US to the country and the sending of Brazilian teachers to be trained in the US. The program supplied materials such as film projectors, typewriters, blackboards 16 mm films, slides and extra books for the EAESP library in the 1950s and 1960s (15a SO Ata CA 25.05.1957). As well as this, the building where EAESP is currently sited, could count on considerable support from Point IV. A ‘consortium was formed to finalize its construction and the Ford Foundation committed 500 thousand dollars to it and Point IV a billion cruzeiros (the Brazilian currency of that time). This was closely bound up with the sole rights to make use of the total amount of goods and services which had to be approved by the office of Point IV by means of open competitions (74a SO Ata CA 20.08.1964).

An independent school

The US Government intended to set up a business school in Brazil which could support itself without the assistance of the US. In the light of this, as early as 1957, Point IV showed a desire to leave the EAESP because it believed that the Brazilian professors would be capable of taking control of the institution. On this occasion, the Point IV supervisor stated that he was so impressed with the success of the school that he thought it would be unnecessary to renew the contract. In addition, since Point IV had begun a process of reducing costs, the renewal of the contract with FGV would have meant there was a need to cut costs in other projects in Brazil (20a SO Ata CA 13.12.1957). The attempt to cease supporting the EAESP project was repeated on every occasion when there was a need to renew the agreement.

The CA members of the FGV repeatedly stated that

the announcements at different time about cutting off support would impair the success of the project that had already begun, since the Brazilian professors were not yet sufficiently well prepared to take charge of the courses and this could have an adverse effect on the objectives of the school laid down by Point IV. Furthermore, they pointed out on various occasions that one of the main attractions of the school courses was that the presence of the team of teachers played an important role in giving legitimacy to the school in the eyes of Brazilians. In 1957, the idea of abandoning EAESP was described as being: “like placing a young plant in the ground without giving it care or treatment and expecting it to grow”.

In the view of another member of CA, the US had a moral obligation, a commitment based on friendship and strategic reasons, to ensure that Point IV continued supplying aid for EAESP. It was argued that leaving EAESP would have a devastating effect on Brazilian public opinion and would disfigure the brand of partnership and mutual understanding between Brazil and the US and perhaps damage the positive view of the US that can be found in Brazil “if there were a new international conflict” (20a SO Ata CA 13.12.1957). There was one occasion when it was suggested that if the US Ambassador in Brazil and the supervisor of Point IV were informed that the failure to renew the contract would cause an unfavorable reaction to Brazilian public opinion, “it would be a time when all the friends of the US would attempt to reverse the decision for reasons that do not need to be spelt out” (23a So Ata CA 07.07.1958)

These comments make clear the importance of the narrative of the Cold War in arguments related to maintaining the agreement between the FGV and Point IV and in addition, are evidence that the assistance of Point IV and the founding and development of EAESP were linked to the creation of a positive image of the US within the country. In the distant past of the 1960s, EAESP was turned into a center that acted as a reference-point for the teaching of Business Administration in Latin America. For example, in 1962, EAESP received 110 executives from Latin America who undertook the CIA course. As a result, in 1965, the US team was restricted to consolidating the school as a Latin-American management training center. In the opinion of the President of FGV at that time, Simoes Lopes:

We need to be in continual contact with new techniques which are the most modern in the world and from the most advanced countries, especially North America. This is the leading country in the

field of Public and Business Administration and a pioneer which, from our standpoint, can allow us to convey these duly appropriate experiences to the Latin-American environment. We will also be able to become a communal center where the most advanced ideas brought over from our North-American friends and colleagues, can be duly adapted and transplanted, in an appropriate way, to the Latin-American environment.

For example, they think that after so many years of assistance to the school, it can take off on its own. This is only a half-truth. The whole truth is different, especially when there are new responsibilities. We can certainly fly on our own but we can fly much higher and better if we continue to rely on the North-American technical cooperation. With this, we can, to a certain extent, also help attain the objectives and ideas of the Alliance for Progress by helping the North America to pass on these basic ideas to other Latin-American countries which lie at the root of economic and social progress, because without a good public and private administration, there can be no social progress (78a SO Ata CA 08.05.1965)

The comments of Simoes Lopes make it clear that he intended to position EAESP as a center for propagating “modern” knowledge of management for other countries in the sub-continent and also to combat the communist threat, which was one of the objectives of the Alliance for Progress. It is also evident that management was viewed as knowledge of advanced managerial skills which can lead to social progress. In various CA meetings, the importance of the EAESP for Brazil and for higher level teaching was highlighted, as well as its role in serving Brazilian industry and helping in its development.

There were times when the members stated that the objective of the school was “to form a business and social mentality in Brazil, and possibly in other countries in this continent, which is conducive to world peace and general progress” (10a SO Ata CA 10.12.1956). The supervisor of Ponto IV in Brazil believed that the school had endorsed the plans of the US Government regarding the economic strengthening of the Americas (9a SO Ata 26.11.1956).

Within this spirit, it was underlined that “the EAESP gave rise to a set of planned guidelines aimed at producing a type of professional who was directly involved in the process of economic development” (Atas

da Congregação A4 – 1964). The different examples show how the EAESP is aligned with the idea of progress and development which, at least for the US, are linked to a means of combating communism. Thus, the reports provide evidence that the agreement to help set up the EAESP seems to have been an instrument to form a positive image of the US inside Brazil.

As well as this, it was linked to the development and modernization of Third World nations through the adoption of managerial practices in what was regarded as the most modern country in that era. In the final stages of the agreement with the US, the Brazilian Government agreed to a condition that was imposed for the renewal of the contract; this was to finance two North-American professors so that they could continue to be members of the EAESP staff and would mean that Point IV would be able to cease offering assistance to EAESP. In reality, from the outset, the US Government had intended to establish a business school that could support itself without the North-Americans.

The background to the discussions to renew the contract that would guarantee the continuation of US assistance for EAESP, is the fact that it had not proved possible to raise funds from the Sao Paulo companies, in a way that had been foreseen by the North-Americans. The business community was not accustomed to make donations to universities and schools and did not seem to be willing to give money to a school of business studies. In 1962, one member explained the problem at a CA meeting as follows:

The Brazilian companies are contributing much less than was expected; the results of their response this opportunity were extremely disappointing. Unfortunately, there is not a clear understanding on the part of the organizations of the big role that the EAESP plays[...] firms that were expected to make considerable contributions are only giving derisory amounts (58a SO Ata CA 06.12.1962).

In another meeting in this area, a member suggested that the American companies give money to this school because this attitude can serve as an example for Brazilians and the school was of great importance to US firms operating in Brazil (26a SO Ata CA 27.01.1960), which suggests that the EAESP also catered for the interests of the US in Brazil.

The balancing of the expenditure of EAESP and its lack of resources, were central questions that featured in the documents that were analyzed. In the same way,

the funding of the North Americans was essential for the construction of the building which until now has been the headquarters of the school. On 22nd June, 1965, Ponto IV terminated its involvement with CA. As can be seen, Ponto IV played a crucial and decisive role in bringing about the existence of EAESP. In the 1960s, the director of the school himself thought that:

This Business Administration School is a striking and splendid example of the wonderful results of cooperation between Brazil and the United States [...]. The Michigan State University, under its inspired leadership, has expanded the cultural frontiers of the United States to distant parts of the globe. If it had not been for the cooperation and assistance of the American Government through Point IV, this project would not have been possible (27a SO Ata CA 24.02.1960).

In his comments on CA in 1960, Howard Cotton, a Minister and then Head of the US Diplomatic Mission in Brazil, stated that the EAESP project was “one of the show-cases of all the projects of Point IV, not only in Brazil but in the whole of Latin America (32a SO Ata CA 08.08.1960). On another occasion, a representative of the US Government stressed that the school “is one of the projects that has achieved most success and which had become proud of its American representation” (66a SO Ata CA 20.09.1963).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The Cold War fixed the boundaries of the relations between countries in the post-war world. The indirect collision between the two super-powers led to activities and schemes that ended up dividing the world into two. In the case of the US, it was of crucial importance to keep communist influence as far away as possible from its territory and to do the maximum to prevent countries from ceasing to form a part of the influence of its ideological, social and economic axis. One of the basic US strategies to achieve this goal, which was mainly concentrated on countries from the so-called Third World, was to foster strategies and measures that could bring about development and modernization within the North American models, parameters and dictates. It was within this spirit that Point IV was conceived and its activities implemented.

Although Brazilian National Development Planning had a genesis that was separate from the Cold War, it did not run counter to the objectives of the United States and was taken forward by technical cooperations schemes like Point IV. The key features of National Development Planning involved a national modernization project which was consolidated in the industrialization of the country owing to the fact that manufacturing, at that time, was the economic vanguard since it implied the abandonment of a predominantly agricultural economy derived from out colonial past.

In the background was the permanent Brazilian dream that we should follow the path to becoming a great power. The role reserved to the State was hegemonic to the extent that it had to be the driving-force of development by laying down, regulating and legislating economic policies and acting like an entrepreneur in the creation of its state enterprises. Foreign capital and national private capital were well-received since they were embedded in an attempt to achieve integration through an economic policy designed by the State.

In its turn, ‘management’ had its origins in the pre-war period with the growth and consolidation of an anonymous society. Taylorism and Fordism, which are important methods of ‘management’ are initiatives of the pre-Cold War period. However, in the climate of the Cold War and the concern of the US to bring about development in other countries and enable them to distance themselves from communism, ‘management’, which was supposedly a means of boosting efficiency and efficacy, was an important instrument to be exported to different countries round the world.

As a result, many countries began to adopt the tenets of management and to have institutions where it was taught, which took the form of business schools that were North American in design and inspiration (DJELIC, 1998; ENGWALL, 2004; FRENKEL and SHENHAVY, 2003; KIESER, 2004; LEAVITT, 1957; MILLS and COOKE, 2006; NEALAND FINLEY, 2008; SRINIVAS, 2009).

Thus, the Cold War affected the way ‘management’ developed in the US and as a result, in other countries, in so far as it was exported to several regions of the world, in the same way that it was organized in the US, - by means of technical assistance teams relying on financial resources supplied by the US Government. The literature shows the influence of the Cold War in its conception of theories, management practices and ways of developing ‘management’ in the US.

We have seen in this article that Point IV played a crucial role in the conception, creation and development of the EAESP. It provided crucial financial assistance for a business administration school at FGV, in a context in which the Brazilian entrepreneurs did not seem to realize the importance of investing in a school of this type. Point IV became a viable project for a business administration school at FGV. It was also feasible at the EAESP in so far as it financed the arrival of North American professors so that they could give lessons and sent Brazilian professors for training in the US, as well as contributing materials. It even consolidated a library and helped in the construction of the building that provided the premises of the school.

In addition, Point IV had a preponderant role in the management of the school and strategic decisions in the first 10 years of its existence because it divided its power on an equitable basis with the FGV in the Council of Administration. There is every indication that the US wished to create a school of administration that was able to run on its own two feet even though it adopted the North American model and that it could even train professionals who might think that development and modernization formed the basis of a North American viewpoint.

What is interesting is that although the Italian model of education was made available to the FGV, the Foundation still made a clear decision to adopt the North American model. In view of this, it would be puerile to state that the model that had to be employed was an imposition of the 'management'. What occurred was that there was a choice made by the FGV to follow the model that was acclaimed by its neighbors in the North and an insistence on maintaining this influence, even when Point IV wanted to cease financing and supporting the school.

With regard to this point, we draw attention to the way the members of the EAESP and the president himself of the Foundation resorted to the typical discourse of the Cold War (e.g. the need to keep a good image of the US in Brazil in case of a new international conflict, to help in the modernization and growth of the country and to assist the Alliance for Progress) with the aim of maintaining the influence of the US over the school of administration. What can be noted is that the US regards itself as having the most natural, 'easiest' and most modern method of teaching administration. It is a question of being configured as the best choice available, of acting in the best field of opportunities and there is no question of imposition.

In reality, the creation of the EAESP was designed to allay the anxieties of Brazilians about the training given to professional administrators which disappointed the entrepreneurial oligarchs of the time but was compatible with the planned Brazilian economic policies that were based on a set of ideas that was designated 'principles of national development', a model that arose in the 1930s and extended to the era of military government. It involved a process of modernizing the country where industrialization and the invention of the profession of the business administrator found their place. It was as if the FGV and the North Americans were partners in development (FISCHER, 1984).

Nonetheless, the factor that is not dealt with in the literature, is the North American perspective and the interest of the US in the creation, development and spread of 'management' teaching in Brazil. Here the Cold War is of fundamental importance. The fact that Point IV is a scheme that is embedded within a strategic need of the US in the Cold War and in addition, that it has been a crucial influence on the conception, creation and development of the EAESP, shows that the climate of the Cold War affected, to a great extent, the creation of what was the focal point in the diffusion of 'management' to Brazil and the whole of Latin America at the end of the 1950s and the mid-1960s.

The Cold War definitely acted as an important catalyst in so far as the Brazilian economic development, together with the direction of a capitalist economy of the market and with ample space for the subsidiaries of North American multi-nationals, catered for the interests of the US, as was made clear in President Truman's inaugural address. The sending to Brazil of a university team with professors who had the academic authority to set up a course of studies and implement it, also served the objectives of spreading the knowledge and technology that the US had produced.

The EAESP should be understood as a set of movements designed to disseminate the North American perspective of business management which is combined with the interests of the traditional Brazilian power of that era. To a great extent, 'Management Education' was produced in the US and rapidly spread around the world in a very short space of time (ALCADIPANI and ROSA, 2011).

As was highlighted earlier, the Cold War did not affect Brazil and Latin America so deeply and with the same degree of intensity as was the case in Europe and the US itself. Persecution of communists (before the military coup of 1964) and other factors linked to the culture of

the Cold War, such as religiosity and displays of loyalty to the fatherland, were not key features of Brazil in the 1950s and early 1960s, as they were in the US.

As well as this, it should be stressed that the EAESP always had a department of social and legal sciences, where there were Marxist professors and/or a political viewpoint that was very different from the conservative 'liberalism' that reigned supreme in the US. There is even an important senator of one of the main parties of the Left and ex-member of the Communist Party who formed and still forms part of the teaching staff of the school. In fact, the EAESP had an ex-communist as one of its first professors and directors.

The National Union of Students (UNE), a student body with distinct leftist tendencies, and which had frequent confrontations with the military dictatorship (1964-85), had its base at the EAESP at the end of the 1960s. All this suggests that, although there was a clear and decisive influence of 'management' and the culture of the Cold War on the conception, creation and development of EAESP, there is also plurality, heterogeneity and complexity in this process. Hence, the EAESP is not simply a facsimile or reproducer of knowledge that was produced and transplanted to Brazil during the period of the Cold War by the North Americans who came here to make their influence felt and domesticate Brazilians. The issue is much more complex than this and it is texts like this that can help in the understanding of what is our area.

TEXTUAL NOTE

The citations refer to the minutes of meetings at the Council of Administration and Board Meetings of the EAESP and their respective dates

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