

From the Poor Ginasian Campaign (CGP) to the National Campaign of Free Schools (CNEG): Felipe Tiago Gomes and the memory of the student movement in favor of Secondary Education for the popular classes

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ABSTRACT: *The National Campaign of Free Schools (CNEG in Portuguese) had its origin in the 1943 Recife student movement, in Pernambuco, called the Poor Ginasian Campaign (CGP in Portuguese), under the leadership of Felipe Tiago Gomes, inspired by the action of Peruvian political leader Haya de la Torre. The study deals with the history of the junior secondary education movement, in the period between the late 1940s and the early 1950s in Brazil, soon after the end of the Estado Novo, when the period of the state political redemocratization began, in addition to a political movement around the creation of popular gymnasiums in counties of the country's various regions. In this study, history and memory show interconnected ways and also intersect, articulate, integrate and present themselves in the History and Memory of the movement, as a result of time, space, languages, representations, what would start involving the convergence of interests between the Brazilian State and its political leaders, with the cause of secondary education in the various regions of the country.*

KEYWORDS: *Secondary Education; National Campaign of Free Schools (CNEG); History of Education; Memory; Felipe Tiago Gomes.*

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I. INTRODUCTION

The study deals with the history of the junior secondary education movement, under the leadership of the high school student Felipe Tiago Gomes, initially called the Poor Ginasian Campaign (CGP), from the late 1940s to the early 1950s in Brazil, soon after the end of the Estado Novo, when the period of the state political redemocratization began. This period was marked by the presence of municipalist ideas in the federation states, in line with the 1946 Federal Charter, in addition to a political movement around the creation of popular gymnasiums in counties of the country's various regions.

The CGP had its origin in the 1943 Recife student movement, in Pernambuco, based on the ideals of school as one of the fundamental achievements for the popular layers access to better living conditions and for the transformation of the surrounding reality. In 1948, the movement for access to junior secondary school, led by Felipe Tiago Gomes, inspired by the action of Peruvian political leader Haya de la Torre, receives the denomination of National Campaign of Free Schools (CNEG), viewed as an alternative to solve the public demand problem for this type of school.

In the study, we sought to investigate the imbrication of the memory of a student leader grounded in given currents of thought with which he is linked, the collective and biographical memory built on his actions, and the history of education, considering the absence of junior secondary school, from the perspective of this school implementation by the state government and its action of articulation with the proposal of the "popular gymnasiums", as a considered alternative between the public school and the private school, with the implantation of the cenegista school, established later as "community school".

Individual memory, as introduced by Halbwachs, refers to "a point of view on collective memory", built from the references and own memories of the social group (Halbwachs, 2006, p. 55). Thus, collective memory plays a fundamental role, as it preserves and values the social groups' past, when it underlines historical moments of groups that are considered significant, when the memory elements become objects of these same groups' history.

However, depending on individual and/or collective interests, memory can become a fundamental object of historical necessity. That is, it is in the midst of the interests' game that society, in each era, puts in the foreground the activities it considers most important (Halbbwachs, 2004, p. 281). It is observed that, in the

process of historical reconstruction/interpretation, the discussion about the memory that is built in a given social moment, and its relationship to individual and collective experiences can become fundamental for visualizing a historical phenomenon.

Thus, without losing sight of the student movement's memory of Recife, a historical narrative was traced, about the creation movement of "free gymnasiums", denominated CNEG, based on texts, testimonials and documents written about the Campaign, where one can find the records, interpretations and memory of the movement. The documents used consist of various publications, including books, articles, official texts, and especially press releases, in which the speeches and representations about the Campaign aired at that time are found.

Therefore, it was considered that the absence of the nation would have favored initiatives, such as CNEG, in the process of creating secondary schools in the various regions of the country. From this perspective, one looks at the movement of junior secondary schools in focus, that is, having as reference the social, individual and collective movement within a certain context, from the point of view of regional/national demands and within the flows of anti-imperialist thought on which occurs the social construction of Felipe Tiago Gomes' ideal of education.

II. THE EMERGENCE OF THE POOR GINASIAN CAMPAIGN (CGP) IN BRAZIL

The historical and social context that preceded and possibly boosted the articulation around education as a popular right, in addition the problematic process of nation duty with public junior secondary education, quite disputed and late in Brazil, refers to a time, spaces, languages and representations of a society and social groups, articulated around educational projects for the people. How this social framework becomes a reference for individual and collective memory, from of one of the creators of the project that became known and materialized in the 1950s, in Brazil, as National Campaign of Free Schools (CNEG) is one of the goals of this work. Apparently, the creator of CNEG was initially found marked by one of the essential frames of memory, the social class.

It can be said that the Poor Ginasians Campaign (CGP) fits into a social framework, i.e., in a context where secondary school represented a necessary path for the social ascension process, particularly in a given society at a given historical moment, where this school was the privilege of few and represented an achievement for the students who had access to it, with difficulty, in a period marked by struggles for social and political rights.

This movement emerges in Brazil, still during the Estado Novo (1937-1945), in 1943, inspired by Haya de la Torre's experience, with the creation of the González Prada Popular Universities in the early 1920s, in Peru. The CGP movement was conceived by high school student Felipe Tiago Gomes, in Pernambuco, after reading the book *Inside Latin America*, by John Gunther (1941) and would aim to spread the idea of creating free gymnasiums, with the population's support, through student mobilization, initially in Recife, with the creation of a "free gymnasium" and later in other locations in the country.

At a time still comprehended by Estado Novo policy, characterized by the doctrine of power concentration in the nation, seen as the only institution capable of ensuring national cohesion and achieving the common good. Furthermore, the end of this period was marked by intense political movement throughout the Brazilian territory, by conducting campaigns for the entrance of Brazil in World War II and movements in favor of the country's redemocratization with the participation of student leaderships.

Felipe Tiago Gomes, after having worked as a doorman at the Pernambuco Student House and working at the same institution's Library, as a high school student, inspired by the experience of Peruvian leader Victor Raul Haya de La Torre, mentioned in the book *Inside Latin America*, by North American journalist and writer John Gunther (1941), still in the year 1943, began to seek the support of a group of colleagues for a student movement in favor of the creation of a "free gymnasium" in Recife. Pernambucano Gymnasium, where he was taking the Pre-Legal Course at that time, was the only official establishment in the city and was not completely free, hence the campaign idea for the creation of free gymnasiums in the nation.

In the Student House library, where he started to work, Felipe Tiago had access to the reading materials and publications circulating at the time. Certainly, Felipe Tiago will be influenced by these currents of ideas, as well as, by counter-hegemonic thinking within the student movement. He was reading, listening and watching reality. Then, thenceforth, he began to inquire about the educational problems of the Brazilian reality and, united with a group of high school students from Recife, started thinking about a proposal for education in Brazil.

In Latin America, the ideas of action and theory thinkers, including, among them, the reformer Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre and the revolutionist José Carlos Mariátegui, from Peru (Berthell, 2013, p. 318), among others, circulated in the student environment. Young Felipe began to learn about social, political, economic and cultural issues in Brazil and, possibly, from the readings on anti-imperialism became interested in the problems that were occurring in Brazil and the world during the politics of the Estado Novo.

It was based on the reading of texts by philosophers, sociologists and intellectuals of the time, including Haya de la Torre, that the Paraíba student Felipe Tiago became aware of social inequalities and injustices. He reflected on the condition of the children of the poor who, when a primary education holder, had only the right to “do the maths of the pubs and warehouses, handle ‘jogo do bicho’ (game of animals) and vote for political leaders as halter voters” (Gomes, 1965, p. 18, translated). In his view, without access to secondary education, the children of the poor would continue as the “social outcasts”, condemned to live in the social infrastructure, and could not free themselves from ignorance (Garcia, 1976, p. 16).

By becoming aware of the problems of the world and, in this context, the educational situation of the Brazilian reality, high school student Felipe Tiago identified with this same economic and socio-cultural reality, by reflecting on the conditions and need for poor students to continue their studies and have access to socio-educational goods. Moreover, in view of the secondary school demand, visualized the creation of “free gymnasiums” throughout Brazil.

From then on, Felipe Tiago, with a group of colleagues, also high school students, started to think about how education could be, in a way, a kind of equalizer between social classes and began to dive into this project. In the process, Felipe was dealing with the currents of thought circulating in his student environment. Among those, the ones that founded the “Aprismo” by Haya de la Torre, in Peru. In this regard, he referred to the Peruvian leader performance in the student movement in his country.

Haya de la Torre, in his 1931 political project, increasingly emphasized the importance of education and culture, faced with the need to “culturally liberate the millions of men” who were oblivious of every possibility of a “truly civilized life”, considering it essential to “realistically point the way and take the first steps” (Haya de la Torre, 2002, s.p., translated).

The problems faced by poor students in gaining access to secondary education in Brazil, with which Felipe Tiago identified, would become the focus of your interest. Instigated by the ideal of providing access to junior secondary school and assisting the poorest of fortune, Felipe Tiago started to defend the creation of a “free gymnasium” in the city of Recife. On the occasion, Felipe Tiago could count on the support of colleagues, also secondary school students, when he mobilized a campaign in favor of the poor ginasian. The gymnasium, the result of the movement made by the group, would be created to serve the students of that locality and would work in the same way as the Peruvian experience, according to the group.

However, before becoming a high school student, Felipe Tiago Gomes had never left his hometown of Picuí, in the state of Paraíba. He would leave for the first time to take the junior secondary school entrance exam in order to continue his studies in the city of Campina Grande.

Leaving his homeland to enter the secondary school in another place, his only option, was not easy. The fact only occurred after a lot of insistence from his teacher, Doctor Manoel Pereira do Nascimento, alongside with the boy's father. After many conversations, despite all the difficulties the family was going through, the teacher convinced Felipe Tiago's father to take him to Campina Grande so he could continue studying and enter the junior secondary school in that city. Campina Grande was considered the most important city of Paraíba and was known as the “backland capital”. The city had, apart from the best schools in Paraíba, the largest tax collection in the nation. (Garcia, 1976, p. 18).

At that time, few boys completed primary school and entered secondary school. Felipe Tiago belonged to the city's first class that went out to study abroad, because only a few people had gone through college (Garcia, 1976, p. 18).

Felipe Tiago had to make a great sacrifice to attend school. The absence of family members, the lack of resources, the family's struggle to send change. Whenever he could, he returned part of the money he received from home. He was aware of the lack that money made, “it was a total shortage”. However, he considered it had very good will on the part of the school board, as he did not starve inside the school. Felipe was impressed by the fact that the rich students, “those who had money and could afford school”, would not leave the gymnasium. From his class, only he and Inácio Batista, precisely the poorest, got to college, the others only studied until high school (Garcia, 1976, p. 19, translated).

At that time, schools were few or far between, but they had good libraries and labs and “there was such a poverty that it could not even be softened with a small job” (Gomes, 1976, p. 42-3, translated). It was also few students attending secondary school. “Only those who really had the conditions, or a lot of courage, could study” (Gomes, 1976, p. 98, translated) and that was especially his case. Felipe considered that perhaps, because of the small number of schools, there was only a small elite studying, or parachutists like him, who decided to study amongst a privileged elite out of stubbornness and courage.

Pernambuco welcomed, in January 1941, a penniless young man who ventured to obtain a bachelor's degree. He did not know Recife, a huge city, the third in Brazil. In 1941, when taking the cable car for the first time, Felipe Tiago felt a great emotion. Leaving the countryside and finding himself loose in that city, without relatives, entirely alone, was a remarkable experience for him. However, he immediately adapted and formed a group of friends, which was very good for him.

Soon after arriving in Recife, Felipe Tiago Gomes got a vacancy and moved to the Student House of Pernambuco. A model Institution, "that have provided so many benefits to the northeastern youth" (CNEG, 1953, p. 1). Getting a place at the Student House was a dream coming true for many boys at the time. There he would answer the phone, assist the people, clean the floor, wash the bathrooms. Soon after, he was promoted to work at the Library, where he began to let himself loose. He felt comfortable, as if he were in his own home, in the same poverty, with enormous difficulties, but with a great interest in studying. Everaldo Luna, his colleague since Campina Grande, was the one who got him this spot.

The Pre-Legal Course would last for two years. Felipe's flunk in the first year aroused his greater interest in reading and research. With more time, working in the Library, he devoted himself to books with greater use. From then on, he researched and acquired, according to him, "a reasonable general culture". With no money for the movies, theater and other types of entertainment, he took the time to read and kept researching. He learned a lot from exchanging ideas with students from other fields, such as Engineering and Medicine. Thus, he became aware of the possibilities of teaching, broadened his view of the world and, especially, of Brazil.

It was on this occasion that, to his delight, he came across the book *Inside Latin America* by American writer John Gunther. Felipe Tiago Gomes visualized the experience carried out in Peru by the "university students who created free courses for the poor classes". At that time, he "felt in his own flesh the suffering of the poor boy who desired emancipation through culture [...]" (CNEG, 1953, p. 1).

In his writings on the founding of the Campaign, Felipe Tiago reported that the movement was inspired shortly after reading John Gunther's book. Therefore, he says: "One day reading John Gunther's *Inside Latin America*, I discovered an interesting experience by Peruvian leader Haya de La Torre" (Gomes, 1965, p. 19). However, Joel Pontes, one of the members of the 1943 student movement in Recife, recalling the early days of the Campaign, noted that Felipe Tiago's decision was motivated by his reading of an essay written by Haya de la Torre himself.

According to Pontes, the main issue was the decision that came from reading a hazy essay on nationalism applied to education, written by Peruvian Haya de La Torre. He says "hazy" because it was talked about at first and then no one else bothered. Joel Pontes himself never read this essay, nor did he directly know the ideas of this writer and politician about the education of his people. Only later, when they began collecting material to explain the origin of CNEG, the references about a book by US journalist John Gunther appeared, which was read in his student milieu. *Inside Latin America*, which summarizes Haya de La Torre's thought (Pontes, 1978, p. 70) in one of its passages.

The Poor Ginasian Campaign (CGP)

The discovery of the Peruvian leader experience led Felipe Tiago to inquire about the world problems and his condition as a high school student in the city of Recife. At that time, students were experiencing the conflicts and contradictions caused by World War II and were clamoring for freedom at rallies against Germany, Japan and Italy. The city of Recife, kept in the dark, for security measures, "suffered the most from the dictatorship" (Gomes, 1965, p. 18, translated).

Felipe Tiago reflected on how many of his comrades went to war, "like Amando Cunha, who, after returning, was no longer able to continue his studies, he had to stop" (Gomes, 1976, p. 104, translated). He did not go. So he kept thinking about taking a stand on the facts. "If the others went to fight in Italy" (Gomes, 1976, p. 104, translated), in defense of the country, he should also prepare a front here in Brazil.

Felipe Tiago considered that the greatest internal enemy that Brazil had was illiteracy. He was also having a conscience problem when he thought of founding the Campaign. "For this reason, influenced by Castro Alves and even more by the reading he had made of Haya de La Torre" (Gomes, 1976, p. 104, translated), he decided to start the movement. "What good is the liberation of the world if Brazil remains a slave?" (Gomes, 1976, p. 104, translated). Haya de la Torre "had created literacy schools for the Indians, whose teachers were students, who taught for free" (Gomes, 1965, p. 18-9). Hence the resolution to create a free gymnasium for poor students. Thus, Felipe brings the issue to the attention of his roommate, Everaldo da Cunha Luna.

Everaldo Luna was the first to know about it, as well as the first volunteer to create the Campaign. On the same day, they sought out Carlos Luís de Andrade, also a high school student, who, according to Felipe Tiago, immediately approved the idea. It was from Everaldo's excitement that Felipe was motivated and together they set out to communicate the fact to their other colleagues. In 1943, they had great difficulty paying for their studies. They were "born of unpolished families, anonymous wretches at a display-loving age with a tremendous charge of energy to set off" (Pontes, 1978, p. 69, translated).

They were aspiring heroes not knowing how to begin learning. Felipe called Carlos Luiz, Everaldo Luna and other colleagues for a conversation. In stating his thoughts, he said they needed to be united to promote a movement similar to Haya de La Torre's. By the end of a few days they would have formed a

respectable group, with other colleagues, also high school students, among whom was Joel Pontes (1978, p. 69-71).

The first meeting was summoned by Felipe Tiago and took place at the Student House on July 29, 1943. Carlos Luis de Andrade, Florisval Silvestre Neto, Joel Pontes and Eurico José Candegue attended it, students from the Pernambuco Gymnasium (today, Pernambuco State School) and the Carneiro Leão School, two by two.

In Recife, the Pernambucano Gymnasium, even being an official establishment, was not entirely free, as it has been said. Nationwide, there was not “one establishment without school fees!” (Gomes, 1965, p. 20, translated). Hence the difficulties faced by modest classes in pursuing high school education. During the meeting, Felipe Tiago explained the movement goals. His words were well received by those present, who soon joined the Campaign. Thus, instigated by the ideal of education democratization, they came to call the movement, which began there, the Poor Ginasian Campaign (Gomes, 1965).

Although the movement was formed from the beginning by a heterogeneous group, according to Pontes (1978), what they originally intended was to found a free gymnasium in Recife. A gymnasium with no uniform, no hiring teachers because they themselves would teach; no room rent, because some would be borrowed by God's grace; the books would appear by donation, their own would serve, though they had already been bought in the city's second-hand bookstores. However, what to do in the face of absolutely unavoidable expenses? They would have to ask and earn ... These questions would be resolved after (Pontes, 1978, p. 69-72).

From July 1943 to July 1944, the movement's promoters were concerned with spreading the ideal of the Poor Ginasian Campaign. “They went through Recife's suburbs, sometimes performing plays, sometimes giving lectures at the Workers Educational Centers” (CNEG, 1953, p. 2, translated). From April 15 to 21, 1944, under the sponsorship of the CGP, the “1st National Culture Week” was held in Pernambuco. The venue for the event was the Reading Office, provided by Commander Jaime Santos. The “1st National Culture Week” invitation was addressed to intellectuals, traders and industrial authorities of the city. For its dissemination, lectures were given on local radio about the Campaign and the cultural event; flyers were distributed to academics from the Faculties of Law, Engineering, Agronomy and Chemistry, as well as to academics in Medicine, Dentistry and Pharmacy. Thus, they earned the support of intellectuals and the press.

The creation of the campaign's first “Free Gymnasium”, the “Castro Alves”

The Campaign's first anniversary was celebrated with the movement around the installation of the first “Free Gymnasium”. In this sense, due to the need for specified direction to agree with the Ministry of Education, the first Board of the movement was elected, which was organized as follows: 1st Counselor, Felipe Tiago Gomes; 2nd Counselor, José Rafael de Menezes; 3rd Counselor, Genivaldo Wanderley; Artistic Department Director, Severino Florêncio Teixeira; Finance Department Director, Clóvis Miranda; General Secretary, Severino Oliveira; Artistic Department Secretary, Joel Pontes; Finance Department Secretary, Stélio dos Santos; and Advertising Department Secretary, José Irineu Cabral; Newsletter Director: Felipe Gomes; and Editor, Genivaldo Wanderley. (Pontes, 1978, p. 76).

Felipe Tiago, Carlos Luís, Joel Pontes and José Rafael had already entered the Faculty of Law; others in other schools. For Felipe Tiago, “the incessant struggle of a year had not cooled the heat of enthusiasm. They wanted the Free Gymnasium admission course at all costs” (Gomes, 1965, p. 39, translated). Thus, the campaign's first “Free Gymnasium” was founded, the “Castro Alves Gymnasium”. The new gymnasium was solemnly installed on August 1, 1944, at 363 Aurora Street, 1st floor. The room for the night course operation was provided by the Pernambuco Accountants Union. In this process, the Admission Course to the junior secondary school created by the Campaign was already running. However, there were no chairs or desks. Students had to attend classes on their feet (Gomes, 1965, p. 39).

Also during August, the Poor Ginasian Campaign members received distinguished visitors with words of encouragement and praise for their work. On the 11th, the Manager of Pernambuco Tramways, Mr. Antonio de Souza, greeted the academic Felipe Tiago Gomes. According to the CNEG Report (1953), on the 12th, it was the turn of the Santa Isabel Theater Director, Waldemar de Oliveira, in company of his wife, Ms. Diná Rosa de Oliveira. On the occasion, the visitors were greeted by the academic José Dias da Silva. At that time, Waldemar de Oliveira would leave the following words in the book of impressions: “A great work must not die and will not die” (CNEG, 1953, p. 7, translated), afterwards, lended CGP some stools from Santa Isabel Theater, for being penalized by the situation of the students, who would study on their feet.

On August 29, the then Mayor of Recife, Novais Filho, when visiting the establishment, was greeted by the academics: Felipe Tiago Gomes, Geraldo Magella and José Dias da Silva. The mayor gave the Admission Course students and the CGP members words of encouragement and exaltation. Novais Filho recorded the following words in the book of impressions: “I commend my heartfelt applause to this Campaign that reflects the intelligence, patriotism and sensitivity of the Pernambuco soul” (CNEG, 1953, p. 7, translated). Thus, a new campaign would start with the goal of raising funds to acquire desks for the “Castro Alves” students.

According to Gomes (1989, p. 35), in the streets, at the entrance to theaters, CGP members distributed flyers, with the photograph of more than one hundred students, mostly workers who were attending classes on their feet.

On October 9, the Student's Theater performed in Caruaru, Paraíba, the play by José Wanderley and Daniel Rocha "Once Upon a Tramp", with the performance of the academic Joel Pontes as a highlight. The excursion to Paraíba was considered victorious by the group. "The components of the artistic group received several honors in that progressive city" (CNEG, 1953, p. 7, translated). The group could count on the support of that state's Federal Interventor, Dr. Rui Carneiro. On November 7, 1944, the Student's Theater premiered at João Pessoa's Cine Rex, being prestiged by the Government of Paraíba. "Young men who, for their extraordinary willingness to get it right, deserved the general applause of the audience" (CNEG, 1953, p. 8, translated).

The Campaign began to receive its first aids. Ms. Alice Carneiro, wife of the Interventor and President of the Paraíba Brazilian Legion of Assistance (LBA), made a donation to CGP for G\$ 1,000.00. Pernambuco's LBA President, Dr. Jarbas Maranhão, donated G\$ 2,000.00; and the Mayor of the Pernambuco Capital, Novais Filho, authorized the payment of G\$ 2,000.00. Thus, with the help received and the proceeds from the performances of the Pernambuco Student's Theater, 50 desks worth G\$ 5,350.00 were acquired.

The ceremony was held on November 27, and was chaired by Captain José Cancelo Santiago, cabinet officer, who represented General Isauro Rêgueira, Commander of the 7th Military Region, based in Recife (CNEG, 1953). The year 1944 was considered to have ended with two major victories: the acquisition of 50 desks for the Castro Alves "Gymnasium" Admission Course and the Miguel Couto Library, which were solemnly opened with fiery speeches (Gomes 1989, p. 41).

The year of 1945 was considered a sad one for the Campaign. In January, students eagerly awaited recognition of the Castro Alves Gymnasium. According to the CNEG Report (1953, p. 8), more than 70 students were prepared to attend the exam board. In February, young Felipe Tiago Gomes, Genivaldo Wanderley and Juarez Gomes Lopes, almost penniless, on a FAB plane, went to Rio de Janeiro to join the Ministry of Education and Health to handle the official functioning of Castro Alves Gymnasium, with no great successes.

Faced with the negative, "after asking a lot and achieving nothing, they returned disappointed with the public authorities. Thankfully, Madam Darcy Vargas ordered to pay for their accommodation, otherwise they would have been arrested" (CNEG, 1953, p. 8, translated). The newspaper O Globo reporter called them "The Three Musketeers." However, "discouragement almost struck down the intrepid phalanx of idealists" (CNEG, 1953, p. 8, translated). Following the return of the Campaign leaders to Pernambuco, in view of the problems they faced, and amid the climate of political effervescence in the country (with the redemocratization movement, end of World War II with the return of the soldiers of the Force Brazilian expeditionary to their homes, rallies and conflicts, with the advent of the electoral campaign), there was the dispersion of the founding group, with the adhesion of many of its members to the electoral campaign. (CNEG, 1953, p. 9).

At that same year (1945), the leaders of the movement, instigated by new ideals, thought of changing the organization's name to "Popular Gymnasium Campaign". For Felipe Tiago Gomes, "Poor Ginasian Campaign" gave the impression that it was sentimental work. The struggle undertaken at that moment began to have a different meaning. Popular Gymnasium Campaign lent "the idea of joining forces, of people's struggles in defense of the education of our people. The right name for a well-timed Campaign" (Gomes, 1965, p. 60, translated).

Despite the conflicts arising from the new political climate experienced by the movement founders, "after the electoral meltdown in which almost all members of the Campaign took a stand, it was hinted they should reunite the movement's pioneers" (Gomes, 1965, p. 60, translated). According to Felipe Tiago Gomes (1965, p. 61), new values were discovered, with "the resurgence of new ideas, well in line with the new philosophy of life, emerged from the ashes of World War II." On December 23, 1945, an article by the teatrologist Hermílio Borba Filho was published in the *Diário de Pernambuco* newspaper, dedicated to the "Poor Ginasian Campaign", in which the author highlighted the role of the CGP and the group of founders, amidst the political climate of that moment. (Borba Filho, 1945, s.p., translated).

In January 1946, the commission formed by the CGP leaders programmed a new visit to the Republic Capital in order to recognize the course held by the Castro Alves "Gymnasium". Once again, they sought the support of the Military Region Command, when the movement leaders were informed of vacancies emergence in the third class of the Itanagé ship, as three officers had withdrawn from the trip. Therefore, students Felipe Tiago Gomes, José Guimarães and Sá Martins, the main representatives of the CGP, embarked on the adventure, bound for Rio de Janeiro. (CNEG, 1953, p. 9).

During the trip's route, the commission had the opportunity to visit the newspaper A Tarde, in Salvador. The commission's passage was reported by the newspaper of January 26, 1946 with the publication entitled: "Pernambuco Students Embassy". The matter contained the purposes and actions performed with the movement. CGP leaders sought to spread the Campaign's action program in the newspapers of the cities they passed. In Rio de Janeiro, the Minister received the intention of the boys with sympathy and determined the recognition of the

Gymnasium. According to Felipe Tiago Gomes, on April 10, the first official entrance exams were held for the “first free gymnasium to function as an entirely private initiative in Brazil” (Gomes, 1965, p. 64, translated).

The year 1946 was viewed positively by the movement's members. Some emphasized that “After a storm comes a calm”. Given that “The Campaign had not died, despite the near sinking it had suffered in the previous year” (CNEG, 1953, p. 9). However, there was a change of name, now being called “Popular Gymnasium Campaign”. With the news of the Castro Alves Gymnasium recognition, it was pointed out that “The free education Campaign was victorious!” At the time, on the walls of Pernambuco's Capital, there were colorful posters with the following inscriptions: “Educate Brazil” - Help the Campaign of Free Schools! ”; “In Brazil there is only one national problem: People's Education! (Miguel Couto)” (CNEG, 1953, p. 9, translated).

Still in 1946, the founding group gets stronger again, being also held the Third Week of Culture. At the time, the Communist Party was at its height, making its leader the federal district's senator. However, to prevent the movement from being confused with a communist work by using the word “popular”, owned by the party, the organization's name was changed to Campaign of Free Schools. Therefore, that same year, the movement had two denominations: “Popular Gymnasiums Campaign” at the beginning, and “Campaign of Free Schools” (Gomes, 1965, p. 65) at the end; and the Third Culture Week would be very successful.

III. FELIPE TIAGO GOMES AND THE MOVEMENT DIFFUSION BY FEDERATION STATES - THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF FREE SCHOOLS (CNEG)

In 1947, Felipe Tiago served as president of the Faculty of Law Academic Directory and mobilized students to raise funds in support of the Campaign of Free Schools to help the Castro Alves Gymnasium, as well as to found another gymnasium. At the time, the Castro Alves Gymnasium already had a 3rd grade in operation, but still had the same financial difficulties - with no aid and no subsidies. There remained only “the anonymous work of Geraldo Magella Costa, Itamar Vasconcelos, Péricles de Souza Dantas, Terezinha Santos, Laércio Pacheco, and others” (CNEG, 1953, p. 10, translated), who upheld the free education ideal.

Back in Rio, Felipe Tiago had the opportunity to expose “the popular education plan” started in Pernambuco to Minister Clemente Mariani, in 1943, with the purpose of creating free gymnasiums. He returned to Recife with the promise of help and subsidy from the Ministry of Education, also glimpsing the possibility of installing other gymnasiums, which would spread throughout the country (Gomes, 1965, p. 67).

At that time, it was believed that a new phase was being inaugurated in the movement's history for the creation of free gymnasiums. This phase would be characterized by the Campaign's diffusion by the Federation States. Thus, to this end, the movement's leaders delegated to Felipe Tiago Gomes the power to represent the Campaign of Free Schools in any part of the national territory. Felipe Tiago, after graduating from SESI, where he worked, obtained a ticket from the Air Base Commander to Belém do Pará, to where he boarded, on September 12, 1948. Thereby, the struggle for the adhesion of the States and Municipalities to the free gymnasiums cause started.

In Belém, Felipe Tiago discovered the formula to be followed for the campaign's dissemination in the Federation States. As President of the Recife Central Student Directory, he sought the support of the Academic Directories and the State Student Unions in the federation units. The transportation from one state to another would be at the expense of the state and the accommodation would be at the expense of City Halls. Besides Pará, Felipe Tiago visited the states of Amazonas, Maranhão, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará and Paraíba, spreading the idea of free gymnasiums, seeking the press and local authorities support.

Upon returning to Pernambuco, he accounts for the mission undertaken and communicates the goal of moving forward to the Southern States with the same purpose as early as 1948. Thus, Felipe Tiago continues his marathon through the States towards the south, leaving, initially to Alagoas, heading towards Sergipe, Bahia, Espírito Santo, Federal District, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

In Alagoas, at Maceió Airport, Felipe Tiago met Father Teófanos Augusto de Araujo Barros, a private school principal, who introduced him to the professor elected deputy Aurélio Viana, who will later assume responsibility for Alagoas' initial core. In Sergipe, after agreements with the acting Governor, still without obtaining practical results for the movement, he continued the journey towards south. While passing through Bahia, he received words of applause from Governor Otávio Mangabeira and Secretary of Education Anísio Teixeira for the free schools. In Espírito Santo, in addition to the Academic Press, the Governor and the Secretary of Education assured the collaboration of the authorities and the people of Espírito Santo to the movement. (CNEG, 1953, p. 12).

Upon arriving in the Federal District, after an interview with **Minister Clemente Mariani, who was in favor of the Campaign, Felipe Tiago received guidance from Lourenço Filho, Director of the National Department of Education, who advised him to draft a campaign statute nationwide.** In Rio de Janeiro, together with the president of the Faculty of Law Academic Directory, they drew up plans for the movement's expansion in the state, where it received the support of the Secretary of Education. On November 17, 1948, he

headed towards São Paulo. In this state, the authorities were not interested in the movement. Thus, Felipe Tiago, on the eve of the final exams of the 5th year of Law School, returned to Recife, Pernambuco.

In order to give the movement national scope and following the recommendations of Lourenço Filho, Felipe Tiago returns to the South with the idea of holding a congress for free gymnasiums state representatives. On December 17, 1948, with the installation of the Castro Alves Gymnasium provisional headquarters, at 237 Barão de São Borja Street, the activities of the 1st National Campaign Congress in Recife began, under the chairmanship of Professor Geraldo Magella Costa.

The congress lasted until December 22. In addition to the Minister of Education representative, Dr. Valdemir Miranda, and the students from Pernambuco, representatives from Paraná, Paraíba and Bahia were present. The first statute, conferring national scope to the organization, which was based in Recife, was voted and approved by those present. The entity was renamed NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF FREE SCHOOLS (CNEG), and at that time the first National Board was elected, with Dr. Benedito Narciso da Rocha as President and Felipe Tiago Gomes as Delegate, alongside with the other states of the Federation.

The idea of creating a permanent delegation in Rio de Janeiro to “carry out the Campaign program” mobilized Felipe Tiago to the Federal Capital, after completing Law School and returning from a trip to his homeland (Picuí, in the state of Paraíba), where he received honors and Pereira Lira's promise, Chief of the Presidency of the Republic civil House, to get him a job, although the situation did not go as he wished. On January 3, 1949, the Campaign Delegate arrived in Rio with no money and no job. In the Capital of the Republic, after a few visits, he stopped going to Catete Palace and went to the Federal Deputies offices, being nicely welcomed when he received a cash grant, at a time he considered hard. (CNEG, 1953, p. 13).

Still without a job, he met a Paraíba who was the Deputy Samuel Duarte's cousin, who promised him help. At the time, Samuel Duarte held the Chamber of Deputies Presidency and, after agreements with Senator José Américo, referred Felipe Tiago to José Américo Filho, from the Pensions and Assistance Institute to State Servers, earning him a nomination as a construction assistant at the Pensions and Assistance Institute to State Servers (IPASE in Portuguese). While waiting for the salary, hoping to get a loan to pay off the debts at the pension he was staying, he sought Senator Rui Carneiro at Lar Brasileiro Bank, achieving his goal. Thus, it was at a difficult time that Felipe Tiago founded CNEG in the state of Rio de Janeiro. (CNEG, 1953, p. 13).

On February 20, 1949, the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* published a note (2) informing about the “Felisberto de Carvalho Gymnasium” organized in a building provided by the State Government. The article also informed that the in following month it would be “launched in all states by youth, as support of the goodwill elements, the Campaign with the installation of fifty free gymnasiums for poor classes in Brazil, until 1950” (Gomes, 1965, p. 78).

Felipe Tiago, despite claiming to have lived difficult days, highlighted the good events of the period, such as four victories. One in João Pessoa, with the execution of the entrance exam of “Costa Pinto Gymnasium” (3), on February 25, and the school's solemn installation, on March 11. The second, in Curitiba, also with the solemn installation of the “Professor João Cândido Gymnasium” (4) with the Governor's presence, political, civil and military authorities, as well as the Metropolitan Archbishop, student bodies presidents, teachers, normalists and students. The third corresponds to the execution of the entrance exams of “Coari Gymnasium” (5), on April 12, in Amazonas, in collaboration with the Coari's Popular Institute, the first gymnasium operating in the state outside Manaus (Gomes, 1965, p. 80).

In 1949, the most difficult case of CNEG occurred with the creation of the “Felisberto de Carvalho Gymnasium” in Niterói. Registrations in March “climbed to over 100”. However, entrance examinations had not been authorized and could not be performed. Only after many negotiations, an intercession by Senator José Américo de Almeida, alongside with the State Governor and a request to the Ministry of Education, the authorization to execute the entrance exams for the new gymnasium was given, according to a telegram of May 3. (Gomes, 1965, p. 82).

A new building was requested to the State Primary Education Board, on a provisional basis, in compliance with the requirements of the Secondary Education Board, so that the examinations could be performed, since the *Conselheiro Macedo School Group*, located in Barreto's proletarian neighborhood, where the new gymnasium began, was “falling apart”. In the occasion, after meeting Felipe Tiago and learning of his project, Pedro II School's Latin teacher, Professor Albertina Fortuna, volunteered to help him, taking over the direction of the establishment “which had no home and no money”. On June 6, 1949, the Campaign gymnasium inaugural class took place at Raul Vidal School Group, contrary to the will of “a powerful Director of Rio de Janeiro Capital”. Two months later, the “Felisberto de Carvalho Gymnasium” was finally changed to the *Benjamim Constant School Group*, according to Felipe Tiago Gomes (1965, p. 83-4).

The Legislative branch support contributed with favorable results to CNEG and great repercussion in the city of Rio de Janeiro press. At the time, the help of Paraíba Deputy Plínio Lemos competed for a meeting in the Legislative, on June 7, attended by representatives of the eleven states: Amazonas, Maranhão, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Espírito Santo, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Mato Grosso, São Paulo and Paraná. The round

table, chaired by Deputy Munhoz da Rocha, was followed by an Education and Culture Committee of the Federal Senate, another of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio and another of the Brazilian Press Association (ABI in Portuguese). At the time, according to Felipe Tiago, Plínio Lemos presented the bill No. 199/49, published in the Congress Diary, which benefited the Campaign with the value of Cr\$ 520,000 (five hundred and twenty thousand cruises), although the amount was not paid by the Federal Government (Gomes, 1965, p. 84-5).

On the 8th, all newspapers from Rio and Niterói highlighted the event news. According to the CNEG Report (1953, p. 17-8), the Rio press contributed greatly to the success of the activities and provided invaluable services in spreading the Campaign's ideals. (Gomes, 1965, p. 85-6).

The enthusiasm for the cenegist cause with the encouragement of the press, politicians and the Ministry of Education, which had the contribution of journalists Rubens Braga and Austragesilo de Athayde, in Felipe Tiago's opinion, contributed with new and important adhesions to the movement. Among the chronicles and editorials published in support of CNEG, it is worth mentioning "Os Milionários", by Rubem Braga, published in the newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, on July 12, 1949. (Gomes, 1965, p. 91-3).

Rubem Braga's chronicle stressed the need for the state to help movements such as the CNEG concretely, with appropriate precautions. The author took into consideration the Brazilian State's inability to carry out the educational work alone in the country without the support of initiatives such as the Campaign. At that time, Felipe Tiago was boarding the FAB plane to the state of Mato Grosso to expand the movement. Already in Campo Grande, in the main city's Forum, two days after his arrival and with the support of Professor Olivia Enciso and the municipal authorities, on November 12, 1949, he founded CNEG on the site.

The success of the Campaign in Mato Grosso led Felipe Tiago to Goiás. In Goiânia, "the youngest Brazilian capital", he faced the rumor that CNEG was a communist movement. However, the professor invited to preside over the State Section, Venerando de Freitas Borges, after replying that: "If taking care of the education of the people is communism, I am also a communist!" takes possession and takes over the presidency. Continuing his report, Felipe Tiago highlighted the appointment of Dr. Amália Hermano, assigned to the direction of the "Professor Ferreira Gymnasium" (6) founded in that city. (Gomes, 1965, p. 98). CNEG was consolidated in the states of Espírito Santo, Pará, Mato Grosso and Goiás. With the Campaign's installation in Goiás, 1949 was ended with the creation of five cenegist establishments (CNEG, 1953, p. 19).

The year 1950 was considered prosperous for CNEG. More than 19 gymnasiums have appeared, "as if by charm, in the various regions of the country" (CNEG, 1953, p. 19). In Felipe Tiago's opinion, Brazil would have woken up for a moment and became aware of the National Campaign for Free Schools. "On the cenegist ground, watered by the constant zeal of Brazilians interested in the progress and well-being of the nation, sprouted vigorous trees that were welcoming the castaways of Brazil's school situation" (CNEG, 1953, p. 19). That same year, the II National Congress was held, when important decisions were made for the movement, "including the relocation of the Campaign headquarters to the Federal District" (CNEG, 1953, p. 22, translated). At the closing meeting, a new board was elected, as follows: Felipe Tiago Gomes - President; Antunes de Oliveira - 1st Vice President; João Gonçalves - General Secretary; João Antonio Monteiro - Chief Financial Officer. CNEG receives the first Federal aid worth G\$ 200,000, thanks to Senator Santos Neves efforts. Felipe Tiago, then president of the Campaign, ended the year with the extended tour "to the state of Minas Gerais vast area" (CNEG, 1953, p. 22, translated).

Thus, in writing the history of CNEG for the movement's 20th anniversary commemoration in 1963, Felipe Tiago Gomes (1965, p. 17) began his narrative by justifying that "It is necessary that the thousands of young cenegist students know how the 'National Campaign of Free Schools' emerged". According to him, the history of CNEG should be a source of pride for those who attend the Campaign schools, by having the opportunity to know "the struggles, the sacrifices of its founders and the self-denial of its leaders" (Gomes, 1965, p. 17, translated). For Felipe Tiago, the "past of struggles and victories cannot be replaced by routine". In his opinion, his contribution to the movement history must be seen by readers as "an unpretentious narration," he "just wanted to narrate facts," many of which are entirely linked to his person. Hence the personalistic character present in his text (Gomes, 1965, p. 17).

In concluding the first part of CNEG History, which began with the first meeting of a group of five students and ended with the creation of the first five cenegist gymnasiums, Felipe Tiago points out that he reported only facts and was "careful not to cause omissions." CNEG's creator signaled the possibility of better interpretations of the founding group's aspirations at the moment the movement emerged in Brazil, that is, about "the philosophical and sociological impulses that led the young people to create the 'Community School', unique in the whole world!" (Gomes, 1965, p. 99, translated).

Felipe Tiago associated the second part of the narrative, called "From Six to Six Hundred", with a second existential phase of CNEG, full of victories. The period in which the "tree grows; it begins to bear varied and abundant fruits" (Gomes, 1965, p. 103, translated). He considered it a more statistical than literary work. On this occasion, he assured the presence of Helio Dantas, following the statement of his former colleague of

university benches, at the Campaign's first meeting. Thus, the group that had gathered on July 29, 1943 to create a movement for high school education would have instead of five, six members. And, on the other hand, more than six hundred CNEG schools were working throughout Brazil that year (1963), hence the idea of the title.

In Felipe Tiago's view, the 1950s began with a year of great victories. Of the 5 existing establishments in 1949, the number of "free gymnasiums" created by CNEG was increased to 26 in 1950. Thus, in addition to the Federal District (1), the states of Amazonas, Pará (1), Maranhão (1), Paraíba (3), Pernambuco (1), Alagoas (4), Espírito Santo (2), Mato Grosso (2) and Goiás (5) would be contemplated with the new cenegist schools.

The year 1952 was considered to be full of good news, due to the new environment established in the Ministry of Education, with the appointment of Professor Roberto Acioli as Secondary Education Director. Thus began a new phase of the movement, which was characterized by CNEG's straightforward approach to the public authorities and its diffusion in the states of the Federation. Between the second semester of 1952 and the first of 1953, 27 new gymnasiums were created, distributed in the states of Maranhão (2), Piauí (1), Pernambuco (2), Alagoas (1), Espírito Santo (3), Rio de Janeiro (7), Federal District (2), Minas Gerais (2), Goiás (2), Santa Catarina (2), Rio Grande do Sul (2) and Bahia (1). In November, CNEG would come to rely on a federal grant of R\$ 500,000.00.

IV. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the analysis about the Poor Ginasian Campaign (CGP) emergence to the National Campaign of Free Schools (CNEG), between the 1940s and 1950s, we considered the role played by the collective memory of the movement for the creation of "free gymnasiums" for the poor ginasian, based on the biographical memory of CNEG and the autobiographical memory of Felipe Tiago Gomes, as its main protagonist and creator.

The history and memory of the "free gymnasiums" creation were conceived at their intersections, based on a broader process involving anti-imperialist trajectories and currents of thought circulating throughout Latin America and worldwide, instigating, in the 1940s, high school student Felipe Tiago Gomes to the student movement in favor of the popular gymnasium cause, which would be widespread in the 1950s through the "cenegist movement," as demonstrated from historical and memorialistic narratives and from records about the CNEG action in the various country locations.

In addition, the history and memory of the "cenegist movement" is seen by members of the founding group as the memory and history of an ideal, the fruit of Felipe Tiago Gomes' dream and (heroic) boldness, inspired by the political leader Haya de la Torre action in Peru. In this way, the memory and history of the "cenegist movement" would be constantly linked to the life story and the biographical and autobiographical memory of Felipe Tiago, considered its most important leader (an exemplary memory), the main protagonist and responsible for the CNEG diffusion in Brazil and in the Federation States, where the ideal of the high school student would materialized and concretized in the various locations of the Brazilian territory vast extension, with the creation of the movement's "free gymnasiums".

History and memory are interconnected and also intersect, articulate, integrate and are present in the movement's History and Memory, because of time, space, languages, representations, which would now involve convergence of interests between the Brazilian State and its political leaders, with the cause of secondary education in the various regions.

Thus, absence of the State in the provision of public educational services was pointed out, highlighting the urgency in secondary education provision, in response to popular wishes and claims, around the creation of public or free gymnasiums. In addition, the issue of resources (public and private) for the maintenance of the "free gymnasiums" was highlighted, under CNEG's responsibility, so that they could remain in this condition.

In this sense, Cunha (1991, p. 389) analyzed the problem, pointing out that the nation's absence in the provision of educational services would have been introduced by the country itself, so that the "communities" would accept a cheap school education (in financial and pedagogical terms), in addition to reinforcing the populist patterns that persisted in Brazil at that time. Leaderships would be the intermediaries between the population's demands and the government's "achievements", as well as a way to reduce the spending on public services required by the low-income population. For the author, the nation's absence would have favored initiatives, such as CNEG, in this process of creating secondary schools in the various regions of the country.

Thus, it was possible to visualize the articulation between Federal Government, Federated States and Municipalities, towards the adoption of alternative measures for high school expansion, as a synonym of economic and sociocultural development, and that would also contribute to trigger processes of claim around the creation of "popular gymnasiums" in the various regions of the Brazilian territory.

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