

## "FREEDOM WITH RESPONSIBILITY" Henriette Amado's educational project during the military dictatorship (Guanabara, 1965 to 1971)

Liberdade com responsabilidade": o projeto educativo de Henriette Amado"  
nos tempos da ditadura militar (Guanabara, de 1965 a 1971)

"Libertad con responsabilidade": el proyecto educativo de Henriette Amado  
durante la dictadura militar (Guanabara, 1965 a 1971)

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**Abstract:** The subject of this article is the repression and censorship of the experimental secondary classes at the André Maurois State College (CEAM) in the state of Guanabara, implemented by Henriette Amado during the period of the military dictatorship. The qualitative research used as sources Henriette Amado's memoirs, news published in widely-circulated periodicals and Inquiry No. 1471 of the Department of Political and Social Order (DOPS) of the Guanabara State Public Security Secretariat, opened on September 2, 1971. From the analysis of the discourse, it is concluded that the continuity of the experimental classes was made unfeasible by the process of repression imposed by the military dictatorship, which disqualified the pedagogical proposal and considered it a threat to the regime, causing arrests of students and teachers.

**Keywords:** experimental secondary classes; André Maurois State College; Henriette Amado; military dictatorship.

**Resumo:** O tema deste artigo é a repressão e a censura às classes secundárias experimentais do Colégio Estadual André Maurois (CEAM), no estado da Guanabara, implementadas por Henriette Amado durante o período da ditadura militar. A pesquisa qualitativa utilizou como fontes as memórias de Henriette Amado, notícias publicadas em periódicos de grande circulação e o Inquérito nº 1471 do Departamento de Ordem Política e Social (DOPS) da Secretaria de Segurança Pública do Estado da Guanabara, instaurado em 2 de setembro de 1971. A partir da análise do discurso, conclui-se que a continuidade das classes experimentais foi inviabilizada pelo processo de repressão imposto pela ditadura militar, que desqualificou a proposta pedagógica e a considerou uma ameaça ao regime, resultando na prisão de estudantes e professores.

**Palavras-chave:** classes secundárias experimentais; Colégio Estadual André Maurois; Henriette Amado; ditadura militar.

**Resumen:** El tema de este artículo es la represión y censura de las clases experimentales de secundaria en el Colegio Estatal André Maurois (CEAM) del estado de Guanabara, implementadas por Henriette Amado durante el período de la dictadura militar. La investigación cualitativa utilizó como fuentes las memorias de Henriette Amado, noticias publicadas en periódicos de circulación masiva y la investigación nº 1471 del Departamento de Orden Político y Social (DOPS) de la Secretaría de Seguridad Pública del Estado de Guanabara, abierta el 2 de septiembre de 1971. A partir del análisis del discurso, se concluye que la continuidad de las clases experimentales fue inviable por el proceso de represión impuesto por la dictadura militar, que descalificó la propuesta educativa y la consideró una amenaza para el régimen, provocando detenciones de estudiantes y docentes.

**Palabras clave:** clases experimentales de secundaria; Colegio Público André Maurois; Henriette Amado; dictadura militar.

## INTRODUCTION

Henriette de Hollanda Amado (1913-1994) was a teacher, writer and councilwoman in Rio de Janeiro. She studied at Colégio de Sion, where she began her teaching career in 1932. During her 25 years as a teacher, she taught history, Latin, science and biology in public and private institutions. In 1957, she took a public exam for the State of Rio de Janeiro and was appointed to the Rio de Janeiro Institute of Education, in Tijuca. Between 1959 and 1964, she served as a school principal for the first time, at Colégio Estadual Brigadeiro Schorcht (CEBS), in the west zone. However, the high point of her career came between 1965 and 1971, as principal of Colégio Estadual André Maurois (CEAM). Located in Leblon, an upscale beach neighborhood in the southern part of Rio de Janeiro, CEAM was one of the 72 high schools built by the then governor of the State of Guanabara, Carlos Lacerda, whose great aspiration was to secure for the former capital of the country “a privileged place” (Motta, 2005, p. 3) compared to the other states of the federation.

Henriette Amado has been involved in the experimental secondary school movement since the 1950s. In 1959, she organized a project at CEBS imbued with principles of experimentation and educational renewal, which consisted of a set of interdisciplinary activities organized around theater techniques or film resources. Its objective was to put into practice the theoretical knowledge learned during classes in subjects such as mathematics, drawing, science, languages (Latin and French), geography and history.

In 1966, CEAM joined the experimental secondary classes movement during the military regime (1964-1985). This participation occurred in a promising environment for educational renewal initiatives: according to Cunha & Abreu (1963), there were 172 experimental classes in Brazil in 1962, 55% of which operated in the state of Rio de Janeiro. Two pedagogical models predominated among these classes. The first, known as the *classes nouvelles*, was promoted by Gildásio Amado—then Director of Secondary Education at the Ministry of Education and Culture (DESe/MEC) and active at the Centre International d'Études Pédagogiques in Sèvres, France. The second drew from North American educational models: the Morrison Plan, which emphasized instruction through didactic units, and the Dalton and Winnetka Plans, both of which employed laboratory-based methods that dispensed with traditional notions of school discipline.

The motto of the school's pedagogical proposal was “Freedom with responsibility”, which was inspired by the *Summerhill experience School*, a model for libertarian education created in 1921 by Alexander Sutherland Neill (1883-1973) and located in *Leiston*, Suffolk, England. Fortunato (2018) states that Neill had “**freedom, self-government and happiness** as his guiding principles, [so that] his students [chose] their activities according to their desires and/or aptitudes: at Summerhill, nothing is *introduced by force*” (p. 5; author's emphasis). Henriette also modeled

herself on the “modern secondary school” of Lauro de Oliveira Lima (1921-2013), which, in turn, sought to popularize his psychogenetic methodology, inspired by the epistemology of Jean Piaget (1896-1980).

In 1971, CEAM's pedagogical experience was interrupted after intense monitoring of school routine by agencies of the military regime, as well as criticism and complaints against Henriette Amado. On August 20, 1971, the principal refused to hand over a list with the names of students who were possibly using drugs and left in the school's police car for the police station to provide clarification. According to Carmo (2018), Henriette was kidnapped, tortured and imprisoned for a month. She was permanently removed from the management of CEAM and prohibited from holding similar positions during the Chagas Freitas government (1971-1975). Subsequently, inquiry 1471 was opened by the *Departamento de Ordem Política e Social* (Department of Political and Social Order, or DOPS), of the Public Security Secretariat of the Guanabara State.

Therefore, objective of this article is to identify and analyze the strategies of repression against the experimental classes of CEAM during the military dictatorship, strategies that led not only to the interruption of their practices, but also to the erasure of their memories. This is a qualitative documentary analysis and the sources are: 1) the books *Uma experiência participar* (Lidador, 1972, 208p.), written by Henriette in partnership with Célia Neves Dourado and Samira Nahid de Mesquita, Portuguese teachers, and Circe Navarro Vital Brazil, psychologist and educational advisor at CEAM; and *Exercício de vida* (Codecri, 1981, 171p.), the latter published by the same publisher of the newspaper *O Pasquim*<sup>1</sup>; 2) news published in widely circulated periodicals, consulted from the *Hemeroteca Digital da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional*; 3) and investigation no. 1471 of the DOPS of the Public Security Secretariat of the Guanabara State, opened on September 2, 1971; this process has 47 pages, which include official letters, investigation reports and records of statements by Henriette Amado and other teachers.

Among the theoretical assumptions, this analysis was based on the concepts of “social network”, within the scope of the history of intellectuals (Sirinelli, 2003); and on the definition of “authoritarian discourse”, in line with Orlandi's discourse analysis (1996, 2023). In relation to social networks, Sirinelli (2003, p. 243) plays with the

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<sup>1</sup> *Pasquim* (1969-1991) was a weekly newspaper created in Rio de Janeiro as part of the so-called alternative press, that is, a press focused essentially on political issues, whose objective was to counter the conventional press, involving the expression of expressions from sectors outside it. Founded after the enactment of Institutional Act No. 5, on December 13, 1968, *O Pasquim* distinguished itself as a relevant space of opposition to censorship and the elimination of constitutional guarantees. Its content mixed political satire and criticism of customs, which were organically translated into comics, cartoons and interviews, in addition to other resources of the genre. Its editorial board was formed by journalists, intellectuals, cartoonists and humorists such as Henrique de Souza Filho, known as Henfil (1944-1988); Paulo Francis (1930-1997); Millôr Fernandes (1923-2012); Ivan Lessa (1935-2012); Luís Carlos Maciel (1938-2017); and Ziraldo (1932-2024), among others. (Castro, [sd]).

expression “intellectual fiefdom”, while Alves (2019), her interlocutor, points to something more precise, such as “a range of circumstantial relationships” (Alves, 2019, p. 33). Such relationships are constituted by “capillary mechanisms” that serve as a basis for “common ideological or cultural sensitivities, the most diffuse but equally determining affinities”, without disregarding the alienation and exclusions (Sirinelli, 2003, p. 246; 248; 249) that also involve the atmosphere or microclimate of intellectuals. In other words, networks of sociability are formed by spontaneous, affective or opportune bonds that instrumentalize understanding the coexistence structures of individuals — intellectuals, in this context —and that explain conceptual, political and/or corporate and labor ties.

For Orlandi (1996, 1998, 2023), when speaking, the individual establishes a configuration for the discursive act, which is defined in the interaction itself and in its specific purposes. The conditions of interlocution, that is, the context and the historical-social determinations, tend to define a typology or a discursive atmosphere. The so-called authoritarian discourse is characterized by minimal reversibility—that is, little to no movement between different positions. In such discourse, the subject matter is obscured by the very act of speaking, the speaker assumes exclusive authority over the discourse, and any potential for polysemy—or multiple interpretations—is suppressed. Exaggeration is the order in the military sense, that is, the subjection to command” (Orlandi, 1998, p. 9; 2023, p. 184). It would not, therefore, be inappropriate to consider that the authoritarian discourse aspires to monosemy, since it proposes to standardize speech, as if it were not possible to defend other interpretations of reality, but only the one that suits a given pattern of discourse and reading.

The article will be divided into three parts. The first section aims to historicize Henriette Amado 's teaching career, prioritizing her projects with experimental classes. Her political engagement and social participation will be questioned, with a view to collective decisions. In this sense, we will seek to emphasize the networks of sociability that she built affectively and voluntarily as the balance of the achievement of her educational projects. Having studied Henriette Amado's discourse on the pedagogical experience of the experimental classes at CEAM, the second part will examine the text of the inquiry carried out by the DOPS of Guanabara regarding the proposal for the school. By contrasting the two discourses —Henriette's and the military state's—it will be possible to identify the regime's motivations for extinguishing the experimental classes at CEAM.

## HENRIETTE AMADO: THE EDUCATOR AND HER TIME

With the 1964 coup and during the military regime (1964-1985), Brazilian education followed the productivist and efficiency-oriented logic of an economic model that aimed to consolidate the urban-industrial society and to modernize capitalist mechanisms, favoring technical solutions over social aspects. To achieve economic goals, it was necessary to develop human capital.

Martins (2014) emphasizes that the military regime invested in the creation of a new educational order. Education was essential to guarantee national development and security. To this end, the State used nationwide strategies that included teacher training, curricular reforms, editorial programs, teaching materials, and the definition of minimum content. In the military's social imagination, the educational environment was full of agents that threatened order, such as student movements with the supposed influence of communists. Thus, they proposed the moralization of school culture and the dissemination of a new interpretation of national reality.

It was in this context that Henriette Amado implemented, at CEAM, a program of experimental classes, with the characteristic features of adopting active learning methods, with the encouragement of educational technology objects and equipment, and believing in the principles of freedom and self-management as the basis for action. On the one hand, this bricolage (Certeau, 2014) showed affinities with the reality of the educational field, in which there was a systemic movement that discussed the review of school rhetoric, the flexibilization of disciplinary rules, the modernization of teaching methods and the improvement of guidance and assessment of learning, among other issues regarding secondary school.

However, this movement for renewal gradually lost momentum as the dictatorship consolidated power and the notion that education should align with the demands of the urban-industrial economy, primarily to produce a qualified labor force, gained strength. To keep this equivalence was essential to the regime, as it was in the interests of both the business/military that established it in April 1964 and the conservative sectors that had supported it ever since (Ferreira Jr. and Bittar, 2008; Dallabrida, 2017). What suited the “government of technicians” was having educational institutions to adhere to the ideal of scientific neutrality: by standardizing the education system and prioritizing rationality over subjectivity, the logic of the factory—with its emphasis on efficiency, productivity, and profit—would be preserved. In other words, “education [would provide] efficient training for the execution of multiple tasks continually demanded by the social system” (Saviani, 2021, p. 383). Furthermore, while interfering in basic freedoms and defending order, morality and good customs, the regime assumed it would advance in the repression of communism and tracking down dissent against its technocratic machine (Ferreira Jr. & Bittar, 2008; Fico, 2012).



In this sense, the year 1968 marks an important point in the historiography of experimental secondary classes. A pivotal moment in the beginning of the harshest phase of the military regime, Institutional Act No. 5 (AI-5), of December of that year, intensified the persecution of principals, ratified the arrest of some of them and led to the interruption of experimental classes in schools (Dallabrida, 2017). At this point, the regime was already operating with a security system, which was based on espionage, political police and censorship, in the foreground. As for the background, with a subsidiary function, there was political propaganda, under the responsibility of military personnel who, despite being opposed to radicalism, did not shy away from corroborating to the ideological ties of the regime. Thus, situations of repression, such as that involving experimental classes, became increasingly common in a context marked by profound arbitrariness, which not only obtained the consensus of many sectors of civil society, but also had the consent and collaboration of professionals from various areas, especially those in the press (Fico, 2012).

In 1965, the starting point of this analysis, the legal framework of secondary education in Brazil stood halfway between the possibilities for experimentation provided by the existing laws and the emerging legislation shaped by the technocratic ideals of the military regime. In other words, it was still possible to act in accordance with the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* (or Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education, LDBEN/1961), but there was already a rhetorical movement that sought to level criticism and standardize educational mentalities, a movement that would be concretized with the realignment of the functioning of higher education, by Law No. 5,540/1968; and, later, with the reform of the guidelines and bases for primary and secondary education, by Law No. 5,692/1971 (Ferreira Jr. & Bittar, 2008; Souza, 2008; Dallabrida, 2017; Saviani, 2021).

In this noisy context, it was up to Henriette Amado to establish a *modus faciendi* that would allow her to respect valid prescriptions and coexist with the technocratic ideology, but without necessarily adhering exclusively to it. This paradox resulted in the creation of a support network, formed by interdependent individuals, already recognized or in the process of social recognition and interconnected by family, friendship and professional or political activity (Elias, 2018). The *modus faciendi* itself was based on what can be called an ethics of condescension, because it consisted of the fact that Henriette would take advantage of the symbolic goods provided by the network, so that, by transcending the structures, she could "return to 'things as they are' and [...] get closer to 'reality'" (Bourdieu, 2022, p. 55).

In view of this, what arises as a question within Henriette's trajectory is precisely what is defined in the words of Levi (2011, pp. 137-138):

All social action is seen as the result of constant negotiation, [...] choices and decisions of the individual, faced with a normative reality that, although diffuse, nevertheless offers many possibilities

for interpretations and personal freedoms. The question is, therefore, how to define the margins - however narrow they may be - of the freedom guaranteed to an individual by the gaps and contradictions of the normative systems that govern him.

In a study of Henriette's career, it is correct to state that the aforementioned process is linked to her work in the state's public school system, a fact that dates back precisely to 1957, when she was assigned to the Brigadeiro Schörrcht State School (CEBS)<sup>2</sup>, in the industrial suburb of Jacarepaguá. At this school, where she would become director in 1960, she organized a smaller project, but one that was already imbued with the principles of experimentation and educational renewal. Unlike what she would do at CEAM a few years later, at CEBS she did not start with a systemic view of the curriculum, even though teachers invested in experimental strategies. The CEBS proposal consisted of a set of interdisciplinary activities, organized around theater techniques or film resources, with the objective of putting into practice the theoretical knowledge learned during classes in subjects such as mathematics, drawing, science, languages (Latin and French), geography and history.

It is worth noting that the course of this project highlights the social network built by Henriette Amado, which articulated her private and public lives. Sirinelli (2003) highlights that intellectuals build social networks around affinities and shared ideas. In the case of Henriette Amado, the pillar of these relationships was the enthusiasm for public education renewed by pedagogical methods that could improve learning.

Gilson Amado (1908-1979) was the catalyst for Henriette's support network; he was her main agent in the construction of her objective and circumstantial interdependencies (Elias, 2018). He had a degree in law, but gained prominence in radio and television, especially in the production of educational programs. He was one of the pioneers of tele-education, having presided, between 1967 and 1979, the *Fundação Centro Brasileiro de Televisão Educativa*, which became the entity that maintained *TV Educativa* (TVE, channel 2, RJ), in addition to other providers of educational broadcasting services throughout the country. Gilson was also part of

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<sup>2</sup> Henriette joined the Rio de Janeiro state school system through a competitive exam to fill tenured Latin teachers, and was assigned to the Rio de Janeiro Institute of Education in the Praça da Bandeira neighborhood. After being transferred to CEBS, she combined her duties with a temporary contract at Colégio Pedro II, its main school. She was hired to teach Latin, but ended up being reassigned to fill remaining vacancies in Biology and History, due to her generalist education, which preceded her university degree in Literature. She obtained this generalist education at Colégio de Sion, a traditional private religious institution where she signed her first contract as a teacher in the 1930s. At the same time, Henriette also worked in public administration, working for the National Department of Ports, Rivers and Canals, at the Ministry of Transport and Public Works. She started out as a typist and later became First Administrative Officer through an internal competitive exam. It was during this competitive exam that she met Gilson Amado, who taught her Law. They met in the office of the Minister of Transport, while she was applying for the position; Gilson worked with Gustavo Capanema at the Ministry of Education and Health (Amado, 1981).

Gustavo Capanema's cabinet at the Ministry of Education and Health, was an advisor to the Ministry of Labor and later became part of the advisory board of CNEG (National Campaign for Free Education), as well as the State Council for Culture of Rio de Janeiro (Murce, 1976; Lobo Neto, 2002; Milanez, 2007).

Gildásio Amado (1906-1983), one of Gilson's brothers<sup>3</sup>, was another component of Henriette's social network. He headed the Secondary Education Directorate of the Ministry of Education and Culture (DESe/MEC) during the Campaign for the Improvement and Diffusion of Secondary Education (CADES), holding the position during two separate terms—first from 1956 to 1963, and then from 1964 to 1968. Throughout this period, CADES's goal of “making secondary education more aligned with the interests and capacities of students” (Brazil, 1953, apud Oliveira & Vaz, 2023), among other objectives, resonated with the DESe/MEC's broader project. This initiative sought to modernize secondary education not only by reassessing its aims, but especially by reducing the burden on central administration and promoting the creation of technical-pedagogical support structures. In this sense, Gildásio Amado was able to anticipate solutions, moving in line with the ideas that, to some extent, would shape the LDBEN/1961. Among his achievements, a project that would be of interest to his sister-in-law Henriette stands out: the creation of experimental secondary classes, “[the result] of yet another attempt to open gaps in the rigid structure of secondary education” (Pinto, 2002, p. 417). This initiative began to develop in 1957, coincidentally the same year that Henriette took up the position of teacher at CEBS. From 1959 onwards, the classes gained a national perimeter after the publication, in the previous year, of the “Instructions on the nature and organization of experimental classes”, which would influence the text of the LDBEN/1961, notably regarding article 104 (Amado, 1973; Dallabrida, 2017; Vieira & Dallabrida, 2022).

The experimental classes program was inspired by the *Classes Nouvelles*, a teaching model that was part of the reform of secondary education that began in France in 1945, in the wake of the national restoration after the Second World War. Established under the principle of educational guidance, this model claimed the existence of a relationship of contiguity among cultural assets, school processes and individual learning conditions, and, like Gildásio Amado, it was opposed to a traditional view of school, which still supported understandings such as the hegemony of content; classes disconnected from practical reality; the teacher as the sole agent, although without autonomy; and students as mere patients. In general terms, the

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<sup>3</sup> Part of a family of 15 siblings, Gildásio and Gilson Amado from Sergipe were among the 5 brothers who were part of the intellectuals who stood out in the 20th century in Brazil. In addition to them, Gilberto Amado (1887-1969), the eldest, had degrees in journalism, pharmacy and law, also served as a federal deputy, senator and diplomat, and had a prolific career as a writer. Gileno Amado (1891-1969) also studied law, which earned him the position of School Delegate; an opponent of the old oligarchies, he studied political journalism and was mayor of Itabuna, then state deputy and federal deputy. And Genolino Amado (1902-1989), who moved between journalism, secondary school teaching, literature, radio and theater (G. Amado, 2020).



*Classes Nouvelles* and the Brazilian experimental classes worked to encourage the use of active methods, which fostered activities such as guided studies, discussion forums and the study of the environment as a space for application. Alongside educational guidance, there was a concern with comprehensive education, hence the interest in interspersing intellectual and physical education disciplines with those of artistic interest. Furthermore, it was customary for students to maintain a systemic participation in the management of collective discipline; for teachers to discuss, in periodic meetings, the subjectivities of students in the various stages of the learning process; and for families to be involved in this process, participating in the daily life of the school (Amado, 1973; Pinto, 2002; Savoye, 2010; Dallabrida, 2017).

Regarding the difference between the *Classes Nouvelles* and the Brazilian experimental classes, Amado (1973, pp. 42-43) considers that:

The “classes nouvelles” plan was meticulously outlined by the Ministry of Education. Curricula and methods were pre-established. It applied strictly to public education. It therefore represented an experiment to be conducted directly by official bodies. Brazilian experimental classes involved the initiative of the schools themselves, whether public or private. Thus, the Brazilian initiative associated the purpose of renewing curricula, processes and methods with the concern for the freedom of the school, stimulating its creative capacity and encouraging its innovative tendencies. It was not, therefore, an activity directed from outside, by any official administrative authority, but an enterprise that should arise within the school, planned by all those responsible for it, directors, teachers and advisors.

By reducing the scale of observation (Levi, 2011), it can be said that Henriette Amado's experimental classes corresponded to the plans drawn up by Gildásio Amado, both in terms of planning and administration. It is pertinent to assume that he was not only one of her privileged interlocutors but also contributed to the promotion of her agora (Sirinelli, 2003), with his network of sociability.

Upon assuming the leadership of CEAM, Henriette sought to implement a project whose guidelines focused on problem-solving issues. To this end, the teachers relied on Jean Piaget (1896-1980), who advocated that adolescents from the age of 11 can formulate hypotheses and verify them, dissociating factors and interpreting facts. By valuing the mental and emotional balance of the students, it was possible to see that they were able to trust their own decisions. The school's teachers also took the *Group Dynamics Techniques* course with Lauro de Oliveira Lima, with whom they discussed the difficulties of interpersonal relationships, group structures and their specific phenomena. For attitudinal and disciplinary issues, the school adopted the motto “Freedom with responsibility”.

The school's pedagogical structure had two bases: the Educational Guidance Service (EGS) and the Pedagogical Guidance Section (PGS). The EGS team prepared assessment and self-assessment forms for students, conducted socioeconomic research, and administered vocational tests. Based on this information, five departments were organized: Teaching Assistant, Languages, Social Sciences, Exact and Natural Sciences, and Educational Practices. The PGS was responsible for creating strategies that would allow for curricular flexibility and diversification of official programs, supporting the development of differentiated teaching methods for different areas.

Several CEAM activities were recorded by newspapers of the period, such as: science classes on Urca beach; the pioneering use of audiovisual resources for French classes; the creation of a newspaper by students, with historical facts announced as news; the creation of a film club open to city residents; and the formation of an experimental theater group. Teachers organized lectures on topics being discussed at the time, such as ecological issues, the construction of the Transamazônica highway, the creation of Embratel and the Rondon Project. Doctors were invited to debate birth control pills and transplants. In partnership with the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation, an experiment was conducted on the impact of drugs on mice, with students being tasked with recording changes in the animals' behavior. A circle of parents was created, where guardians and students discussed issues that affected them in their daily lives. And there were sex education classes.

In an interview with *Correio da Manhã*, in 1969, Henriette explained her school project as follows:

[...] two fundamental changes occurred in relation to the role played by the teacher and student in the group. From being a simple transmitter of truth, the teacher became a creator of problem situations and a provider of data capable of facilitating the finding of solutions. The student was encouraged to doubt. If he did not doubt, he would not have problems to solve and without problems he would not raise explanatory hypotheses. The student, from being a mere receiver, became an active element in the common search for solutions to the proposed problem. The dynamics of the group and the role that each element plays in the context then became clear (Unir..., 1969, p. 5).

The implementation of the experimental classes at CEAM also had an additional advantage: Negrão de Lima's political isolation from the federal government (Motta & Mauad, 2015). This circumstantial advantage would be further enhanced by the fact that she had good connections with the Education Department, due to the bonds of friendship she had established after her marriage to Gilson. Many

of these relationships had been established in the 1920s, when Gilson studied at the National Law School in Rio de Janeiro and participated in the Academic Center for Legal Studies, alongside students who came, for the most part, from families linked to intellectual, military, and political functions, and who would maintain their social prestige (Ribeiro, 2023).

Known as “bros,” these friends formed a circle of Education secretaries that had begun with Sá Freire Alvim, then mayor of the Federal District (1958-1960). They were: Américo Lacombe, secretary to Sá Freire Alvim; Carlos Octávio Flexa Ribeiro, owner of Colégio Andrews, secretary to Lacerda and his candidate in the unsuccessful succession to the government of Guanabara; and Sá Freire Alvim himself, interim secretary to Negrão de Lima. There were also other “bros” linked to other spheres of public administration, such as San Tiago Dantas, federal deputy (1959-1963; 1963-1967) and minister of state (1961-1962; 1963), one of the signatories of the LDBEN/1961; and Salvador Pinto Filho, judge of the Court of Justice (from 1963) and vice-president of the Magistrates Association (1967) of the State of Guanabara.

Gilson's friends were present in our lives for a long time, and we affectionately called them brothers. [...] San Tiago, a kind of guru whom everyone consulted. An open smile, a big heart, an intelligence that not even Gilson dared to dispute. [...] It was San Tiago who encouraged me to take the university course [in Literature]. He was the director of the [National] Faculty of Philosophy [FNFfi] and told me to enroll. I listened to several of his speeches. [...] If I needed a judge, Salvador Pinto would advise me to consult the right one. [...] Among the brothers, thank God, one of them was a mayor: José Sá Freire Alvim, who understood and accepted my experiences in the educational field. Vera Maria, his daughter, was a living testament to the sincerity of my work. Two Secretaries of Education: Flexa Ribeiro and Americo Lacombe. The red light in the office never came on for me. They received me with the patience of the chosen brothers and listened to me with a certain curiosity (Amado, 1981, pp. 79-80).

In the context of education in Rio de Janeiro, Henriette also had her own network, formed by teachers who shared the ideal of “a different school”. Among these teachers was Myrthes de Luca Wenzel (1917-2004), who was the Federal Inspector of Secondary Education for the MEC. With Myrthes’ help, Henriette organized the CEBS faculty, calling on colleagues Myrthes had become close to in the 1950s, while studying Geography at the University of the Federal District. In an interview published by Lôbo Neto (2002), Myrthes made the following reflection:

I am the founder of that group of teachers that Henriette gathered at Brigadeiro Schörtch... the teachers at Brigadeiro created a different kind of school... providing their students with the opportunity for intellectual and emotional development, teaching them to love knowledge, to seek knowledge, to learn how to learn, to enjoy art, music, painting... to participate in the Geography, Science, English and French clubs. ... on Saturdays we would also go dancing at Brigadeiro Schörtch. And so, we had some very pleasant years... it all started there, at Brigadeiro Schörtch, a school run by the illustrious educator Henriette Amado, to whom I pay my tribute (Wenzel, 2001 as cited in Lôbo, 2002, pp. 6-7).

With this support, Henriette provided CEAM with a collegiate administration that included four curricular departments, an auxiliary department and six technical and pedagogical advisory sectors, forming a whole based on principles of autonomy, freedom and experimentation. The core of the administration was the Pedagogical Guidance sector, which maintained a cooperative relationship with the other sectors and coordination with the departments. The row of sectors included the Educational Guidance Sector (EGS), the Reimbursable School Fund, the Canteen, the Administrative Secretariat and the Pedagogical Secretariat.

The curricular departments were: 1) Teaching Assistant, for questions about the use of teaching objects and equipment; 2) Languages, which brought together teachers of Portuguese and Brazilian and Portuguese literature, modern foreign languages such as French, English and Spanish, and Latin as an option for classical languages; 3) Social Sciences, with the subjects of geography, history, social studies and moral and civic education, made mandatory in 1969 by the military regime; 4) Exact and Natural Sciences, for mathematics, drawing and the so-called physical and biological sciences. The only auxiliary department was Educational Practices, which articulated the activities of arts, music, cinema, theater, physical education and religious education. Around the Pedagogical Guidance sector and the five departments there was a Programs Committee, designed to study alternative curricular solutions that would dialogue with the school's daily life. The structural and attitudinal aspects were mediated by a general coordination that grouped together servants and student inspectors.

In Henriette's view, only a decentralized and self-regulating administration would provide the flexibility that the pedagogical organization of the experimental classes program depended on. With this understanding, she implemented a "direction without doors", participatory par excellence, having managed to establish effective relationships with the community, in addition to consolidating an environment of validation before the educational management of Guanabara.

Being a State School, there was little chance of escaping the officially established standards. We needed, more than anything, an administration that provided pedagogical support, and not a purely bureaucratic administration. [...] Thus, two poles emerged in the structure: the *Management* [authors' emphasis], with its encouraging character of all the relationship work [...] and the *Student* [authors' emphasis] who, as a guided being, would find the opportunity to create his own hierarchy of values (Amado et al., 1972, p. 25).

By organizing this space-time, Henriette showed identification with three paths of the educational renewal: modern education, educational technology and free education.

## THE INVESTIGATION IN THE CHAGAS FREITAS GOVERNMENT

Antônio de Pádua Chagas Freitas (1914-1991) was indirectly elected governor of the state of Guanabara in 1970. Supported by President Emílio Garrastazu Médici (1905-1985), Chagas Freitas's government goals included controlling the student movement, which the military dictators saw as a communist threat and intended to promote an urban guerrilla movement aimed at overthrowing the regime (Siqueira, 2011). Thus, the National Intelligence Service (NIS) had to count on the collaboration of the governor and his secretaries to dismantle this movement through the arrest and conviction of its members.

According to Chirio (2012), at the turn of the 1970s, some issues such as the destruction of the family, the collapse of morality and the damage caused by atheistic materialism became central themes in the public statements of military personnel. After AI-5 and events such as the death of student Edson Luís, the March of the Hundred Thousand, the death of soldier Mário Kozel Filho at the General Headquarters in São Paulo and the invasion of the University of Brasília by the military police, the climate of anti-communism intensified. General Carvalho Lisboa declared: look for communists wherever they are infiltrated, in the church, in schools, in factories, even in hell (Chirio, 2012, p.118).

The headlines of the major newspapers in Rio de Janeiro reflect the pressure that Henriette Amado and the school community suffered in 1971: “André Maurois fights drugs and acts with the government” (Diário de Notícias, 04/07/1971, p.9), “Marijuana at André Maurois is known by the principal” (Diário de Notícias, 08/05/1971, p.3), “CPI hears Henriette Amado” (Jornal do Brasil, 08/05/1971, p.15), “Secretary says he is against the law that requires principals to report students for drug use” (Jornal do Brasil, 08/19/1971, p.16), “Drugs: Henriette Amado wants no violence” (O Jornal, 08/05/1971, p.3), “She knows how to keep young people away from



addiction" (O Jornal, 19/08/1971, p.4), 07/08/1971, p.1), "Toxic" (Correio da Manhã, 05/08/1971, p.3).

On August 11, 1971, the Secretary of Education of the State of Guanabara, Fernando de Carvalho Barata, appointed a commission with the objective of investigating complaints made about the André Maurois School, "according to which immoral acts were committed within the school, with the connivance, or at least the omission of the Director Henriette Amado, who did nothing to prevent the licentiousness that reigned there being evident" (Amado, 1971, p. 4).

The inquiry reported that to carry out the investigation, the commission, made up of three teachers, went to the school to question the principal Henriette Amado, who "categorically refused to make a statement". The members of the commission recorded her intimidation strategies: "they warned that she was refusing to comply with a superior order, she remained intransigent, reaffirming her refusal in a mocking tone; they warned that it was a matter of investigating complaints made by the SNI, she declared in the same tone: The NIS? I love the NIS and the military; they have been so kind to me!" (Amado, 1971, pp. 6-7)

An analysis of the report shows that the members of the committee did their utmost to cast Henriette Amado as a subversive. When observing the polysemy or even monosemy of expressions such as "insistently propagated", "with the connivance, or at least the omission, being obvious", "licentiousness reigning there"; and of words such as "joke", "peremptorily", "intransigent", "nice", in addition to the intentional repetition of the verb "to warn", it is clear that the rapporteur used sarcasm either to intimidate Henriette or to emphasize behavior considered inappropriate on her part.

Upon learning of the incident, Governor Chagas Freitas dismissed the director and appointed a new director, who should take office at 7:00 a.m. the following morning. The rapporteur states that this was not possible, since students prevented the appointed director from remaining at the institution. In the investigation, the governor used these actions by the students to justify sending 20 DOPS agents at 6:30 a.m. to ensure that the new director was sworn in. The report highlights that the police officers were instructed "not to use unnecessary violence or use weapons" (Amado, 1971, p. 4). The adjective "unnecessary" relative to the noun "violence," and accompanied by the assertion "not to use weapons," becomes a very weak mitigating factor, since it does not clarify the attitudes of the likely protesters, which, in fact, would not provoke violent behavior from the police officers. In seeking to ensure a smooth transition, the above sentence makes it clear that the interested parties, including students, teachers and staff, had no other alternative but to impassively acquiesce to the arrival of the new director. After all, any behavior other than this would lead to the use of the much-vaunted police force.

The new director, José Gonçalves Villanova, defined as a disciplinarian without being a tyrant, took office the following day. However, classes were suspended for

more than a week, under the claim that it was necessary to “implement internal changes”. The records in the document reveal that the governor feared student demonstrations and would not hesitate to use force to suppress them, giving us an indication of the level of violence of the regime:

Preventive measures have been taken in conjunction with the Public Security Department, which has been providing all necessary support. I would not be so naive as to think that the matter is settled. It will not be surprising if new instances of indiscipline arise in anticipation of the reopening of classes. However, we are equipped to repel them: if they are among teachers, they will be immediately transferred; if they are among students, they will receive the punishments provided for, up to and including expulsion. I will not hesitate to maintain order, at any cost (Amado, 1971, p. 9).

In the plasticity of the noun “ingenuity [sic]” lies the memory of the student movement in Guanabara, after AI-5; even if the indiscipline did not generate surprise, it was essential to prevent this indiscipline from expanding. In addition, the two subsequent sentences, “we are equipped to repel them” and “I will not hesitate to maintain order, at any price”, not only endorse the analyses undertaken previously, in the paraphrastic weaving on the use of police force, but also fully endorse what Orlandi (2023, p.184; our emphasis) states about authoritarian discourse — “Exaggeration is *order in the military sense*, that is, subjection to command”. In fact, the records of inquiry no. 1471 reveal that Governor Chagas Freitas feared student demonstrations and, therefore, would not hesitate to use force to repress them, providing indications of the level of violence that the regime was willing to undertake to remain standing.

Another action taken by the commission on the same day, the 23rd, was a physical inspection of the school. The records of this activity are important, as they give us clues about the educational conception of the teachers who made up the commission. They also demonstrate an authoritarian discourse by highlighting what should be repressed with adjectives that demonstrate support for the dictatorial regime, as they agree that the students were a threat to the system and should be hunted down.

The rapporteur began by highlighting the vandalism of the school: “it is a relatively recent construction (more or less 6 years old) without the necessary maintenance; there is vandalism of bathrooms, classrooms, corridors and the auditorium, where the curtains and chairs are partially damaged” (Amado, 1971, p. 11). This record resulted in an indictment of Henriette Amado for negligence with public property.

It is interesting to compare the report of the inquiry with the record of the memory of the same event by Henriette Amado in her book *An Interrupted Experience* (1972). Henriette recalls that before its inauguration, the school was occupied from January 12 to 22, 1966, by 271 victims of the flood, considered by many to be one of the worst natural tragedies to hit the people of Rio in the 1960s. As a result of the torrential rains, 250 people died, more than a thousand were injured and 50 thousand were left homeless. The schools served as temporary shelters for these people. This occupation caused damage to physical space: sinks clogged with food, dirty and marked walls and broken furniture (Amado et al., 1972).

Thus, part of the property destruction described in the DOPS report was a consequence of the period in which the school served as a shelter. However, Henriette Amado did not see this period as a loss to the institution. The director considered the organization to help the homeless as the school's inaugural act, even before the start of the school year on March 7, 1966. She described her feelings: "At first, I did not view with good eyes the invasion of that beautiful school by people who had not had the opportunity to receive the basic notions necessary for large groups." (Amado et al., 1972, p. 66). The reaction of the school community gave another meaning to that experience. The engagement of the young people who attended the school to participate in collective efforts was classified by Henriette as a *pedagogy of humanity*:

with long hair and miniskirts crossed the corridors, helping each other with smiles and spontaneous gestures. So many bottles, so many diapers, so many illnesses and so many tears. They quickly understood all the misery and the inertia of those people who were so hopeless (Amado et al., 1972, p. 65).

Another point addressed in the report was the written walls: "The amount of pornographic writings spread throughout the school grounds, as well as political statements, caught the attention of anyone who arrived at the school at that time" (Amado, 1971, p. 11). The rapporteur highlighted that numerous photographs were taken to serve as evidence in the investigation. Another point noted was that the "inscriptions are placed in such a way that they can be seen by everyone passing by". The photographs were not found in the investigation files; however, the sentences were reproduced as they appear in the body of the text:

SUBVERSIVE PHRASES FOUND ON THE WALLS OF ANDRÉ  
MAUROIS SCHOOL

- 1) MORALS AND CIVICS = FASCISM = MILITARY DICTATORSHIP
- 2) BRAZIL LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT – LAST ONE OUT TURN OFF THE  
AIRPORT LIGHTS

- 3) FELLOW HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, UNITED IN FIGHTING WE WILL OVERTHROW THE FASCIST MILITARY DICTATORSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE. WE WILL MAKE EDUCATION FREE AND POPULAR. AMES
- 4) FELLOW HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, UNITED AND FIGHTING ALONG THE SIDE OF EVERYONE, WE WILL OVERTHROW THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP FOR FREE EDUCATION FOCUSED ON THE INTERESTS OF THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE. AMES
- 5) PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE OVERTHROW DICTATORSHIP 9/7/22 LIBERATION EXPELS LIBERALISM
- 6) 7/9/69 FARCE 7/9/69 DICTATORSHIP PARADE GORILLAS AT PARTY
- 7) DOWN WITH THE DICTATORSHIP THAT KILLS WORKERS, GUARANTEEING THE EXPLOITATION OF THE RULE CLASS AND NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM
- 8) OUT WITH ROCKFELLER (Amado, 1971, p. 18).

It is important to note that the sentences were *selected* for the preparation of the report. Only one did not contain the word dictatorship, but referred to a slogan of the regime “Love it or leave it” and in a pejorative way. The messages were very clear in the sense of fighting the dictatorial government. The author emphasized that the type of education practiced at the André Maurois School became a cause for concern for the regime’s media outlets. In different parts of the text, Professor Henriette Amado was held responsible for the context of insurgency against the government, for being an “uncompromising defender of free education” or for “always managing to influence public opinion, using her modern teaching methodology as a pretext” (Amado, 1971, p. 19).

The narrative underlying inquiry no. 1471 deliberately disregarded Henriette Amado's educational conception. From the principal's perspective, dialogue was fundamental to the educational process. Several strategies were developed to encourage this dialogical relationship with the students.

One of his first actions upon starting his work at the school was to remove the door from the principal’s office: It was a room without doors, to avoid creating distance between the administration and the teaching staff, between the administration and the students, and between the administration and the staff. I wanted to show that my greatest desire was for dialogue (H. Amado et al., 1972, p. 66).

An example of this type of interpretation can be seen in the report’s critique of the principal’s office lacking a door:

PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE: no door; several paintings and posters on the walls, one of them a portrait of the artists Gordo and Magro, with a penis, drawn in ink, in Magro's mouth; a woven leather sofa, apparently new, unused with the names of some students written in ink, also having a PENIS drawn on it with a name probably belonging to the artist; a round table, completely unused, with scribbles and names of the students; furniture in general in a very poor state of repair; a poster of Ziraldo: Superman carrying a man on his lap, with the words: Mommy protects me, but don't overdo it; a poster of the actor Humphrey Bogart, sitting at a table in a bar, a poster of Chico Buarque de Holanda, and others (Amado, 1971, p. 25;; capital letters used by the reporters preserved).

In the survey, the descriptions are taken out of context from the pedagogical proposal. There is no intention to interpret the materiality of the space pedagogically. The difference is seen as subversion. For the investigators, there is no possibility that those records were authorized or even encouraged by Henriette Amado. The students' signatures and other writings are seen as destruction and uselessness.

Another issue is the writings on the furniture. In Henriette Amado's view, this was a form of expression for young people. By reading and interpreting these records, it was possible to identify their desires and thus plan meaningful educational activities:

The student releases, through the graphics on the walls and armchairs, the tension that the context constantly feeds. The drawings that appeared on the chairs in the CEAM auditorium, far from scandalizing us, alerted us, as a sign that they were a blockage that needed to be broken. Scraping, washing, and repainting would be operations that would follow a frank conversation and research into the causes (Amado, 1972, p. 1972, p. 114).

The conclusions of the investigation were that there were actions at the school by student organizations linked to communism, which should be repressed, since the principal adopted the "philosophy of swearing, enhanced by pornographic drawings, which could lead young people thirsty for knowledge and information, to dark paths, not in tune with the moral, religious and civic principles that govern the Brazilian people" (Amado, 1971). In addition to Henriette Amado's dismissal, six teachers were also transferred to other schools for having expressed solidarity with the dismissed principal.

The repressive actions continued with the arrest of four young people accused of participating in subversive movements: Tereza Cristina de Moura Peixoto, Alberto Jan Schprejer, Ney Rottman and Lúcia Velloso Maurício. According to the investigation, they came from the André Maurois State School and confessed that they



began their political training there. Lúcia Velloso also named numerous companions who were students at the school.

Interviewed for the June 20, 1980, edition of *Tribuna da Imprensa*<sup>4</sup>, Henriette took stock of her career as a teacher in the state's official school system and visited the CEAM experience, highlighting its stories, subjects and practices. When asked about the interruption of this experience, Henriette did not hesitate and pointed out the persecution by *Diário de Notícias*<sup>5</sup>:

There was a campaign led by *Diário de Notícias*, you know. It was so sad! A young man asked me to take a journalism course with the students. I thought it was wonderful, but he took advantage of that and started taking photographs, you know how it is. Anyway, it was all very biased, very unpleasant. I was very upset, but I waited for the students to react: a week went by, and the school was covered in banners and more banners made by them: "respect our freedom", "Marbles only here". And there was the movement of the other press, the favorable press, which was a very beautiful thing (Henriette..., 1980, p. 9).

At the end of the interview, Henriette explained what happened to her after she was dismissed from her position as director of André Maurois. The investigation she underwent was federalized by the Chagas Freitas government (1971-1975), since Guanabara could not apply AI-5. The Minister of Justice at the time, Alfredo Buzaid (1914-1991), although an early supporter of AI-5, ordered the case to be archived, an order that Chagas Freitas did not comply with. This case would only be archived by the first governor of the merger, Faria Lima (1917-2011), the same one who chose Myrthes Wenzel to be his Secretary of Education and Culture. However, Henriette would continue to be persecuted. Once Secretary, Myrthes appointed Henriette to one of the committees under her responsibility, but this appointment was blocked a week later. And even Arnaldo Niskier (1935-), Secretary of State for Education and Culture between 1979 and 1983, and friend of Henriette, considered keeping her away from

<sup>4</sup> *Tribuna da Imprensa* was founded by Carlos Lacerda on December 27, 1949, in Rio de Janeiro, as a daily evening newspaper. Under Lacerda's work, it became known for its opposition to communism and extreme nationalism. In 1961, it was sold to Manuel FN Brito, who failed in his project and passed it on to Hélio Fernandes in 1962. In 1964, it supported the coup that deposed President João Goulart, but returned to opposing the government as soon as Institutional Act No. 1 was decreed on April 9. In 2008, print circulation gave way to online editions, which lasted no more than 2 months (Leal, [sd]). In 2022, the online format was reactivated with the purpose of recovering the critical and combative tone of the newspaper's early days.

<sup>5</sup> *Diário de Notícias* (1930-1976) was a Rio de Janeiro newspaper with daily circulation and national coverage. Traditionally a morning publication, it followed an editorial line favorable to the conceptions of the post-64 State (Ferreira, [sd]).

the classroom, even though she continued to receive her salary; after all, his office answered to Chagas Freitas, then governor of the State of Rio.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

CEAM still operates at the same address as when it started. Physically, the building has not undergone any major changes. Currently, approximately 1,800 students study there, divided into three shifts. Students and teachers are not familiar with the pedagogical experience developed by Henriette Amado or know very little about it. It is possible to consider that there is silence regarding the history of the school's first decade. There is a lack of physical and literary references that refer to the experimental classes developed there during the 1960s: there are no plaques, paintings, documents in the library, photos, books or any other record on the subject.

In this regard, Orlandi (2007) states that silence does not speak, but signifies, making it impossible to translate it into words. This researcher also considers that "silence is not the absence of words. Imposing silence does not mean silencing the interlocutor but preventing him/her from sustaining another discourse" (p. 102). Therefore, silence is what is left aside: it is exclusion, it is what has been erased. Orlandi (2007) thinks about silence from the perspective of censorship. For her, "censorship always brings the 'other' into play. It always occurs in the relationship between what is said and what cannot be said, between what is said by 'one' and what is said by 'another'" (p.104). Censorship is an imposition, a prohibition, that is, it is a premeditated sectional cut. From this perspective, there is a historical elaboration of meanings based on what was censored regarding the first six years of CEAM's operation. And given the absence of material to fill this void, the information begins to circulate in an altered form, which does not contribute to circumventing censorship.

The development of experimental classes at CEAM was made impossible by the censorship imposed by the Military Dictatorship, which had a capillary effect in the states. But that was not all. The DOPS investigation of the State of Guanabara imposed different forms of prohibition and control that contributed to the erasure of the memory of this experience. Henriette Amado could no longer be the principal, the pedagogical project would no longer be developed, and students and teachers would no longer be allowed to speak out. The walls would have to be painted, the newspaper would have to be discontinued, and the student union would be banned. These actions also aimed to remove any signs that might have been reminiscent of the time of "Freedom with responsibility". The investigation revealed that there was always continued monitoring by the DOPS after the principal left, so that censorship would be permanent. An example of this type of long-lasting control and surveillance happened in the late 1970s, when Henriette Amado was invited to be the director of the Hélios Alonso School. There were messages from the political police highlighting

that, according to the investigation, she could not assume this position in any school institution (Henriette Amado, 1978)

Since memory is a selective phenomenon, of individual and collective manifestation (Pollak, 1989), the narrative of this text — even if incomplete and with a perspective (Prost, 2015) — is representative of the concept, since it is revealed in the confluence of events, characters and places that come together in the formation of social identities.

Finally, if “memory, in which history grows, which in turn feeds it, seeks to save the past to serve the present and the future” (Le Goff, 2013, p. 437), it is considered that this historiographical exercise has examined, albeit in a preliminary manner, a very significant experience for the History of Brazilian Education and its nuances. In the dialogue with the sources, from the presentation of the CEAM proposal, it is possible to understand the pedagogical proposal that was based on dialogue, the recognition of individuality and diversity. It also demonstrates the importance of Henriette Amado’s social networks for the organization and maintenance of the structure that made it possible to develop this experience in a public school. There were pedagogical advisors, supervisors, equipment, and other factors that, in the same period, were either absent or present in much smaller numbers in other institutions across the state of Rio de Janeiro.

Since this tension leads us, as social actors, to reflect on ourselves and that we all “must work so that collective memories serve for the liberation and not for the servitude of men” (Le Goff, 2013, p. 437), this work came out in defense of the right that, at least, the current and future generations of students and other actors of CEAM have to be aware of the foundation that concerns them. Here it is understood that the forgetting of this renovating essay is the result of a deliberate action by defenders of a traditional and repressive education, which was strengthened by the implementation of the military regime from 1964 onwards.

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