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ARTICLES

The Infância e Juventude Magazine and the debates around the National Education Plan from 1936 to 1937¹

A Revista *Infância e Juventude* e os debates em torno do Plano Nacional de Educação de 1936 a 1937

La Revista Infância e Juventude y los debates en torno al Plan Nacional de Educación de 1936 a 1937

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Abstract

The article aims to analyze the ideas published in the *Infância e Juventude* Magazine, which contributed to the promotion of debates about the elaboration of the project of the National Plan of Education during the years 1936 to 1937. It is a monthly newspaper in the service of the school and the home, the magazine circulated from May 1936 to December 1937, bringing together in its intellectual frameworks educators involved with the production of reflections on themes that are burning with Brazilian education. For the purpose of this article, we are interested in capturing the participation of intellectuals, members of the Brazilian Association of Education (ABE), who used the magazine as a vehicle for dissemination and opinion building, conveying concepts and taking a position in defense of education and national culture.

Keywords: Infância e Juventude Magazine. National Education Plan. History of Education.

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Resumo

O artigo objetiva analisar as ideias que, publicadas na Revista Infância e Juventude, colaboraram na promoção de debates em torno da elaboração do projeto do Plano Nacional de Educação durante os anos de 1936 a 1937. Constituindo-se em um periódico mensal a serviço da escola e do lar, a revista circulou de maio de 1936 a dezembro de 1937, congregando em seus quadros intelectuais educadores envolvidos com a produção de reflexões acerca de temas candentes à educação brasileira. Para efeito deste artigo, interessa captar a participação dos intelectuais, partícipes da Associação Brasileira de Educação (ABE), que utilizaram a revista como veículo de difusão e construção de opinião, veiculando concepções e tomando posição em defesa da educação e da cultura nacional.

Palavras-chave: Revista Infância e Juventude. Plano Nacional de Educação. História da Educação.

Resumen

El artículo objetiva analizar las ideas que, publicadas en la Revista Infância e Juventude, colaboraron en la promoción de debates en torno a la elaboración del proyecto del Plan Nacional de Educación durante los años de 1936 a 1937. Constituyéndose en un periódico mensual al servicio de la escuela y del hogar, la revista circuló de mayo de 1936 a diciembre de 1937, congregando en sus cuadros intelectuales educadores involucrados con la producción de reflexiones acerca de temas candentes a la educación brasileña. A efectos de este artículo, nos interesa captar la participación de los intelectuales, participes de la Asociación Brasileña de Educación (ABE), que utilizaron la revista como vehículo de difusión y construcción de opinión, vehiculando concepciones y tomando posición en defensa de la educación y la cultura nacional.

Palabras clave: Revista Infância e Juventude. Plan Nacional de Educación. Historia de la Educación.

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To educators and educational entities from all over Brazil. The fervent desire that we have to make this monthly an efficient national body for examining and disseminating all the country's activities, related to the educational problem, encourages us to appeal to your contest, as only with the support of the small minority of who can feel the great needs of Brazil is that we will be able to overcome the general indifference of the people, a serious difficulty that weakens educational action, however selfless, propellers may be. We count on your solidarity with our objectives to be manifested in the indispensable material contribution of the **subscription**, without which it will be impossible to maintain a serious publication and worthy of the high ends to which we sincerely dedicate ourselves.

The Directors (INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, n. 3, 1936 - emphasis added by the magazine).

Introduction

Created in June 1936, the magazine Revista Infância e Juventude became known for the aim of being a national monthly educational guide for the school and the home. Written in the city of Rio de Janeiro, the capital of the country, the magazine published in Oficinas Gráficas de Infância e Juventude, owned by Renato Americano, founder, responsible director and editor of the magazine. In addition to its publication, the printing company produced book prints, editions of various genres and collections, such as the Série Pindorama. Over the period that circulated, from June 1936 to December 1937², eighteen issues of the magazine were produced, with approximately fifty-five pages per issue and with a simple annual subscription value³ of 18\$000, registered at 22\$000, single of 2\$000 and a delay one of 3\$000. The magazine's typographic proposal followed a simple pattern of layout, with a single color cover, name of the magazine with letters highlighted in the header and above the phrase: "Educational guidance monthly at school and at home". At the bottom, are the names of your employees been centered and highlighted. The magazine's title, in turn, seems suggestive when analyzed in line with the sentence mentioned above. Conceived as coming, childhood and youth, should be educated and instructed in order to inscribe the possibilities of a glorious future for the nation. This belief regimented around the regenerative capacity of education conformed to the objectives that mobilized the creation of the magazine in the context of effusive debates associated with the construction of the country and its nationality (CAMARA, 2013).

² We consider this period in terms of the copies identified in the journal sector of Biblioteca Nacional. Sixteen copies were been found, counting from number three, from August 1936 and the last from December 19, 1937. The numbers seventeen and eighteen were been published in a condensed edition of October / November 1937.

³ Values in current Brazilian currency, réis, conversion into dollars at the exchange rate of the time, respectively: $18\$000 = US\$ \ 3.62$; $22\$000 = US\$ \ 4.43$; 2\$000 = 40 cents; 3\$000 = 60 cents.

In its editorial composition, the magazine consisted of sections and columns designed to discuss topics related to education and national politics, without the use of illustration. In the analyzed editions it was not possible to locate the circulation and the regions in which it circulated regularly or irregularly. Book and newspaper advertisements, such as Diário de Notícias, Folha de Minas, as well as Casa Cruz [stationary store], Casa Sucena [trims store], Banco do Brasil [Bank], Fazenda Manga Larga [farm], Curso Victor Silva [Course], Instituto Lafayette, program Chiquinho [School], Chicote and Chicória⁴ broadcast on the radio stations Record and Excelsior give indications of the audience that was intended to reach the publication. The magazine was conceived as a monthly newsletter designed to debate and circulate ideas around education in a context that required intellectuals to take a stand in favor of building a national project.

As for the editorial board⁵, it is important to highlight the growing participation of owner Renato Americano. From the third edition, published in August 1936, it is possible to identify the presence of Americano exercising, simultaneously, the functions of founding editor and administrative director of the magazine until its extinction in December 1937, one month after the establishment of the Estado Novo (Brazilian political regime). Joaquim Moreira de Souza, as technical director and Stella Aboim, as secretary, collaborated for a short period. Professor of Natural History and Design of the League of Teachers of the Capital of the Country, Stella Aboim involved with issues associated with education and teaching. As for professor Joaquim Moreira de Souza, he was a member of the National Directorate of Education, acting as director of public instruction in Ceará, in 1934. This year he participated in the coordination of the 6th National Conference on Education held in Fortaleza (CAVALCANTE, 2000). In the magazine, he represented the National Directorate of Education in many publications in which he presented teaching methodology proposals for rural schools. About Renato Americano, it was not possible to find evidence that would allow him to articulate with groups of teachers or social movements, unlike Joaquim Moreira de Souza and Stella Aboim, figures engaged in various fronts of action and debates about education throughout the 1930s.

Based on these early reflections, the article intended analyze the magazine Revista Infância e Juventude considering the debates around the National Education Plan produced by intellectuals, members of the Associação Brasileira de Educação (ABE) [Brazilian Education Association], during the period in which it circulated, from 1936 to 1937. We intend to identify the lines of force that fed these debates, as well as the motivations and concepts that guided the composition of the National Education Plan, required by the Constitution of 1934. The protocol triggered by the research included the mapping, selection and reading of the magazine's editions, located in the periodicals sector of Biblioteca Nacional [National Library], in particular the ones in which the National Education Plan was addressed directly or indirectly. With this intent, twenty entries were identified, being: one referring to an article in which the theme appears indirectly; three referring to the publication of the National Education Plan project, presented in 1826, which was broken down by consecutive numbers of the magazine during 1936 and sixteen in which the National Education Plan assumed centrality in the title of the articles.

⁴ The program conceived by *Nhô Totico*, alias Vital Fernandes da Silva, was broadcast, starting in 1934, by Rádio Record. It was set in the Escolinha Dona Olinda [School] where were narrated stories. From the universe of three boys: Chiquinho, a city boy and smart; Chicote, a Northeastern boy and bully and Chicória, son of an Italian immigrant, portrayed aspects of Brazilian society in order to build interpretations about education and the country with their regionalisms transverted from adjectives expressed in the characteristics of the characters. http: /baudomaga.com.br/humor, access 08/21/2016.

⁵ There is only scarce information about the owner and founder Renato Americano, as well as the magazine's editorial board.

Along with these references, the text was demarcated by two central and related premises: the first, that the magazine functioned as a yard of sociability, dissemination and debates around national education, with emphasis on the discussions around elaboration of the National Education Plan; the second, that the ideas conveyed by the magazine expressed the aspirations of intellectual sectors in an effort to enhance projects for education in the country.

Revista Infância e Juventude the magazine as a vard for educational debates

The civil-military movement that culminated in the Revolution of 1930 put an end to the policy of the oligarchies, beginning the so-called *República Nova* [New Republic], headed by President Getúlio Vargas. His inauguration began the so-called Era Vargas⁶ (1930-1945), a period of political effervescence marked by conflicts of interest that characterized the years before his inauguration in November 1930. In the dispute for political preeminence in the period post-revolution, were instituted strategies to compose and consolidate a national project. According to Pandolfi (2012, p. 17-18) these disputes occurred "over the model of State to be implemented in the country", where the lieutenants and the "dissident oligarchs" proposed, in common, the action of a centralizing and interventionist State. In this regard, according to the author, a nationalist and interventionist matrix has been embodied by the State based on the organization of investments in different spheres, with emphasis on the social. These investments directed to, especially, the performance and actions undertaken by the ministries of Labor, Industry and Commerce with the journalist Lindolfo Collor and of Education and Public Health, with the educator and reformer from Minas Gerais, from November 1930⁷.

Under the Constitutional Charter of July 1934, social and political advances took place, such as the secret vote, the female vote, the mandatory primary education, the presidential election through the vote of the Constituent Assembly (POLLETI, 2012, p. 36), as well as the creation of the National Education Council (CNE) and the obligation to "allocate a percentage of taxes to education" (CURY, 2014). However, with the establishment of the Estado Novo (1937 to 1945), the Constitution was suspended, and a new constitutional charter with a centralizing and authoritarian profile granted in 1937. This aspect marked the national policy since then. In this perspective, Capelato (2012) states that:

> One of the proposed solutions was that of social control through the presence of a strong state led by a charismatic leader, capable of leading the masses on the path of order. This policy was adopted in some European countries, assuming specific characteristics in each of them. Regimes such as fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, Salazarism in Portugal and Francoism in Spain were established at this time. The success of the Italian and German experiences served as an inspiration for political reforms that took place in some Latin American countries: Brazil and Argentina especially (2012, p. 109).

⁶ The Era Vargas [Vargas Era] is divided into three periods: from 1930 to 1934, known as the Governo Provisório [Provisional Government]; from 1934 to 1937, Governo Constitucionalista [Constitutionalist Government] and from 1937 to 1945, Estado Novo. Capelato (2012), on the other hand, works with the perspective that the first phase of the Vargas government was divided into two periods: from 1930 to 1937, considered years of uncertainty and time of disputes for different projects for the country and from 1937 to 1945, as a new regime.

⁷ Since the creation of the Ministry of Education and Public Health in November 1930 until the end of the *Era* Vargas on October 30, 1945, the ministerial portfolio occupied by four ministers, with Gustavo Capanema remaining in responsability for eleven years. The presence of Francisco Campos heading the ministry contributed considerably to the strategic position that education assumed in the Vargas government.

In this context, there was a cultural increase expressed, in part, by the proliferation of newspapers, magazines and publishers that were associated with initiatives aimed at collaborating for national reconstruction. As a dissemination field for political and pedagogical intervention projects, roughly speaking, it is possible to ensure that magazines are spaces for disputes, sociability and the transmission of ideas. Regarding the Revista Infância e Juventude, conceived as a specialized periodical, with pedagogical purposes, without economic purposes and without direct relationship with political parties and congregations of a neutral character. In this way, its creators assured that:

> This magazine, absolutely free from any sectarianism and in a spirit of wide tolerance, has the sole and sincere purpose of studying issues that, in any aspect, are related to the education of our youth. One finds in this neutral field, the indispensable freedom for the true students of pedagogical ideas, whose opinions will appear without any constraint, within the reasonable limits of ethics and under the immense responsibility of each one. There being no incompatibility of names here, the reservations that we may have to oppose to the works received will aim exclusively at manifest inadequacies of the subject and will never simplify hidden restrictions and people (INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, 1936, n. 6, p. 364).

Intending to demonstrate the profile of impartiality, exemption and commitment to issues related to national education, the editors of Revista Infância e Juventude presented it as an educational journal, dedicated to educational dissemination of ideas and actions of intellectuals, teachers and institutions scientific and educational. Although its editors aimed to point out the character of exemption and neutrality, we observed in the analyzed texts, a strong engagement around liberal education, with emphasis on its role in national reconstruction under the intervention of the State. The magazine circulated articles whose authors took positions in the face of the growth of anti-liberal intellectual currents in alert for the growth of social and political movements that emerged from the Russian Revolution of 1917. As demonstrated by Capelato (2012), the social issue started to be debated intensely in the country. Associated with it, ideas were fostered around the inability of liberal institutions to "overcome the 'backwardness' and control the 'disorder' prevailing in the country" (2012, p. 110).

In this direction, Carvalho (1997) points out, that the educational campaign undertaken by the members of the Brazilian Education Association (ABE) produced what he called the "taineana moral temperature" which aimed to combat the "pretexted incapacity of Brazilian political elites, indifferent or skeptical about to the need, the possibility and the efficiency of operating the regeneration of the Brazilian man". It is also important to consider that in the face of the organization of the Catholic movement, expressed by an "ultraconservative radicalism", a reaction was mobilized by the intellectual educators who defended the banner of national, secular and free education in the composition of devices capable of instituting the idea of "progress within the order" (1997, p. 121-122).

In order to publicize proposals and produce opinions, Revista Infância e Juventude magazine collected contributions from representatives of the magistracy of the Federal District and other regions of the country regarding the direction of national education. The position expressed in the writings, marks the understanding, on the part of this intellectual elite, about the historical role assumed, by them, as guides capable of interfering in the political direction of the country. As Velloso (2012) affirms, the scenario that unfolded in the country in the post-1930 Revolution and the directions taken by national politics "requested" the participation of intellectuals identified as "enlightened awareness of the national and the State as the core of nationality" (2012, p. 148).

The analysis of the summaries of the magazines makes it possible to inventory not only the direct participation of associations and a pleiad of intellectuals, but also a wide range of themes were mobilized throughout the editions. In the eighteen issues published, the magazine had effective and floating collaborators. In the floating category, we identified an approximate number of ninety-seven employees, among them: Afrânio Peixoto, Isaias Alves, Alba Canizares, Leoni Kaseff, Heitor Villa Lobos, Renato Kehl, J. Moreira de Souza, Sebastião Mascarenhas, Orminda Isabel Marques, Lourenço Son, Gustavo Capanema, Francisco Venâncio Filho, Dulce Botelho. Some of these intellectuals, from the fourth edition of the magazine, in 1936, became part of the permanent staff, such as Afrânio Peixoto (Brazilian Education Association and University of the Federal District), Isaias Alves (National Education Council), Leoni Kaseff (Technical assistant at the University of Brazil), Maria dos Reis Campos (School of Education at the University of the Federal District), Teixeira de Freitas (Director of statistics at the Ministry of Education) and Helena Antipoff (School of improvement in Belo Horizonte), among other names.

Of these effective collaborators, the following excelled in writing about the National Education Plan: Isaias Alves, Leoni Kaseff and MA Teixeira de Freitas; and the floating ones, Gustavo Capanema, Reynaldo Porchat and Padre Arlindo Vieira. As for the institutions that positioned themselves on the National Education Plan, the Brazilian Education Association (ABE) was the highlight, with three articles and the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute (IHGB), with one, of twenty articles in a total. It seems plausible to affirm that the circulation of these articles, in the context of discussions around the Plan's preliminary draft, constituted itself as a strategic action (CERTEAU, 2011) mobilized by the magazine's intellectual collaborators, in order to debate ideas and make the concepts that defended and, thus, guide the themes that should compose the National Education Plan.

Staff of permanent and floating employees who wrote about the National Education Plan

Name	Institution	Title of articles	Year/edition
Brazilian Education Association	Brazilian Education Association (ABE)	The National Education Plan; Education accessible to the needy - statement from ABE; The new director of the national education department.	1936/3 1937/7 1937/12
No authorship	No identification	A National Plan in 1826; A National Plan in 1826 (continued); A National Plan in 1826 (continued).	1936/3 1936/4 1936/5
Basílio Magalhães	Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute	National Education Plan.	1937/8
Gustavo Capanema	Minister of Education	National Education Council	1937/9

Editorial	Childhood and Youth	Teaching in the countryside; For the Ministry of Education; National Education Council; National Education Plan.	1936/3 1936/3 1937/11 1937/12
Isaias Alves	National Education Council	Professional Education and the National Education Plan; Adult Education in the National Education Plan.	1936/4 1936/5
Leoni Kaseff	Technical assistant at the University of Brazil	National Education Plan - its opportunities and primary objectives; Amendment education in the National Education Plan - suggestions for a preliminary project.	1936/6 1937/12
Reynaldo Porchat	National Education Council	National Education Council.	1937/11
Fr. Arlindo Vieira	Catholic church	The reform of secondary education.	1937/12
Teixeira de Freitas	Statistics director of the Ministry of Education	The role of Minister Capanema and the new phase of the National Department of Education; About the National Education Plan.	1937/11 1937/12
Total			20

Source: Prepared based on the analysis of the magazines published between 1936 and 1937.

In the numbers in which examined we identified several themes, such as rural education, school practices, school institutions, art, hygiene, teaching methodologies, primary education, secondary education, the National Education Council (CNE), adult education, children's literature, domestic and professional education, school tests, eugenics, civics and pedagogical resources. Until magazine number twelve, published in May 1937, in occasion of its first anniversary, topics related to the National Education Plan, the National Education Council, primary education methodologies in rural areas, rural endemic diseases, children's literature, resources for natural sciences and mathematics, among others. As of the thirteenth magazine, an approach focused on childhood, literacy, reading with an emphasis on the first year of primary education, children's literature, the fundamentals of secondary education and school hygiene been perceived. After the first year of activity, were not found articles referring to the National Plan. In our understanding, this is partly associated with the fact that the Plan's proposal was in February 1937, presented by the CNE and is already being processed by the governmental bodies responsible for its voting. The perspective around the discussion about the role and the purpose that the Plan should take - guideline or code - in the configuration of national education lost strength and significance in face of the imposition of the Estado Novo as of December 1937.

Analyzing the importance of printed matter in writing of the History of, and through the periodicals, Luca (2014, p. 133-134) emphasizes that these had the social function of interposing themselves in the discussions and provoking interventions in the social, an aspect that marked the monthly posts that aimed to constitute themselves as opinion makers. In this way, the doctrinal and intervention character characterized "the Brazilian press for much of the 19th century". In accordance with this understanding, we consider that this profile of social intervention has spread to the 20th century, taking shape, with the creation of the Revista Infância e Juventude. Thus, the author is referring to a press of a commercial character and circulation for a wider audience we consider that her analysis cooperates in the analysis of Revista Infância e Juventude and in what we identified as being a mark of her commitment to the cause of education. In this sense, the belonging of the collaborating intellectuals, as well as the editorial profile of the magazine, seem to us to be relevant indications as to the doctrinal and intervention character assumed by the printed matter.

In this way, magazine Infância e Juventude sought to disseminate information and debate ideas through its sections, such as: Politics, Culture, School practice, School institutions, Art, Instructing and disseminating, Various, Hygiene, Ruralism, Bibliography, Legislation, Registration, School practices, Plans and methods, among others. Exemplary was the section Legislation in which its editors demonstrated the progress of laws and projects, such as the Veto on the Bill that dispensed secondary school students from the supplementary course, published in the August 1936 magazine; Circular number 200 of June 1, 1932 from the Ministry of Education and Public Health - National Department of Education, June 1937; Law No. 452 of July 1937, which organized the University of Brazil, among others. Throughout the eighteen issues that the magazine published, it did not maintain fixed sections. When analyzing the numbers, we identified an editorial profile that could be classify into four stages. In the first, from number one to three, the magazine presented sections on: Politics, Culture, School practice, School institutions, Art, Instructing and disseminating, Various, Hygiene, Ruralism, Registration, Bibliography and Legislation; the second, from the number four to ten, identify the sections: Registration and Bibliography; in the third, starting with number eleven and twelve, in which some editions started to have the sections: Instructing and disseminating, Registration or Bibliography and, in some cases, with both; in the fourth moment, located in the thirteenth magazine we noticed the absence of these sections and the inclusion of the sections chronic, Plans and methods, General Affairs, Legislation and Registration, maintaining this editorial profile until the last issue.

Thus announcing and debating issues, the magazine constituted itself as a privileged space for the dissemination of ideas around education at the national level, with emphasis on articles that alluded to the need and the character that the National Plan for education should assume. This perspective was been defended based on the participation of Leoni Kaseff, Teixeira de Freitas, Basílio Magalhães and Isaias Alves, Reynaldo Porchat, as well as Education Minister Gustavo Capanema and Father Arlindo Vieira⁸ [6].

Debates around the National Plan and its elaboration: disputed ideas

From Decree 19.850, of April 11, 1931, was been conceived the National Council of Education (CNE) as an advisory body to the Ministry of Education and Public Health regarding matters related to education. Among the duties of the CNE, it was envisaged "to establish the general guidelines for primary, secondary, technical and higher education, attending, above all, the interests of the country's civilization and culture" (DIÁRIO OFFICIAL, 4/6 / 1931, p. 9210).

⁸ As for the positions taken by Catholic intellectuals, see Skalinski Junior and Ruckstadter (2016).

For this, it was established that commissions were created to prepare and draft a national plan to be submitted to the Government of the Republic and the states (CURY, 2011). In the debates held at the National Education Council, this year, the prerogative proposed by counselor João Simplício Carvalho (CURY, 2015, p. 403) was moving in the direction that the Plan should:

> [...] satisfy the requirements of the current Brazilian situation, taking into account the social conditions of the world, and will ensure, through its structure and application, the strengthening of Brazilian unity, the racial reinvigoration of its people and the awakening of indispensable values its economic growth; and, after being studied and approved by the National Education Council, it will be submitted for examination by the Government of the Republic and for consideration by the Governments of the States.

> And it will establish, capturing all aspects of the educational problem [...] (CARVALHO apud CURY, 2015, p. 404).

Thus, the 1934 Constitution took over the 1931 Decree establishing in its article 150, the requirement of the National Education Council to elaborate a national plan for the "teaching of all grades and branches, common and specialized", coordinating and supervising the "its execution, throughout the country "(article 150 apud CURY, 2015, p. 397). For this, the National Education Plan would be the responsibility of the Union and the responsibility of the National Education Council. The first was to fix, coordinate and supervise its execution and, the second, to promote its elaboration. Thus, from Law 174 of 1936, the National Education Council was installed and, with it, Ordinance number 15/37 that created a commission in charge of preparing, in ninety days, the National Education Plan (CURY, 2015, p. 409). The commission consisted of the advisers: Samuel Libânio, Aníbal Freire and Reinaldo Porchat, responsible for presiding over the CNE (2015, p. 405).

In the speech of installation of the National Council of Education, given by Minister Gustavo Capanema, on February 16, 1936, there is, on the one hand, a tone of criticism of the "fragmentary" and "incomplete" character of the laws in force in the country. On the other hand, a perspective of education and the teacher as fundamental pillars for the upliftment of the country, since it was up to him, in his understanding:

> [...] to form, in youth, alive and persistent habits of honesty, giving a solid temper, to protect you from indolence, addiction, clumsiness, from the small and large miseries of each day, and that impose on your heart the inevitable course of good. With moral education, it is necessary to create, for the country, generations full of balance. The homeland needs men like that, firm and courageous, but disciplined and serene, men accustomed to order, apt for freedom, and worthy of fortune. Another topic of essential importance is the figure of the teacher. The teacher was always a privileged being. It is him, above all, that good or bad education depends. The greatest good or the greatest evil may come from men and nations, because it is in their hands that the grave office of affection and preparing the spirit of youth is placed in their hands. It can be said, strictly, that a nation will be what its teachers make of it. The natural qualities that should be demanded of it, the special preparation that should be given to it, the rights and duties and even the honors that should be attributed to it, will all be a matter dedicated to your study (CAPANEMA apud CURY, 2015, 408).

As a proposal that the plan should be constituted as a "cohesive body of legal provisions" designed to overcome the fragmentary and partial nature of the laws that were in force at all levels of education in the country (CAPANEMA, apud CURY, 2015, p. 4). Thus, in accordance with the forwarding proposed by the minister, the National Education Council through its president Reinaldo Porchat affirmed the Union's supervisory role, reaffirming the Council's jurisdiction in the preparation of the National Plan. Thus, the considerations expressed by him aimed to revive the prerogatives granted by the Constitution when proposing the creation and competence of the body. (PORCHAT apud CURY, 2015, p. 409).

In order to collaborate for your organization, conceived in a participatory way, it was proposed by Minister Gustavo Capanema, to conduct a survey on national education, starting in January 1936. The survey was published by the National Press in booklet format, entitled Questionnaire for a survey (SCHWARTZMAN; BOMENY; COSTA, 1984). Arguing around the objectives that mobilized their production, the authors stated that the proposal to carry out the consultation represented a "prudent" attitude, due to the disagreements that involved educational issues in that context. For the authors, "educational action was seen as a resource of power and, therefore, fiercely disputed; the disagreement on educational issues seemed to express insurmountable ethical and philosophical disagreements" (1984, p. 176).

The idea of the participation of "all" through consultation, was a strategy that aimed, not only to appease dissent, but also to map the national issues signaled by the institutions considered representative of Brazilian society. In this way, the questionnaire functioned as a consultative tool aimed at the "cultured opinion of Brazil", to the participants of educational institutions and associations of educational and intellectual prestige in order to contribute to the elaboration of a national plan for the country's education. Making efforts in this direction, the questionnaire was divided into twelve titles and two hundred and thirteen questions in which it addressed a variety of topics that involved from the organization of education (primary, secondary and higher, amendments⁹ and supplementary), religious education and educational cinema. Asking, including: "How can the national education plan be defined?" and "What should your understanding be?" (INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, n. 3, 1936, p. 162), among other questions that aimed to capture the aspirations and demands of different sectors of society. According to Cury (2015)

> It was up to Lourenço Filho to propose the preparation of the PNE and the order of business. Thus, on March 31, everything should be ready to send to the Writing Committee. This would have ten days to draft the draft, distribute it to the councilors whose amendments would be taken to the competent committees (2015, p.414-415).

In a CNE session of February 17, 1937, the questionnaire was referred to by the minister in order to be a collaborative instrument in the elaboration of the Plan. Thus, between May 15 and 17 of this year, discussions were intensified by the National Education Council, and the preliminary draft of the plan was approved and signed with the inclusion of the corrections established by the Commission in charge of its drafting. After the draft was handed over to the minister, the next step would be to send it to President Getúlio Vargas and the Chamber of Deputies. Thus, on August 23, 1937, the first meeting of the Constitution and Justice Commission was held under the chairmanship of Lourenço Baeta Neves (CURY, 2015). After the discussion in the Chamber of Deputies, according to Cury, the discordant

⁹Amendment education would be education for children considered abnormal in their physique, intelligence and character.

views regarding the division of competences were sharpened, as well as other points of the preliminary draft that for its opponents hurt the Brazilian Constitution. It is important to consider that, although the subject was been debated, in the course of 1937, the closing of the congress on November 10, 1937, after the coup that established the Estado Novo, definitively buried the expectation of sectors of constituting a National Plan that would be organized as guidelines for national education.

It is important to consider that the debates between 1936 and 1937, in the National Education Council, had repercussions in the press and vice versa. Exemplary in this direction were the articles published in Revista Infância e Juventude. As of issue number 3, August 1936, the magazine published articles on rural education, school models for the states and the Federal District, the issue surrounding the education of abnormal children, rural endemics, the suppression of higher education and universities, with emphasis on the discussions around the National Plan as an element of civilization and modernization of the country. In the editorial, entitled *Teaching* in the rural area, editors J. Moreira de Sousa (technical director), Stella Aboim (secretary) and Renato Americano (responsible director and owner editor), announced the importance of the movement of the Ministry of Education and Public Health which collected data through the questionnaire sent to the various corporations with the objective of thinking about the preliminary project that would be presented to the Legislative Power. They enthusiastically asserted that there were "serious reasons to believe that this year we will have the 'National Education Plan', the organic law of national education, which will outline the guidelines, through which the work of education and culture of all over the country" (REVISTA INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, n. 3, 1936, p. 162).

The perspective signalized in the opening editorial of the magazine was in accordance with the understanding defended by the Brazilian Education Association (ABE) about the nature of the Plan, noted in the article published in the section Policy, entitled "The National Education Plan" As the Brazilian Association pronounced itself Education, which alludes to the questions: "How can the National Education Plan be defined? and "What should be its understanding?" presented the considerations formulated by the ABE commission, made up of Adalberto Menezes de Oliveira, Francisco Venâncio Filho, Gustavo Lessa (copywriter), La-Fayette Cortes and Octavio Martins, so in response to the questionnaire, the Brazilian Education Association (ABE) commission chose to respond in a global and integrated way, showing the existence of two antagonistic points of view in relation to the Plan. The first brought the understanding that the plan should assume a character of national code of teaching, and the second, which asserted that the plan should work by providing instructions or indications regarding national education, as guidelines for teaching (INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, n. 3, 1936, p. 162). As for the referral that took shape and body in the Chamber, the editorial reaffirmed the understanding that:

> [...] it can now be said that a Teaching Code for the whole of Brazil will be frankly unconstitutional, in addition to being profoundly harmful, as shown, among other reasons, by the clamor raised against the rigid series and the detailed programs imposed on throughout the country by the different educational reforms elaborated during the republican period (INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, n. 3, 1936, p. 162).

The reasoning around the principles defined by the Constitutional Charter of 1934 was exhorted in the sense that it was conferred on the Union, only "the power to draw the guidelines of national education". In this way, "the National Education Plan could not contain more than guidelines", because as a teaching code it would be "unconstitutional", as it presents, among other aspects, rigid series and a single program to be imposed on the whole country. Therefore,

it was up to the States and the Federal District "the power to organize and maintain educational systems" respecting the guidelines established in the Constitution (INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, n. 3, 1936, p. 162). The flagged prerogative considered the basic points of the questionnaire and, based on them, established a set of guidelines should be incorporated into the Plan to be written by the National Education Council.

It noted that the commission instituted by the Brazilian Education Association has developed a set of guidelines to be hand over to the National Education Council to integrate the Plan's project. Among the articles proposed, it stated in its first article that: "In the organization of their educational systems, States and the Federal District will enjoy full autonomy, subject to the constitutional principles and guidelines outlined in this law" (year, n° 3 p. 164). The proposed guidelines forwarded proposals aimed at ensuring, based on the Constitutional Charter: autonomy to States and the Federal District; free primary education with mandatory attendance and that would be up to state legislations to define school duration. Thus, the National Education Plan would need to assume a "dynamic" character in which a "program of federal action and subsidies to the States for the development of their educational systems" was drawn up, based on the inspection of the Union (INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, n 3, 1936, p. 162-163).

Although the magazine did not fully publish the survey questionnaire, it highlighted the reflections prepared by educators Isaias Alves, Leoni Kaseff, J. Moreira de Souza, Gustavo Capanema, Teixeira de Freitas, Father Arlindo Vieira, Reynaldo Porchat, of the Brazilian Education Association, from the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute and its own opinion exposed through its editorials. Also in the August 1936 edition, the magazine published the bill that the Chamber of Deputies presented to the Empire's Public Instruction Commission in 1826. The project was been published in its entirety, divided into three issues of the magazine: in the third, in fourth and fifth editions of 1936. As for the purpose of the publication, they stated that it was to "open up the discussion", where:

> Concerned about contributing, in the best possible way, for Brazil to be given a National Education Plan, in terms of its culture and its economic and social needs, INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE will make as much effort as possible, as long as it is clear, duly, with positive data and guidance, serene and impartial, those who will have the great task on their shoulders (INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, n.3, p. 172).

In the section Policy, Professor Isaias Alves, a member of the National Council of Education, defended the urgency of instituting the cultural formation of the people, and it was necessary, for that, to create schools in the country. Analyzing the number of children in and out of school, he stated that it is urgent that the National Plan should present goals so that school education could reach all. For Isaias Alves, investment in adult education should go beyond universities, by creating ways of continuing studies for adults at all levels of knowledge. In this sense, Alves (1936) argued that training appropriate to the imperatives of the industry was necessary, and for this purpose, a professional qualification was undertaken to promote the integration of young and adult workers to new forms of production, especially in countries, such as Brazil, that produced expressive unemployment rates. His arguments valued both the worker and the superior student. Alves believed that education could not end with the end of a course, he should accompany the student during professionalization and afterwards, offering him means of permanence and updating in the chosen profession. For him, man's moral and intellectual training was the way to guarantee democracy. Thus it would be up to the authorities to grant natives and immigrants professional and continuous education,

as well as means for the nationalization of Brazilians and foreigners, as a way of belonging and improving civilization.

> The National Education Plan, taking care of teaching in rural areas, of the literacy of the masses, of the discipline of secondary school, will not lay a firm foundation for national culture, without solidly organizing university studies, in which mature minds complete their scientific education and literary and in which the talented young people learn to feel the secrets of Camões and Newton, Schiller and Miguel Ângelo, Pascal, Einstein, Virgílio, Aristóteles, São Tomás (ALVES, n. 5 1936, p. 304).

In order to collaborate with the discussions, Professor Leoni Kaseff, a member of the Brazilian Education Association, Academy of Science of Education, technical assistant at the University of Rio de Janeiro, published in the sixth issue of Revista Infância e Juventude (1936), the its first article entitled National Education Plan - its opportunities and primary objectives. In him he argued about the purpose of the Plan as an element capable of contributing to the "educational reconstruction" and, therefore, of the country. Marking his place of speech in the debate he stated that:

> In the projected educational reconstruction of the country, none of the efficient means of reform should be overlooked. But it is necessary not to forget that the mobilization of the renewal factors would be incomprehensible and ineffective without the previous and exact definition of the proposals reached. It is not enough to elaborate a theoretically perfect plan, which, due to its artificiality, does not fit into the whole of the nation's life and real interests. A plan presupposes the proposition of clear ends to achieve, for which it represents a system of means and which, in turn, presupposes the precise knowledge of the needs to be atended. The National Education Plan must, therefore, strictly adjust to the picture of Brazilian realities and not constitute a separate piece, without objective articulation with our problems, a simple decorative panel of our civilization (KASEFF, 1936, n. 6, p. 366).

He argued that only from the identification of national demands and problems could we develop a conscious and effective plan. For this, he proposed the need to build a civic, professional and sanitary conscience, proposing, for this, the installation of a guideline according to the regional diversity of the Brazilian people. He considered it necessary to think of a plan capable of organizing the means projected in the educational evolution, as a way to provide education to society based on intellectual and professional training. For this purpose, the Plan should be built on Brazilian soil and for Brazilians, in such a way that one does not choose to make a copy that is inappropriate for the country. Regarding what he characterized as "the real" objectives and purposes of the plan, Kaseff maintained that "peoples go through two distinctly distinct phases in the evolution of their modern educational interests: that of propaganda and controversy, and that of planning" (1936, 6, pp. 365-366). In this sense, he endorsed that:

The first of these phases - whose essential characteristic is the apostolic enthusiasm for the diffusion of new ideas, which is not always tempered by a clear realistic sense - can be considered to have passed, in our country's pedagogical news. Thereof it does not follow that all movements aimed at simply propagating the advantages of instruction should be condemned, or recommending new directions that can be printed on it. It can only be concluded that the opportunity for achievements has arrived, that it is time, now, to act constructively, to lay the foundations of the Brazilian school and to build, on these solid foundations, not on the quicksand of alien concepts, the authentic national education building (KASEFF, 1936, n.6, p. 365).

In this regard, he identified being imperative: "the formation of a health conscience, a civic conscience, and a professional conscience in promoting the education of the new Brazilian generations". For him it was the objective of education to sow an individual and collective health conscience, at school and at home. Concerns about health awareness grew in educational speeches and debates. It was essential to take care of future generations, building a solid foundation for education. Fostering health education through the school was the way to prevent possible epidemics that were plaguing the country, where: "Health education represents one of the most serious problems, whose solution would not be logical, nor patriotic, to neglect in the national education plan". Another problem that took center stage in his writings was professional education. When arguing about the country's economy, Kaseff (1936) highlighted the situation of the population's misery, especially the rural ones. For him, the lack of conditions to pay for basic care and healthy survival of the body, of food, interfered in the individual and collective life of the citizen. He argued that poverty could not be solved only with hygiene care, it was necessary to promote investments in the moral and intellectual training of workers. Another aspect that he highlighted was moral education. On the subject, the educator considered the teaching of cultural traditions and heritage to be essential, in order to sow a "conscience of national unity" as a development of morals (1936, n. 6, p. 367).

Thus, we consider that the themes taken up by Kaseff (1936) were in accordance with the formulations mobilized by the reforming intellectuals involved directly with the elaboration of Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education of 1932 [Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova de 1932] as, for example, the criticisms formulated against artificialism, the inadequacy and the superficiality of projects within the scope of national education, as well as the centrality attributed to education as a driving force behind the country's progress. Thus, the preparation of the National Education Plan represented the possibility of undertaking guidelines that could express the desires of this intellectual sector. The agenda highlighted by him indicates, in our understanding, its affiliation with the ideas advocated by the Brazilian Education Association (ABE). In this sense, Carvalho asserts that:

> It makes understandable the relevance of the theme related to the formative function of the secondary school, conceived as an agency for the constitution, homogenization and dissemination of a medium culture. It explains the strategic position of the issue of the training of primary school teachers, thought of as 'organizers of the popular soul'. And, finally, it clarifies the conception of university teaching by Vicente Licínio Cardoso's group, based on the Higher Education Section of the Rio de Janeiro department of ABE, which proposed the University as a 'mental plant' in which 'life programs' should be formulated for the nation. In conjunction with these proposals, it makes

it possible to understand the permanence of a rigid demarcation between two universes: the one related to the so-called 'elite education' and the addressee to the 'education of the people', ensuring strategic priority to the first (1997, p. 126 - emphasis by the author).

For Bomeny (2003, p. 31) in construction of close relations with the country's political powers, ABE would have undertaken a "deviation" from the ideals defended by its founders who, in agreement with the country's ideals of transformation, created, in October 1924, the institution in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The idea of its creation took shape from a meeting promoted by professor Heitor Lyra da Silva and by intellectuals concerned with the reorganization of national education, among them: Everardo Backheuser, Edgar Sussekind and Francisco Venâncio Filho. On the occasion, they discussed the possibility of conceiving a Federation of Teaching Associations of an apolitical character. Without effective conditions to take on this undertaking, months later they created the Brazilian Education Association (ABE) at the Polytechnic School of Rio de Janeiro. Conceived as an "instance of articulation", promotion and propaganda of the educational renewal movement between the 1920s and 1930s, ABE aimed to produce surveys, magazines, debates, courses and congresses aimed at influencing the production of educational policies at the national level (CARVALHO, 1997, p. 115).

The publication of the Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education, in 1932, in turn, highlighted the rupture existing within the ABE between two conflicting concepts. On the one hand, for the presence of those who defended the apolitical ideal and, on the other hand, of those who, on the other hand, corroborated the conviction about the role to be played by the association in promoting actions aimed at the development of educational policy. In this regard, the institution functioned as an environment conducive to the promotion of a national campaign. Carvalho (1986) points out that for the educator Nóbrega da Cunha the approach happened in the opposite way, because, when launching the Manifesto, the group of intellectuals of the Brazilian Education Association (ABE) consolidated an aversion to the party relationship with the provisional government, a fact this which caused discomfort among members of ABE who defended the apolitical ideal proposed by Heitor Lyra. This association constituted itself as a field of debates and disputes for the development of national education, promoting national conferences.

In turn, in response to the request of the Ministry of Education, the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute (IHGB) summarized some considerations regarding the Plan, reported by Basílio Magalhães in the eighth edition of the magazine. Thus, for each question, summaries of the IHGB's proposals were presented. Among them: a) Definition, understanding, and duration of the National Education Plan; b) Principles that should guide education in Brazil; h) Certificates, diplomas and academic titles; i) Names of educational institutes (MAGALHÃES, 1937, n. 8).

To answer the first question that dealt with the definition of the National Education Plan, the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute committee argued according to Montpellier's studies that, "the National Education Plan, which can only be defined as a 'set of technically organized measures with the effect of achieving the integral culturalization of the Brazilian people', must include both school activities and out-of-school activities of educational influence ". They defended education as the responsibility of the family and the State as education, and should be training" integral part of the Brazilian people" (MAGALHÃES, 1937, n.8, p. 511), involving knowledge about health, but also studies of elements that could increase the people's mental level. As a model for States and municipalities, it would fit the Union to organize primary, secondary, superior and supplementary institutes. On item (b) which referred to the principles of the Plan, argued that:

From the questionnaire itself, it is possible to infer not only what the current government wants the National Education Plan to fall within the norms of 'unionism', recently made official in Brazil, but also that it meets the rules of 'tailarismo' and 'faiolismo', if not to the technical injunctions of today 'rationalization'(MAGALHÃES, 1937, n. 8, p. 512).

In its conception, both rationalization and unionism were essential for the construction of a plan that was in line with the current times. In other words, it was necessary to prioritize economic, cultural and social changes to create a plan that could instruct the population. For this, Magalhães (1937) emphasized the valorization of intelligence, understood as a fundamental part of human nature that, to be developed, did not need technical education and culture. Defending order, the family's moral discipline to form the true "Brazilian soul" (1937, n. 8, p. 513). When it comes to religious education, he said it was a delicate subject, because "the family should never leave it, the State should never intervene, mainly because it is a country that has no official religion" (MAGALHÃES, 1937, n. 8, p. 513). In respect for the 1934 Constitution, the rapporteur argued that classes should be taught by an educator of any religion and that they should be optional. Although the journal has made available only a few excerpts from the responses formulated by the Institute, we believe that these were of great relevance to the formulation of the PNE proposal.

After Magalhães' notes, the magazine published, in its number nine, the speech of the Minister of Education Gustavo Capanema. The lecture given at the installation session of the National Education Council marked the beginning of activities to prepare the draft National Education Plan. On the occasion, the minister pledged to cooperate with the National Education Council for its construction.

> For you, your eyes will now be turned to those who, with lucid conscience and sincere love, are working for Brazil, in the multiplication of their goods, in the strengthening of their weapons, in the improvement of their culture or in the elevation of their virtues, in whatever domain of their activities, as they will all be sure that this work, however gathered, will not produce the sum of the expected fruits, if education is little and of weak influence, but you will give miraculous results, transforming our plans and efforts in real, useful and beautiful things, once that same education needs the meaning, animate the momentum and mobilize the numerous and adequate instruments (CAPANEMA, 1937, n.9, p. 547-548).

Minister Gustavo Capanema affirmed the difficult mission that the National Education Council had been undertaking to carry out, for the first time, "a joint law on education" (CAPANEMA, 1937, n. 9, p. 548). In this way, the Plan had the objective of organizing the existing laws, improving them and creating others to unify them in a single document that could involve from primary to higher education. For Capanema (1937), the question of the National Education Plan was that of intellectual education. Praising for this the higher education and the urgency in its expansion, especially regarding the teaching of Philosophy, Letters and Arts; in secondary education, greater appreciation of the sciences and the teaching of the "old, tall and egregious humanities (1937, n. 9, p. 549); professional education in the modalities: industrial, agricultural, domestic and structural development for each area, creating a course related to improving work and workers. As for primary education:

[...] it is necessary to encourage intensively throughout the country, since about 60% of our school-age child population does not have a school, although different types of courses can be standardized, even with a minimum of characteristics, be adequately and with facilities adopted in the various points of the national territory, in urban and rural areas, in order that, by making rapid dissemination of primary education, it is easier to form a common fund in the enormous and rich Brazilian psyche variety (CAPANEMA, 1937, n. 9, p. 550).

In his assessment, Minister Gustavo Capanema highlighted the situation of childhood and youth - expressed in the percentage indicated - that he did not have a school, emphasizing the urgency of proceeding with the creation of different initiatives in order to remedy the deficit in schooling and education of the country, emphasizing for this, the important role of the teacher.

In the May 1937 issue, the magazine published the article by Teixeira de Freitas, president of the Brazilian Education Association, in 1937, and director of statistics at the Ministry of Education. His name appears as an effective collaborator since the first numbers in 1936, but only in the eleventh edition (1937), he published an article as a representative of ABE, on the occasion of the inauguration of Professor Lourenço Filho in the direction of the Department of Education. In his speech, Freitas praises the work carried out by the minister demonstrating what he considered to be "the great efforts" to put the National Education Plan into effect, the creation of funding for education and the new phase of the National Department of Education with the appointment of Lourenço Filho for the position of director of the portfolio (INFÂNCIA E JUVENTUDE, 1937, n. 11).

In his argument, Teixeira de Freitas lists seven cardinal points around education in the country, namely: the professional reputation of the primary teaching profession to be considered, through a remuneration system that considered service time, merit and other aspects; the nationalization and gratuity of didactic material for elementary education; the organization, publication and free distribution of Biblioteca Brasileira de Educação Popular; the free and popular distribution of *Revista Nacional de Educação*, the establishment of school colonies and school villages as an instrument of rural education and the promotion of interadministrative agreements (FREITAS, 1937, n. 12, p. 822).

The considerations of Teixeira de Freitas, Leoni Kaseff, Isaias Alves, as well as those sent by the Brazilian Education Association and the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute presented common elements regarding the formulation of proposals regarding the elaboration of the National Education Plan. They conceived the Plan based on the projection of goals that organized in accordance with the Brazilian reality. In this sense, the magazine constituted itself as an important vehicle in the composition of the strategic networks mobilized by the Minister of Education, Gustavo Capanema, in order to fight against dissent over education. The creation of the magazine two months after the presentation of the survey questionnaire in 1936, and its extinction months after the presentation of the National Education Plan by the National Education Council, are evidences that should not neglected.

Final considerations

Throughout its editions, Revista Infância e Juventude magazine proposed and circulated debates around national education and cardinal themes. It is important to consider that the constitutional obligation to undertake the elaboration of a National Education Plan was part of the flags held by the educators identified with the Escola Nova [New School movement]. The published articles cooperate to think about the journal's role in disseminating

the ideals of educators and State representatives in the formulation of purposeful and influential actions in society and politics. Taking a stand on national issues, shedding light on a set of issues, these intellectuals - fluctuating and effective collaborators - regardless of the existing dissensions, in some cases, shared an ideal: to modernize and civilize the country through education.

In the different answers to the survey questionnaire sent by the Ministry of Education and Public Health, published by the magazine, it was possible to map themes related to free and compulsory primary education, the reform of secondary education, vocational education, rural education, secondary education and higher education, teacher training, youth and adult education, the development of universities, the autonomy of states and the Federal District regarding the organization of their educational systems, among others. The emphasis given to these issues demonstrates the emergence that certain issues assumed in view of the perspective that proposed to promote the reconstruction of the country, via the reconstruction of education. The belief that drove this endeavor was been based on a nationalist matrix, in the effort to achieve an integrated education between primary, secondary and professional, as part of a set of goals and guidelines to be followed throughout the country, being the production of National Education Plan conceived as a fundamental strategic movement.

The analysis of the magazine's editions allowed us to capture the intentions that, in our understanding, motivated the creation of the magazine and, later, its extinction. It seems plausible to consider, among these aspects, the purpose of promoting the survey questionnaire sent by Minister Gustavo Capanema. Associated with this, the interest to contribute more widely in the transmission of ideas and in the formulation of educational projects at the national level.

In this sense, this article invested in understanding the Revista Infância e Juventude, as an arena of dispute, debate and circulation of proposals, projects and educational actions and movement of intellectuals. We sought to capture dissent and consensus evidenced, in some cases, in the analysis of the selected articles and in the composition of the discursive axes that formed the different editions of the magazine. With this intent, we aim to analyze the composition of its editorial board, its collaborators and the possible relations established with the political context of the time. We perceived the defense of the magazine's editorial staff and its collaborators, in the sense that a set of goals for education capable of morally and intellectually forming Brazilian childhood and youth.

In the composition of these actions, we consider that the journal sought to set an agenda of issues foreseen in the formulation of the National Education Plan that was debated in the sessions of the National Education Council. Although the Plan remained unpublished in the Chamber of Deputies for several years, contrary to the expectation expressed by Gustavo Capanema in his speech at the signing session of the Plan's draft at the National Council of Education, in May 1937, to build efforts that would allow the historicization of these debates and clashes seems relevant to us as they reveal the lines of force or negotiations that made them up, allowing us to shift the focus to different disputes. In this sense, we consider that strategic actions and power games were not located in one place, but mobilized and occupied the scene based on the performance of different social actors that are often overlooked by history.

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