

# The MEC teaching materials production: from the Teaching Material National Campaign to the School Material National Foundation<sup>1</sup>

*A produção de materiais didáticos pelo MEC: da Campanha Nacional de Material de Ensino à Fundação Nacional de Material Escolar*

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## RESUMO

O artigo analisa a constituição e principais realizações da Campanha Nacional de Material de Ensino (CNME) e da Fundação Nacional de Material Escolar (Fename). A CNME foi criada em 1956 pelo Ministério da Educação com a função de produzir materiais escolares e obras de consulta para os estudantes brasileiros. Em 1967, a CNME transformou-se na Fename, que ampliou a publicação das obras didáticas, além da produção e distribuição de materiais de consumo, lápis, canetas etc. A produção desses manuais didáticos revelou a atuação do Ministério da Educação em uma área dominada pelo mercado privado, sobretudo pela indústria editorial de didáticos. O estudo revelou ainda que os dois órgãos produziram suas obras em parceria com professores de instituições tradicionais de ensino secundário e superior do Rio de Janeiro.

Palavras-chave: livro didático; Fename; CNME.

## ABSTRACT

The article analyzes the establishment and main achievements of the Campanha Nacional de Material de Ensino – CNME (Teaching Material National Campaign) and the Fundação Nacional de Material Escolar – Fename (School Material National Foundation). The CNME was established in 1956 by the Ministry of Education with the task of producing learning materials and reference works for Brazilian students. In 1967, the CNME became the Fename that expanded the publication of textbooks, consumption materials, pencil, pen, etc. The production of these textbooks revealed the performance of the Ministry of Education in an area dominated by the private market, especially for the didactic publishing industry. The study also revealed that the two agencies produced their works in partnership with teachers from traditional institutions of secondary and higher education in Rio de Janeiro.

Keywords: textbook; Fename; CNME.

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Brazil has a tradition of textbooks being produced by private publishers. During the twentieth century agencies were created by the states and the federal government with the aim of regulating and evaluating these materials. Between 1956 and 1983 the Ministry of Education had two institutions charged with the production of school material and textbooks. On 12 January 1956, the National Campaign for Teaching Material (*Campanha Nacional de Material de Ensino* – CNME) was created by Decree 38.556. In 1967, during the military dictatorship, the Campaign was transformed into the National Foundation for School Material (*Fundação Nacional de Material Escolar* – Fename) by Law 5327. Both CNME and Fename had the aim of producing teaching material – copybooks, drawing pads, etc. – and publishing textbooks, atlases, encyclopedias, amongst others, to meet the needs of disadvantaged students.

In the search for a bibliography about the two institutions, few studies were found which focused on the production of teaching materials by the Ministry of Education. The National Campaign for Teaching Material and Fename are only cited in works which dealt with textbook policy in Brazil.<sup>2</sup> No research had effectively analyzed the two institutions and the activities they carried out. Amongst the reasons for the lack of research about the agencies is the difficulty of locating documentation, as highlighted by Munakata (2006, p.3) in research about the history of textbook policy during the military dictatorship.

This article, the partial result of post-doctoral research which analyzed the didactic production of the two agencies, aims to recreate recreating the history and the field of action of CNME and Fename. A wide-ranging examination of the sources was carried out in order to understand the actions of these institutions. Since the two agencies were connected to the Ministry of Education (MEC), the archives holding the official documentation were sought. This led to the location of official letters, projects, reports of activities and partnership agreements in the National Archive in Brasília, in the General and Historical Archive of Inep, in the Central Archive and in the MEC Microfilm Service. In addition to these archives, the collection of *Companhia Editora Nacional* was consulted in the Unifesp Memorial Center, which possesses documentation exchanged between the National Union of Booksellers and Publishers (*Sindicato Nacional de Editores e Livreiros* – Snel), the

Brazilian Book Council (*Câmara Brasileira do Livro* – CBL), publishers, MEC and Fename. The legislation which created and regulated CNME and Fename was found in the *LEX* journal and in the CFE journal, *Documenta*. Also used were reports and news in official MEC publications – *Revista MEC*<sup>3</sup> and *Educação*. The two publications were produced with the aim of dealing with questions about education and culture, as well as publicizing the actions of MEC. To understand how CNME and Fename were disseminated in the mainstream media, articles and reports from the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* (OESP) were used. Finally, some of the books produced by the two agencies were analyzed.

In the analysis of the documentation its specificities was taken into account. The CNME and Fename documents were produced for internal circulation within the Ministry. The *Revista MEC* and *Educação* publications were official means of communication on the part of the Ministry of Education which produced discourses about the government's actions and constructed positive images of CNME and Fename, as well as advertising the publications of the two agencies. The reports in *O Estado de S. Paulo* allow the visualization of another perspective of publicizing the action's of MEC, exposing conflicts and controversies, more difficult to perceive in the government documentation.

To analyze the constitution and the principal achievements of the National Campaign for Teaching Material and the National Foundation for School Material, the discussions of Choppin were used as a reference, which emphasized the importance of analyzes which dealt with education policies for the school manuals.<sup>4</sup> Also taken into account was the expansion of the perception of teaching materials presented by Batista, to include a variety of supports for the textbook – books with course notes, leaflets, copybooks, etc.<sup>5</sup> Using this perspective, it was sought to problematize MEC's actions related to the production of school materials in a context of growing incentives for the private publishing market, with the objective of understanding how these institutions were created, who took part in them, what were their achievements, how CNME was transformed into Fename, and what were the changes and continuities between them.

## THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR TEACHING MATERIAL (CNME)

During the 1950s criticisms of the price of textbooks and other school materials became part of the debates about the need to reform national education<sup>6</sup> and to control the growth of the teaching network, principally secondary education.<sup>7</sup> Beisiegel<sup>8</sup> reports the significant increase of secondary education in the 1940s and 1950s, especially in urban areas like São Paulo. In this period, the pressure of the poorer groups in search of better opportunities led to demands for access to this level of education. With the expansion of secondary teaching a new problem emerged, the need for students to stay in school. Part of this problem, the question of the quality and price of textbooks became one of the themes discussed in the National Congress, in the mainstream press, in academia, and in the different agencies of the Ministry of Education. In 1952, with the aim of acting in a stronger manner in discussions about national education, INEP created Caldeme and Cileme,<sup>9</sup> with the function of analyzing primary and secondary education, as well as evaluating didactic manuals and producing teaching guides for the teachers. At the international level, Unesco held seminars to assist the rewriting of textbooks, especially for history and geography, with the aim of eliminating the possibility of a new global conflict.

In this context of debates about education, Abgar Renault, then Minister of Education, created, under the responsibility of the National Department of Education (DNE) the National Campaign for Teaching Material (CNME), through Decree 38.556, dated 12 January 1956. According to the 1962 report of the activities carried out by CNME, the Campaign resulted from the DNE's successful experience with the publication in 1955 of textbooks with the aim of "easing the cost of teaching and contributing to the diffusion of elements of culture."<sup>10</sup> The program involved the publication of two dictionaries – *Dicionário Escolar da Língua Portuguesa* (School Dictionary of the Portuguese Language), by Professor Francisco da Silveira Bueno, and *Dicionário Escolar Latino-Português* (Latin-Portuguese School Dictionary) by Ernesto de Faria. Following the success of this program, the government decided to organize greater and more directed action.

Once established by DNE, the Campaign had to produce and distribute teaching material with the purpose of "contributing to the improvements of its quality, its use, as well as its progressive standardization" (Decree

38.556/56). As stated in a preface by Armando Hildebrand, the first executive director of CNME, in the 1956 *Atlas Geográfico Escolar*, the Campaign was created to implement President Juscelino Kubitschek's program of fighting the increase in the cost of education and of supporting students, especially disadvantaged students. The Ministry of Education intended that CNME would effectively contribute to the diffusion of culture and the improvement of teaching in the country. In the same work, Carlos Pasquale, then director general of DNE, stated that MEC, in order to help reduce the cost of education, had proposed, within the limits of governmental action, a program to publish textbooks circumscribed to reference works. According to the director, "publishing them on a large scale, with the facilities and resources of the public authorities," MEC did not seek in these didactic works "to establish agreements to rescue prices," since they were considerable publications, made in uncommon circumstances.<sup>11</sup> Finally, he emphasized the contribution of the material produced by private published for culture and education. The words of these MEC officials showed the initiative on the part of the government to produce textbooks with the aim of collaborating in the dissemination of culture and improving the quality of teaching material, but also showing the concern with not entering into conflict with the private publishing market. The material produced by CNME was to be only auxiliary, while textbooks would continue to be used.

In 1957 an article published in MEC's official publication reinforced the guidelines that CNME should, in addition to improving the quality of teaching materials, make this material "accessible to students and schools at the various levels of teaching" (*Revista MEC*, 1957, n.8, p.60). In 1962, in the preface to the third edition of *Dicionário Escolar Latino-Português*, the then executive director of the Campaign, Heloísa Araújo, stated: "With the publication of this dictionary, the Ministry of Education and Culture is continuing, through the National Campaign for Teaching Material, its plan to help Brazilian students, providing them with a high quality work for an accessible price."<sup>12</sup>

Heloísa Araújo's report about the production of education works by CNME until 1962 repeated the argument of providing quality works at an accessible price, but also provided other important information:

Editing them on a large-scale, with the material and financial resources we possess, the National Campaign for Teaching Material puts itself at the service

of Brazilian students by providing them with the possibility of acquiring high quality works at an accessible price. Simultaneously, its actions reach teachers due to the widespread acceptance of its works, which complied with the most modern pedagogical norms, imposes new teaching methods, as has been occurring with the School Geographical Atlas. Transferring its publications to the consumer at cost price, it interferes, albeit indirectly, in the conditions of the market for the production and distribution of teaching material, although without intending to be a monopolizing action, or to compete with private enterprise. (Ofício 401, da Diretoria Executiva da CNME ao Ministro da Educação e Cultura, 20 nov. 1962)

Among the actions associated with the production of teaching works by MEC was the possibility of changing teachers' classroom methods, since the works met 'the most modern pedagogical norms.' Although the director of DNE and the first executive director of Fename emphasized that CNME would not compete with private publishers, Heloísa Araújo admitted that the Campaign's publications would interfere in the school materials market. There were three central objectives for the creation of the National Campaign for Teaching Material: contributing to the diffusion of culture; improving the quality of teaching material, its use and standardization; and combating the rise in the costs of education, with the provision of teaching materials at an accessible price to assist needy students. The works produced could also lead to changes in how teachers worked.

It is important to highlight that in parallel to the creation of CNME, Juscelino Kubitschek established numerous incentives for the Brazilian printing industry, such as the reduction in the cost of paper, exemptions for part of the book sector and the paper industry from most taxes, as well as the reduction in postal charges for books. According to Hallewell (1985, p.443), these incentives led the printing industry to grow 143% between 1950 and 1960. This indicates the complementary and welfarist function, initially established for CNME, and other campaigns created in the period, including the Campaign for the Expansion and Improvement of Secondary Education (*Campanha de Difusão e Aperfeiçoamento do Ensino Secundário* – Cades) and the National Secondary Teaching Fund. The textbook policy implemented by Juscelino Kubitschek had two objectives – using CNME to reduce the needs

of student, but maintaining the emphasis on industrialization, providing incentives for the national printing sector.

Although MEC intensely publicized the welfarist nature of CNME, private companies did not peacefully accept the publication of educational materials by the federal government, with there being many contestations. In 1960 *O Estado de S. Paulo* published a report about the seizure of imported water-line paper (only permitted for use by the press and prohibited for other purposes). In the report, Theobaldo de Nigris, president of the Printing Industry Federation, stated that the sector had ‘been put into an inferior situation’ by MEC since it had authorized CNME to print educational material on water-line paper, which was cheaper than national paper and which the printing industry was forbidden to use (OESP, 19 jun. 1960, p.22). Hallewell (1985, p.467) stated that the textbook publishing market complained that they could not compete with the atlas and dictionaries produced and sold at cost price by CNME. In April 1961, Ênio Silveira, then president of Snel, sent a letter to the Minister of Education which questioned the publication of textbooks by MEC. According to the letter, by selling educational and para-educational books at cost price MEC was establishing ‘unfair competition,’ since the private publishers could not go without, “for their survival, making a profit from their activities.”<sup>13</sup> Despite the criticism from the private market, CNME continued to publish educational works, even expanding this activity.

## THE CAMPAIGN’S ACTIONS

CNME started to work charged with producing the following: collections, articles and devices for the study of the Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Geometry; material for the study of Geography and History, reference works (atlas, encyclopedias and dictionaries) and audiovisual teaching material for the primary and secondary level education. The teaching material was to be sold at cost price in school cooperatives, in posts for distributing teaching material which were to be created in the different regions of the country,<sup>14</sup> or through mobile units, trucks which would go to the towns where there were no fixed posts.

All the teaching material produced by the Campaign was paid by a Special Fund, consisting of:

- a) Financial allotments for Extraordinary Educational Campaigns;
- b) Earmarking of global allotments from the Federal budget to be used for Extraordinary Educational Campaigns;
- c) Contributions, donations and legacies.

(Decree 38.556/56)

CNME was directed by a council consisting of the directors of various MEC agencies: the director general of DNE (president of the Campaign); director do Inep; director of the National Book Institute (INL); director of the National Institute of Educational Cinema; director of the Department of Secondary Education; director of the Department of Commercial Education; and the director of Industrial Education. The Campaign was under the responsibility of an Executive Board chosen by the Minister of Education from among the MEC staff. The first executive director of the Campaign was Armando Hildebrand, a renowned educator who had been director of Secondary Education in MEC and creator of Cades. In 1961 Hildebrand was replaced by Heloisa de Almeida Araújo, Secondary Education Inspector.

In the search for what CNME produced, it was found that until the beginning of the 1960s the following reference works and school materials had been published and distributed:

*Dicionário Escolar da Língua Portuguesa*, (Portuguese School Dictionary), by Professor Francisco da Silveira Bueno – 400,000 copies in the first four editions;

*Dicionário Escolar Latino-Português*, (Latin-Portuguese School Dictionary) by Professor Ernesto Faria – 180,000 copies in the first three editions;

*Dicionário Escolar Inglês-Português Português-Inglês*, (English-Portuguese and Portuguese-English School Dictionary), by Professor Oswaldo Serpa – 250,000 copies in the first three editions;

*Dicionário Escolar Francês-Português Português-Francês*, (French-Portuguese, Portuguese French School Dictionary) by Professor Roberto Alvin Corrêa – 250,000 copies in the first two editions;

*Dicionário Escolar das dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa*, (School Dictionary of the Difficulties in the Portuguese Language) Cândido Jucá Filho – 50,000 copies in the first edition;



*Atlas Geográfico Escolar*, (School Geography Atlas), in collaboration with the National Council of Geography of IBGE – 400,000 copies in the first two editions;

*Tábua de Logaritmos*, (Log Tables), by Alberto Nunes Serrão – 100,000 in the first edition;

*Atlas Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, by Manoel Maurício de Albuquerque and Antônio Pedro de Souza Campos;

*Atlas Histórico Escolar*, (School History Atlas), produced by Manoel Maurício de Albuquerque, Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, Mirian Britto Knox, Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, Therezinha de Castro e Carlos Goldenberg, under the supervision of Américo Jacobina Lacombe, Carlos Delgado de Carvalho and Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis – 300,000 copies in the first two editions.

*Enciclopédia Infantil Brasileira – Mamíferos*, (Brazilian Children’s Encyclopedia – Mammals) directed by Flávia da Silveira Lobo – 200,000 examples in the first two editions;

*Enciclopédia Infantil Brasileira – Aves*, (Brazilian Children’s Encyclopedia – Birds) directed by Flávia da Silveira Lobo – 100,000 copies in the first edition;

*Pequena Enciclopédia de Moral e Civismo*, (Small Encyclopedia of Morals and Civics) by Padre Fernando Bastos de Ávila – 1200 copies in the first edition;

*Cadernos MEC de Cartografia – Através dos mapas*, (MEC Journal of Cartography – Through the maps) – 100,000 examples in the first edition;

*Antologia Escolar Brasileira*, (Brazilian School Anthology) by Marques Rebelo;

*Matemática para colégios comerciais*, (Mathematics for Commercial Colleges) by Tales Melo Carvalho;

*Dicionário da Legislação Federal* (Dictionary of Federal Legislation) – 30,000 copies in the first edition;

School copybooks: 32, 48, 60 and 80 leaves – 11 million between the first and second printing;

Drawing Pad – 10,000 pads.

In addition to the reference works, copybooks, and pads, Heloísa Araújo announced in the 1962 report that materials would be produced in partnership with the Brazilian Institute of Education, Science, and Culture (*Instituto Brasileiro de Educação, Ciência e Cultura* – Ibccc) for teaching chemistry and physics, including: laboratories for teaching chemistry; sets for experiments

with electricity, radio equipment to assemble small transmitting stations, and sets for teaching mechanics. CNME would also produce portable projectors for audiovisual teaching.

At the end of 1962, Heloísa Araújo emphasized the success of the Campaign and the need to expand it:

The reception by the public of its dictionaries, geographical and historical atlas, and copybooks is a stimulus to expand its field of action. No matter how big they are, editions sell out quickly. Greater resources, both financial and staffing, will lead the National Campaign for Teaching Material to achieve greater and more significant results, as a factor in the quantitative and qualitative improvement of teaching. (Ofício 401, da Diretoria Executiva da CNME ao Ministro da Educação e Cultura, 20 nov. 1962)

The number of copies produced of CNME's first publications – from the 50,000 for the *Dicionário Escolar das dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa* to the 400,000 of the *Dicionário Escolar da Língua Portuguesa* –, in addition to selling out quickly, as Heloísa Araújo emphasized, demonstrated the high level of acceptance of the Campaign by the school public. In this way, the executive director asked the Minister of Education to expand the production of books and other school materials.

The statements of the executive CNME director also showed the context of the time, following the implementation of LDB 4.024/61, which made primary teaching obligatory and ordered assistance for needy students:

Section II

...

Art. 3 The right to Education is assured

...

II – due to the obligation of the state to provide indispensable resources so that the family, and in the lack of this, the other members of society shall not be responsible for the costs of education, when a lack of means is proven, thereby assuring an equality of opportunity for everyone.

(LDB 4.024/61)

Following the implementation of LDB in 1961 the functions of CNME expanded. After 1962 the Campaign began to produce the *Cadernos*

MEC collection, exercise manuals, and books with the content of obligatory, complementary, and optional subjects for second level education, as indicated by the Federal Council of Education (*Conselho Federal de Educação – CFE*): Portuguese, History, Geography, Mathematics, and Science (Introduction to Science, Physical and Biological Sciences, Chemistry and Physics), Design, Social Studies and Accounting.<sup>15</sup>

After the 1964 military coup, Decree 53.887 dated 14 April, restated that CNME was responsible for publishing, distributing, and selling reference books, textbooks, and teaching materials at cost price, based on the approval of the Federal Council of Education.

### THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION OF SCHOOL MATERIAL (FENAME)

In 1967 the National Campaign for Teaching Material came to an end. Its collection and publications were incorporated in the National Foundation of School Material (Fename), created on 2 October by Law 5.327. The new agency was to be administered by a Technical and Consultative Council (composed of three members representing the technical agencies of MEC and the executive director), a Fiscal Council (composed of two representatives from MEC and an accountant appointed by the Technical and Consultative Council) and a Board charged with administrating the agency, preparing the plan of activities and its annual budget. The Technical and Consultative Council was formed of Francisco Gentil Barone Junior, Delso Renault and Manuel Antônio da Cunha Barroso Fernandes.

Among the councilors of the new body, of special importance was Delso Renault, editor of *Revista MEC*. This was of great significance, since the journal would become one of the principal publicists of the activities of Fename. The creation of the Foundation was announced with great enthusiasm in a long report published in *Revista MEC* n.41, on 1968. According to the report, Fename was created to replace CNME with the aim of expanding the production and distribution of school material:

Fename was created with the funding which will allow it, in the field of the production and distribution of school material, to carry out greater actions than its predecessor CNME, whose limitations of a legal nature did not allow it to ac-

company the growth of requests from the consumer market in the country in the school sector. (*Revista MEC*, n.41, 1968, p.30)

*Revista MEC* indicated that the military government sought to give continuity to the production and distribution of school materials by the Ministry of Education, and even to increase this. Fename was thus a reorientation established by MEC during the military regime of a policy created in the 1950s. However, its creation showed evidence of the marks of the military dictatorship, such as the replacement of the executive director Heloísa Araújo by Humberto Grande.<sup>16</sup>

At the end of 1967, the head of the MEC Security and Information Service, Coronel Valdemar Turolla, linked to the National Information Service (*Serviço Nacional de Informação* – SNI), denounced the work *Pequena Enciclopédia de Moral e Civismo*, by Fr. Fernando Bastos de Ávila and a team of professors from PUC/RJ, as subversive. According to a report in *O Estado de S. Paulo* on 2 November 1967, Valdemar Turolla recommended that the definitions of the words communism, Marxism, awareness-raising and abortion be revised. He also considered it suspicious that the Encyclopedia did not cite the words God, Patria and CFE. After the denunciation, the then Minister of Education, Tarso Dutra, created a Commission of Inquiry to examine the work, formed by the President of UFRJ, Moniz Aragão, General Moacir Araújo Lopes, from the Superior of War, and the President of UFF and chair of the Commission of Legislation and Norms of CFE, José Barreto Filho. On 10 November 1967 a new report in *O Estado de S. Paulo* stated that the work had been approved by the Commission of Inquiry. The Commission's report observed that the Encyclopedia was in agreement with the "democratic aspirations and Christian traditions of the Brazilian people, with a peculiar systematization" (OESP, 10 Nov. 1967). According to the report the work could be distributed, but a clarification would have to be made to students and the public in general. The commission finally stated that the work had a predominance of "a sociological and political type in the choice of entries and in the development of many of them, to the detriment of the philosophical and pedagogical aspect" (OESP, 10 Nov. 1967). Fr. Fernando D'Ávila's reply was presented in a new report in the same newspaper on 30 November 1967: the author of the Encyclopedia was opposed to the inclusion in his work of leaflet with parts of the report of the Commission of Inquiry. D'Ávila also lamented

the resignation of Heloísa Araújo. As a result of this denunciation, the executive director of Fename had tendered her resignation in November 1967.

With the departure of Heloísa Araújo, Humberto Grande became the executive director of Fename. The new director was a well-known figure in educational circles, he had been a lawyer in the Labor Courts and a propagandist of labor legislation. During the *Estado Novo* he had participated in discussions about national education and published the book *Pedagogia do Estado Novo*. In 1970 he became a member of the National Commission of Morals and Civics. Humberto Grande remained in the position until 1976, when Fename became responsible for the co-publication of textbooks with private publishers. On this date the executive director of the Foundation became Augusto Luiz Duarte Lopes Sampaio.

Another important aspect to be emphasized about the creation of Fename was the fact that it was created concomitantly to the creation of another agency responsible of the textbook policy, incentives for the private publishing market – the Commission of Technical and Textbooks (*Comissão do Livro Técnico e do Livro Didático – Colted*) –, created in 1966 under Decree 59.355. Colted's aim was to “encourage, guide, coordinate, and implement the activities of the Ministry of Education and Culture related to the production, publishing, improvement, and the distribution of technical and textbooks” (Decree 59.355/66). Two of the principal objectives of Colted were to encourage the expansion of the book industry and to reduce the price of the textbooks produced by private enterprises.

The expansion of the school network in the 1960s, especially after the implementation of obligatory primary education, resulted in a significant increase of children in school, which led to the hiring on an emergency basis of new teachers and an urgent need for a greater amount of teaching material. The expansion of second level also showed the need for a new conception of education for this level. Proposals for innovation appeared especially in the form of technical and pedagogical measures, with the textbook entering as one of these measures. The social and economic changes in the 1960s led to transformation in the publishing area, especially in the production of textbooks. As a result of these changes the textbook market expanded, while there were changes in the process of preparing manuals, whose physical form, reading and use were altered, as emphasized by Batista (2002, p.555). The

textbook policy implemented during the military regime intended to meet the needs of expanded education and at the same time regulate the textbook publishing market.

Colted and Fename were created by the Ministry of Education and Culture during the military regime with different responsibilities for textbooks. While Colted had the aim of encouraging the expansion of the book industry, intensifying the production, publishing, quality and distribution of technical and educational books produced by private companies, Fename was supposed to produce reference works and textbooks to be distributed or sold at cost price to students and teachers in public and private schools. The creation of Colted and Fename was part of the response of the dictatorship to the problems which had been emerging since the end of the 1950s – meeting the needs of the new school community with lower acquisitive power, reforming content and teaching programs, and stimulating and regulating the textbook industry. The Ministry of Education's policies thereby focused on financial incentives for the growth of the book industry and meeting the needs of disadvantaged students.

Fename remained linked to the Ministry of Education and Culture and was to produce and distribute school and teaching materials to schools, “in order to contribute to improve its quality, price and use” (Lei 5.327/67). The materials produced by Fename continued to be distributed at cost price, as had occurred with CNME, and could be bought at the distribution posts or ordered by post. Fename's statutes stipulated what teaching materials were: copybooks and blocks of paper; exercise copybooks; pieces, collections and devices for the study of school subjects; methodological guides and manuals about the principal school subjects; dictionaries, atlases, encyclopedias and other reference works; material for the audiovisual teaching of primary, secondary and third level subjects (Decree 62.411, 15 Mar. 1968). The Foundation came to have an industrial premises, located in the Maria da Graça neighborhood, in Guanabara state, for the manufacture of the Foundation's materials, especially the copybooks.

The principal activities carried out by Fename, the launching of new books, reprints, and book pricing, as well as statistics about the Foundation's sales and distributions were published in *Revista MEC*. In 1970 the magazine was ended, and in 1971 *Educação* became the new official publication which

announced MEC's activities. The analysis of the news and reports in these magazines shows that the creation of Fename was given great emphasis by the government. The 'non-profit making' Foundation had the aim of "complementing the national production of teaching material" (*Revista MEC*, 1968, n.41, p.30). The problem of the price of textbooks was returned to in *Revista MEC* as one of the greatest challenges to be resolved in Brazil. According to the report, President Costa e Silva had created Fename as a strategy to help the "social group with the lowest acquisitive power." High quality teaching material was to be distributed and resold at cost price through the country (*Revista MEC*, 1968, n.42, p.36). Selling the material produced by Fename at cost price would put into practice the "purpose of the government to contribute to the cheapening of teaching material," by functioning as a "regulator of prices in the book market in the large urban centers" (*Revista MEC*, 1968, n.42, p.36-37).

The report in *Revista MEC* also stated that government action in relation to the production of teaching material met the recommendations of the International Conferences of Public Instruction, especially the XXII International Conference of Public Instruction organized by Unesco in Geneva in 1959. The Conference established amongst other recommendations the free distribution of textbooks to primary school students, and if the state did not have the financial conditions for this, at least it should guarantee free distribution to the most disadvantaged students (*Revista MEC*, 1968, n.42, p.37). The discussion publicized in *Revista MEC* demonstrated that the problem of the price of teaching materials and meeting the needs of needy students remained pertinent and was increasingly discussed in the national and international spheres. A solution to the problem became urgent.

Fename continued to produce the teaching materials and books published by CNME, as well as starting to produce new titles and other school materials, which significantly expanded the financial flow of the institution. Various reports published in *Revista MEC* and *Educação* sought to publicize the importance of the Foundation. According to data published in *Revista MEC* n.43, in 1968, in the first half of the year, Fename had recorded a revenue of more than two million *cruzeiros*, twice what it had been the previous year, still under the name of CNME. In 1969, Fename's balance of production, published again in *Revista MEC*, stated that seven million copies

of reference works, *Cadernos MEC* and Methodological Guides, had been published, with 31 titles and 74 editions between 1956 and 1968 (*Revista MEC*, n.45, 1969, p.40). Of the school material – such as pencils, rubbers, copybooks, and drawing equipment – 132 million units were distributed. According to the 1970 report, four million copies of *Cadernos MEC* had been printed by that date (*Revista MEC*, n.47, 1970, p.32).

Fename was also responsible for the publication and distribution of part of the materials of MEC and the agencies linked to it – the Federal Cultural Council (CFE), the National Book Institute (INL) and the Physical Education Division –, as appeared in the documentation located. Thus, the Foundation distributed in its posts official publications – *Documenta*, *Educação*, *Cultura* and *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física e Desporto*. In the 1970s Fename began to make agreements to publish and distribute books and teaching material with private institutions, including Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) and Grupo de Estudos da Indústria do Livro (Geil). In addition to these agreements, Fename was charged with presenting projects for MEC's planning for Sudene, Sudesul and Sudam,<sup>17</sup> as part of the objective of the “III Government of the Revolution to ‘lay the foundations for a decade of development’” (*Revista MEC*, n.47, 1970, p.35).

Fename began to be portrayed in MEC's official publications as the great institution for encouraging Brazilianness. It had a supplementary social function of distributing textbooks to the poorer parts of the country which the private publishing market could not reach. Its publications for the school public and the public in general collaborated with the construction of a feeling of Brazilianness, the transmission of civic messages and the teaching of the patria language, principally through works for the teaching of Portuguese (dictionaries, anthologies, *Cadernos MEC*) and the *Pequena Enciclopédia de Moral e Civismo* (*Revista MEC*, n.47, 1970, p.33). In a long report in the first issue of *Educação*, in 1971, the argument was reinforced that Fename did not seek to compete with commercial booksellers, since it only had a supplementary nature, especially in the countryside. The work of popularizing teaching was one of the “great aims of the Revolution,” and the patriotic contribution of the Foundation to reach this target was to bring “the textbook and school material to distant locations which did not have bookshops, through its network of distribution posts” (*Educação*, n.1, 1971, p.43).



The creation of Fename effectively expanded MEC's role in the production and distribution of school material. The Foundation maintained the justification of its supplementary character and of assisting disadvantaged students, but the focus of its actions had changed. In this new orientation it was necessary to provide school material and books to students from all over the country, which led to the publication not just of reference works, but to the production of textbooks which would be used by students and teachers in the classroom, thereby competing with the private market.

This new role of Fename, with the increase in publications and its possible transformation into a government publisher, was again questioned by the bodies representing the book industry. At the end of 1969, Snel and the Brazilian Book Council (*Câmara Brasileira do Livro* – CBL) sent a document to MEC in which they explained they were concerned that Fename was becoming a “state publisher,” which would compete in an unequal manner with private companies” (Filgueiras, 2011, p.197). Fename actually was considered a government publisher by Snel and CBL, according to a 1975 letter sent by the two bodies to Companhia Editora Nacional.<sup>18</sup>

According to the first issue of *Educação*, by 1971 Fename had produced more than 11 million copies of teaching works and 200 million objects for school use (*Educação*, n.1, 1971, p.43). Fename had also begun to produce didactic books for third level. The first book was called *Colposcopia*, by Clóvis Salgado and João Paulo Rieper, edited in 1970, and meant for students of medicine. The following list indicates the books published until 1972:

*Atlas Histórico Escolar* – Manoel Mauricio de Albuquerque, Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, Mirian Britto Knox, Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, Therezinha de Castro and Carlos Goldenberg, under the supervision of Américo Jacobina Lacombe, Carlos Delgado de Carvalho and Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis;

*Atlas geográfico escolar* – IBGE, Orlando Valverde, with the orientation of Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, Heldio Xavier Lenz Cesar, Cartógrafos José Oswaldo Fogaça and Alcyon da Fonseca Doria;

*Atlas Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* – Manoel Mauricio Albuquerque and Antônio Pedro de Souza Campos;

*Atlas Cultural do Brasil* – Ariano Suassuna and others;

- Dicionário Escolar da Língua Portuguesa* – Francisco da Silveira Bueno;  
*Dicionário Escolar Latino-Português* – Ernesto Faria;  
*Dicionário Escolar Inglês-Português Português-Inglês* – Oswaldo Serpa;  
*Dicionário Escolar Francês-Português Português-Francês* – Roberto Alvin Corrêa;  
*Dicionário Escolar das Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa* – Cândido Jucá Filho;  
*Dicionário de Expressões Idiomáticas* – Oswaldo Serpa;  
*Antologia Escolar Brasileira* – Marques Rebelo;  
*Antologia Escolar Portuguesa*  
*Gramática da Língua Inglesa* – Oswaldo Serpa;  
*Gramática da Língua Francesa* – Roberto Alvin Corrêa and Sary Hauser Steinberg;  
*Gramática da Língua Espanhola* – Maria do Céu Carvalho and Agostinho Dias Carneiro;  
*História Administrativa e Econômica do Brasil* – Hélio de Alcântara Avellar;  
*Cadernos MEC* – various disciplines, various authors;  
*Guias Metodológicos para Cadernos MEC* – various authors;  
*Tábua de Logaritmos* – Alberto Nunes Serrão;  
*Matemática para colégios comerciais* – Tales Mello Carvalho;  
*Pequena Enciclopédia de moral e civismo* – Padre Fernando Bastos de Ávila.

The analysis of the place of work of the authors published by CNME and Fename showed that most were secondary teachers, notably from traditional schools, including Colégio Pedro II, Colégios das Forças Armadas and Instituto de Educação, as well as teachers from experimental institutions such as Colégio de Aplicação da UFRJ and Colégio Nova Friburgo, from FGV. Some of the authors were university professors of General and Special Didactics of the Faculties of Philosophy and institutes from the public universities (UERJ, UFRJ, UFF), and private institutions (Universidade Católica de Petrópolis, PUC/RJ, FGV and Universidade Gama Filho, amongst others). The teachers and professors who wrote the CNME/Fename books were people involved in the educational debates of the 1950s and 1960s and were connected with institutions which worked with teacher training. It is significant to observe in this way that these authors were concerned after 1971 with the educational changes resulting from teaching reform, especially Law 5.692 and

the new national curricular guidelines. In a preface to the 1971 *Guia para Cadernos MEC de História*, Lydinéia Gasman and James Braga Vieira da Fonseca were already attentive to the reforms being implemented:

We also remind our colleagues that History will be the motive of discussion in relation to the reformulation of curricula due to the ongoing reform. Nor should we forget that the new definition of school 'discipline' can cover cultural elements from one or various 'subjects.' Thus, whether History is a discipline, or a subject participating in a discipline, its presence will be indispensable as a source of research and study.

After the implementation of Law 5.692/71 Fename's areas of activity, such as the production of textbooks, reference works, and school material (rulers, copybooks, pencils, rubbers, drawing pads, etc.), assumed even more importance for the Ministry of Education and Culture. During the 1970s Fename became increasingly central as MEC's publicity body, assuming functions in the dictatorship's project for the integration of all of Brazil, such as the implementation of the project *Fename/Legal Amazon* for the production and distribution of teaching material to regions considered isolated and in need of integration – the regions of the Trans-Amazon, Pará, Amazonas and Rondônia. In addition, the same year INL and Fename began the implementation of the Librarians Service in the Trans-Amazon region.

In 1976 Fename assumed a further responsibility. In accordance with Decree 77.107 it became responsible for the implementation of the Textbook Program (*Programa do Livro Didático* – PLD) and for the process of co-publication with private companies, which until then had been the responsibility of INL. The Foundation then began to co-edit books for primary (Plindef), secondary (Plindem), third level (Plides), supplementary (Plidesu) and computer (Plidecom) teaching programs. At this moment Fename assumed two functions – producer of school material, didactic works, and financier of the private publishing market. Given its new composition, Fename became one of the most important institutions under the auspices of the Ministry of Education.

Also in 1976, to comply with the norms established by MEC Edict 18, which contained measures to improve the teaching of Portuguese, Fename launched the *Coleção Língua Portuguesa* (Portuguese Language Collection), with two initial volumes: *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa* (Portuguese

Grammar), by Celso Ferreira da Cunha, and the republication of *Dicionário Escolar da Língua Portuguesa*, (Portuguese School Dictionary) by Francisco da Silveira Bueno (*Educação*, n.22, 1976, p.127). In 1979 and 1980 two new books were launched in the collection, *Guia Prático de Ortografia*, (Practical Spelling) by Alexandre de Souza Soares, and *Manual de redação*, (Writing Manual) by Rocha Lima and Raimundo Barbadinho Neto.

Generally speaking, the reports published in *Educação* publicized the various spheres Fename worked in. For example, in 1977 the magazine announced the co-publishing by Fename and the Department of Supplementary Teaching of 102 teaching modules, with a print run of more than one million units to be distributed for free to the students in supplementary studies at the primary level (*Educação*, n.21, 1976, p.124). Modules were produced for the areas of Communication and Expression, Social Studies, and Sciences. In 1977 and 1978 Fename was responsible for the publication and distribution to teachers and directors of teaching establishments, of 50,000 copies of the leaflet “Moral and Civic Education – Studies of Brazilian Problems – 1977 Directives,” with the new curricular directives for the discipline of Moral and Civic Education.

According to the report in *Educação* which discussed the PLD publications, in 1978 Fename distributed 20 million textbooks under the auspices of Plindef to around seven million disadvantaged students in the official teaching network from around the country (*Educação*, n.28, 1978, p.121). In 1979 the Foundation became part of the Program for the Expansion and Improvement of Teaching (*Programa de Expansão e Melhoria do Ensino – Premem*) which received financial assistance from the National Development Fund for Education (*Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação – FNDE*). Here the leaflets *Mecânica 1* (Mechanics 1), *Mecânica 2* (Mechanics 2), *Eletromagnetismo* (Electromagnetism) and *Eletricidade* (Electricity) were published for teaching physics in secondary schools, as part of the Physics Teaching Project prepared by a team of specialists from USP Institute of Physics (*Educação*, n.31, 1979, p.121). The same year the *Atlas da Fauna Brasileira* (Atlas of Brazilian Fauna) by José Candido de Melo Carvalho was launched, while in 1980 an agreement would be signed by Fename and Oficina Literária Afrânio Coutinho (Olac) to publish the literary collection of

Raul Pompeia. In 1981 Fename published *Atlas Escolar de Botânica* (School Botanical Atlas), by Ronaldo Fernandes de Oliveira.

During the 1970s *Educação* announced in its pages the expansion of the distribution of Fename material throughout the country. However, in 1982, the then executive director of the Foundation, Wander Batalha, declared in an interview that the distribution system and its control were Fename's greatest problem. He also declared that work was being carried out jointly with CBL and the National Institute of Metrology, Normalization and Industrial Quality (Inmetro) to ensure the quality of textbooks and their use for five years (*Educação*, n.38, 1982). The interview with the executive director of Fename raised two important questions. Fename's distribution posts were closed at the beginning of 1982, with very negative repercussions, reported intensely by the mainstream media, as can be seen in reports published in *O Estado de S. Paulo*. According to the reports, Fename's distribution posts had been closed due to pressure from Snel and CBL (OESP, 16 fev. 1982, p.14; 17 fev. 1982, p.13). The declaration by the director of Fename may perhaps have been a justification for this closure. The use of textbook for a determined number of years was a question discussed since the 1950s and is strong evidence of the debate which would led to the creation of 1985 of the national Textbook Program (*Programa Nacional do Livro Didático* – PNLD).

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The analysis of the actions of CNME and Fename between the 1950s and 1980s allows an understanding of part of the history of the creation and development of an important policy created by the federal government for the production of school material, which began in 1956 and continued, with some restructuring, until the 1980s. Through the creation of the National Campaign for Teaching Material (CNME) MEC assumed the production of production school works and school material with aim of collaborating in the diffusion of culture, reducing the costs of education and assisting the new school public, considered disadvantaged and lacking financial resources.

The production of manuals by educators and specialists in their areas of action, involved with educational debates and teacher training for basic education, was enthusiastically received and expanded in the 1960s. Afterwards

the guidelines for the assistance of disadvantaged students intensified at the national and international level, notably on the part of Unesco. During the military dictatorship MEC restructured CNME, transforming it into a Foundation with greater autonomy. Fename kept its objective of providing materials and books to students, but expanded its actions, becoming after 1976, the principal agency responsible for the textbook policy and for MEC publications.

An aspect to be considered is the Fename's continuation of CNME's objectives: effectively reaching disadvantaged students and disseminating culture, as well as forcing private publishers to lower book prices through competition. However, soon after the creation of Fename its executive director, Heloísa Araújo, was replaced by Humberto Grande. Furthermore, the publication of teaching materials by the federal government was contested by part of the private publishers in the 1960s and 1970s. From what is shown in the documentation found, Fename really become a government publisher during the dictatorship, with the aim of producing school material and publications from other governmental bodies – Inep, CFE, CFC, the Physical Education Division, and INL, amongst others. Fename produced and supplied school material until 1983, when it became part of the Foundation for Student Assistance, the body responsible for implanting all of MEC's student welfare programs.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This paper presents some of the results of the post-doctoral research financed by Capes, carried out in the Post-Graduate Program in History, Unifesp, in 2012. The investigation also received support from CNPq.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst the works with mentioned the existence of Fename are: MUNAKATA, Kazumi. *A política de livro didático no regime militar: da Campanha do Livro Didático e Manuais de Ensino (Caldeme)/Campanha Nacional de Material de Ensino (CNME) à Comissão do Livro Técnico e Didático (Colted) e à Fundação Nacional de Material Escolar (Fename)*. Relatório Técnico – CNPq, 2006; FREITAG, Bárbara et al. *O Estado da arte do livro didático no Brasil*. Brasília: Inep; Reduc, 1987; OLIVEIRA et al. *A política do livro didático*. Campinas (SP): Ed. Unicamp, 1984; e FRANCO, Maria Laura P. B. *A política do livro didático a nível de legislação*. *Plural*, São Paulo, ano 3, n.6, p.25-41, jul.-ago. 1980. CNME is cited in the study by Munakata (2006) and in CURY, Carlos Roberto Jamil. *Livro didático como assistência ao estudante*. *Revista Diálogo Educacional*, Curitiba, n.26, p.119-130, jan.-

abr. 2009. In a study of books in Brazil Hallelwell also comments on the existence of CNME and Fename: HALLEWELL, Laurence. *O livro no Brasil*. São Paulo: Edusp, 1985.

<sup>3</sup> The MEC journal had three names during its existence (1956-1970): *MEC*, *Revista MEC* and *MEC Revista*. In this article I use the name *Revista MEC* when discussing the articles published in this journal.

<sup>4</sup> CHOPPIN, Alain. História dos livros e das edições didáticas: sobre o estado da arte. *Educação e Pesquisa*, São Paulo: Feusp, v.30, n.3, p.549-566, set.-dez. 2004.

<sup>5</sup> BATISTA, Antônio A. G. Um objeto variável e instável: textos, impressos e livros didáticos. In: ABREU, Martha (Org.). *Leitura, história e história da leitura*. Campinas (SP): Mercado de Letras/ALB; São Paulo: Fapesp, 2002. p.529-573.

<sup>6</sup> At the end of the 1950s there were intense debates about the end of admission exams, the need to reform curricula and teaching programs, teacher training, and increasing the places in third level education, as well as debates about the approval of the Basic Law for Education. See: FILGUEIRAS, Juliana M. *Os processos de avaliação de livros didáticos no Brasil (1938-1984)*. Tese (Doutorado) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica. São Paulo, 2011. p.145.

<sup>7</sup> MEC began to work more effectively with secondary education from the 1950s onwards, with the creation of the Campaign to Spread and Improve Secondary Education (*Campanha de Difusão e Aperfeiçoamento do Ensino Secundário* – Cades), the National Fund for Second Level Teaching and Sectional Inspectorates.

<sup>8</sup> BEISIEGEL, Celso de Rui. Educação e sociedade no Brasil após 1930. In: FAUSTO, Boris (Org.). *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*. Tomo III, O Brasil Republicano, v.4. São Paulo: Difel, 1984. p.383-416.

<sup>9</sup> Caldeme (Campanha do Livro Didático e Material de Ensino – Textbook and Teaching Material Campaign) and Cileme (Campanha de Inquérito e Levantamento do Ensino Médio e Elementar – Primary and Secondary Teaching Survey and Enquiry Campaign) were created by Anísio Teixeira in 1952 with the aim of evaluating the secondary and primary systems in the country, analyzing the second level textbooks in circulation and proposing the preparation of new teaching guides for teachers.

<sup>10</sup> Ofício n. 401, da Diretoria Executiva da CNME ao Ministro da Educação e Cultura, 20 nov. 1962. The report with the history of CNME's activities until 1962 was located in the General and Historical Archive of Inep in Brasília.

<sup>11</sup> MEC/CNME. *Atlas Geográfico Escolar*, 1956. Prefácio.

<sup>12</sup> FARIA, Ernesto. *Dicionário Escolar Latino-Português*. MEC/CNME, 1962. Prefácio.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Ênio Silveira, president of SNL, to MEC, 4 Apt. 1961, located in the collection: Companhia Editora Nacional/Ibep, Centro de Memória da Unifesp.

<sup>14</sup> According to a report from the executive director, Heloísa Araújo, by 1962 distribution posts had been created in São Paulo, Distrito Federal, Recife, João Pessoa, Natal, Juiz de Fora, Guaxupé, Itapetininga, Taubaté, Campinas, São José do Rio Preto, Belo Horizonte,

Fortaleza, Niterói, Manaus, Macapá, Belém, São Luís, Teresina, Maceió, Aracaju, Salvador, Vitória, Rio de Janeiro, Petrópolis, Campos, Barra do Pirai, Bauru, Ourinhos, Piracicaba, Santos, São Carlos, São Caetano do Sul, Sorocaba, Curitiba, Florianópolis, Porto Alegre, Bento Gonçalves, Santa Maria, Leopoldina, Guaxupé, Montes Claros, Uberaba, Goiânia and Campo Grande.

<sup>15</sup> CFE, Indicação s/n. de 24 abr. 1962 – Matérias obrigatórias, complementares e optativas para o ensino secundário (Ginásio e Colegial).

<sup>16</sup> Information obtained in reports published in *O Estado de S. Paulo* on 2, 7, 10 and 30 Nov. 1967.

<sup>17</sup> Sudene (Superintendência do Desenvolvimento do Nordeste – Superintendency for the Development of the Northeast); Sudesul (Superintendência do Desenvolvimento do Sul – Superintendency for the Development of the South); Sudam (Superintendência do Desenvolvimento da Amazônia – Superintendency for the Development of the Amazon Region).

<sup>18</sup> 1975 Circular, Snel/CBL, about *Programa do Livro Didático para o Ensino Fundamental* (Plindef), located in the collection of the Companhia Editora Nacional/Ibep, Centro de Memória da Unifesp.