

Social demands and historiographical production. Writing on the history of the Brazilian student movement from two experiences in the Brazilian present time

Demandas sociais y producción historiográfica.
Escribiendo sobre la Historia del Movimiento
Estudiantil brasileño a partir de dos experiencias
del Brasil actual

Angélica Müller*

Institute of History. Universidade Federal Fluminense (Brazil)

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-9323-8426

Recibido: 12/02/2024
Aceptado: 30/04/2024

DOI: 10.20318/cian.2024.8658

Abstract: The article shows how a significant part of Brazilian historiographical production on the student movement from the 2000s onwards was performed thanks (and in response) to two different moments in our recent history that resulted from the social demand for memory, truth, and justice: the first, the development of the Student Movement Memory Project (Projeto Memória do Movimento Estudantil) in the early 2000s; the

Resumen: El artículo presenta cómo una parte significativa de la producción historiográfica brasileña sobre el movimiento estudiantil, a partir de la década de 2000, se produjo beneficiándose de (y en respuesta a) dos momentos-acontecimientos importantes diferentes que resultaron de la demanda social de memoria, verdad y justicia, a saber: el primero, a principios de la década de 2000, el Proyecto Memoria del Movimiento Estu-

*angelicamuller@id.uff.br

The author would like to thank the research funding agencies CNPq and Faperj for supporting this investigation, as well as her (former) students and scholarship holders.

second is the period since the establishment of the National Truth Commission (Comissão Nacional da Verdade), in 2012. In order to do this, there is an introductory overview of the first works from the 1980s, focusing on the study of the National Union of Students in the 1960s, to show how research on SM became more comprehensive (and more in-depth), especially through the expansion and opening of archives, notably in the construction of oral collections. The main analysis focuses on the presentation and development of these two initiatives. Finally, the article makes some considerations about this overview by signaling some connections between social demand and historiographic production, which is characteristic of the history of the present time, and pointing out themes and study objects that are still worthy of further investigation.

Key words: Brazilian student movement; historiography; oral history.

diantil. Y el segundo con la instalación de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad en 2012. Para ello, se inicia con una visión introductoria de los primeros trabajos, en la década de 1980, que se centró en el estudio de la Unión Nacional de Estudiantes en la década de 1960, para mostrar cómo el tema del Movimiento Estudiantil se amplió (y densificó), sobre todo por la expansión y apertura de archivos, en particular en la construcción de archivos orales. El análisis principal se despliega a partir de la consideración de las dos acciones mencionadas. Por último, el artículo hace algunas observaciones finales sobre este panorama, mostrando el vínculo entre demanda social y producción historiográfica, característico de la historia del tiempo presente, y señala temas y objetos de estudio que aún merecen ser profundizados.

Palabras-clave: Movimiento estudiantil brasileño; historiografía; historia oral.

A maxim of the historiography of the Brazilian student movement¹ (SM) states the following: despite numerous course conclusion monographs and several master's dissertations, there are only a few doctoral theses on the topic and only a handful of researchers who keep working on it during their academic careers. Like the period of student activism itself, the time researchers tend to focus on this subject seems to be ephemeral. The somewhat expected result is that, among social movements², works encompassing SM tend to lack dense reflections. Another difference is that the SM is also studied in other knowledge areas, such as Education and Social Sciences, which together have a greater production than the History field.

In this article, supported by my trajectory of more than two decades researching and working on the history of the Brazilian student movement, I aim to show how certain milestones that are deemed important and in which I had the opportunity to participate have enabled a shift in this landscape, as

¹ My understanding of the term "student movement" is that, despite being a single expression, it does not obliterate the plurality of effect its actions, languages, and experiences have across time and Brazilian geography, taking into account the different competing currents that it encompasses. Thus, the movement is always understood in its plurality.

² For example, there is a vast and consolidated production around the social history of labor and workers in Brazilian historiography. Many researchers dedicate their entire lives to this topic.

evidenced both by the vigor that SM historiography had in the current day and by the complexity of this object. That was due to the following: actions and events that brought attention to this topic; the opening of archives, notably those produced using oral history methodology; and the growing historiographical production in the field of history of the present time. Historians from this field are aware of how subjectivity and experience are both part and some of the strong points of their work.³ Thus, the topic of SM is joined by one of the ways how the history of the present time is guided and operated: social demands. Historians of the present time have an ethical and civic commitment that drives their writing.

Therefore, looking at these two decades under a telescope might help to notice advances in the field and where research is heading, on top of reflecting on what is yet to be done. Like any perspective, this will also be partial and will not encompass the entire production on SM. Quite the opposite. Above all, it will be limited to a portion of the works produced within the scope of Post-Graduate Programs in History (Master's and Ph.D.), as I believe that they encompass the heart of this production and are where most of the works and innovations are achieved, thus making them appropriate to assess the evolution of the topic⁴.

This article is divided into an introduction, two main parts, and final considerations. These two parts refer to two experiences that arose from social demands and that I deem important because they help expand the research themes surrounding the topic. They were also chosen because of the number of new findings related to them, especially oral files. The first to be presented is the Student Movement Memory Project (*Projeto Memória do Movimento Estudantil*), carried out in the early 2000s. The second one is the enforcement of the Access to Information Act and the National Truth Commission, implemented at the end of 2011.

As researcher Carlos Menegozzo found⁵, the bibliographical production on this topic is too dispersed and lacks a sufficiently broad and upda-

³ As stated by Henry Rousso: "before ignoring their own inclinations or identity, the historian must employ this to present in their own way issues that cannot be treated with 'neutrality'". *A última catástrofe: a história, o presente e o contemporâneo*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2016. p. 186.

⁴ Obviously, there are other publications, such as collections and even some authorial books. Most of the articles published were developed based on dissertations and theses, hence why they were elected to be included in this article,

⁵ Carlos Henrique M. Menegozzo. *Entre Mitos e Circunstâncias: bibliografia sobre estudantes e política no Brasil (1821-2003)*. (s/d), p. 137.

ted systematization effort. In the mid-1990s, Menegozzo worked on what he considered a real challenge: collecting all the bibliographical production regarding students' political participation in Brazil. Over almost a decade, it established a list of more than 1,180 bibliographic references⁶ on the topic, published in Brazil and abroad in different formats between 1821 and 2003. Until the present day, the overwhelming concentration of works concerning the SM generally dealt with the actions of the national student entity, the National Student Union (*União Nacional dos Estudantes*, UNE)⁷, focused on the left-leaning youth of the 1960s. The book by journalist Arthur Poerner⁸, *O poder jovem: história da participação política dos estudantes*, was published precisely in the troubled year of 1968, and this work is to this day considered by activists as the "Bible" of the Brazilian SM. This book gave rise to a mythologized historiography of the history of the Brazilian SM, as pointed out later by historian José Saldanha⁹. In the 1970s, works on the subject had more emphasis on social sciences and education; from the 1980s onwards, more historiographical works began to emerge, notably João Roberto Mart-

⁶ Most of the books from these periods are memorials, literary and journalistic in nature. Works with a more academic vein were published mainly from the 1960s and 1970s onwards in the social sciences.

⁷ Brazil had a late start on its university tradition, even when compared to its South American neighbors. The first Brazilian universities were founded in the 1930s and 1940s: the University of São Paulo, USP, in 1934, and the University of the Federal District in 1935. Medical Schools and Isolated Colleges were also established late in the country and date back to the 19th century. Unsurprisingly, when the universities were established in the country, so was the national student representation association, UNE, during Getúlio Vargas's New State (1938). Since then, UNE has been the only student association with representatives across the entire country. Each Brazilian state has a State Student Union (*União Estadual dos Estudantes*, UEE), each University has an Academic Student Directory (*Diretório Acadêmico dos Estudantes*, DCE), and each course has an Academic Center (or Directory) (*Centro Acadêmico*, CA, or *Diretório Acadêmico*, DA). This vertical structure has been kept since the 1930s and is mostly comprised by left-wing parties. In 1964, the budding military dictatorship made UNE and student entities illegal. However, the SM found new forms of organization and, as soon as winds of redemocratization started to blow, the UNE was refounded in 1979. For more information see: Angélica Müller. *O movimento estudantil na resistência à Ditadura Militar (1969-1979)*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2016.

⁸ The revolutionary, romantic tone of the time is imprinted in the work, which also presents premises from the communist party (*Partido Comunista Brasileiro*, PCB) that Poerner was affiliated to. According to the author, the main goal of *O Poder Jovem* is to show the importance of political participation, one of the principles of democracy. This participation should be enacted by youth assemblies. In 1968, with the signing of the Institutional Act Number Five, which among other arbitrary decisions enabled the enforcement of censorship in the country, *O Poder Jovem* was one of the first books to be censored.

⁹ José Alberto Saldanha de Oliveira. *A UNE e o mito do poder jovem*. Maceió: Edufal, 2005.

ins Filho's book *O movimento estudantil e a ditadura militar* (1964-1978), the result of his doctoral thesis that presents an in-depth look of the participation and engagement of the SM at the beginning of the military dictatorship.

Until then, few works had Oral History interviews as their source and/or object. Other books that stand out are the ones published on the "anniversary of 68", in 1988 and in the following decades, which highlighted its protagonists, such as *1968: a paixão de uma utopia*, organized by Daniel Aarão Reis and Pedro de Moraes, which features 15 interviews, which had its third edition in 2008. Of note: the first edition is from 1988. Oral history arrived in Brazil in the mid-1970s, especially thanks to vigorous work by the Center for Research and Documentation of Contemporary History of Brazil of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (*Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil-Fundação Getúlio Vargas*, CPDOC-FGV), and it was consolidated in the 1990s with the establishment of the Brazilian Association of Oral History (*Associação Brasileira de História Oral*, ABHO) in 1992¹⁰. Other important publications, like the book *Usos e abusos da história oral*, organized by Janaína Amado and Marieta de Moraes Ferreira, from 1996, also contributed to this. In an article published in the magazine created by ABHO, this author revisited the challenges and dilemmas of this methodology at the end of the 1990s. For the historian, amidst the increasing number of works at the time, oral history had three major lines of action: academic, community, and business¹¹.

Parallel to this growth in the usage of this methodology, in 1979, when the SM itself raised the issue of rebuilding the UNE, students understood producing a historical memory of the entity could be a weapon to help endure the military dictatorship¹². Thus, it is no coincidence that the military decided to tear down the UNE building in 1980, which had already been rebuilt after it was set on fire during the 1964 coup. According to the Union, since its archives were there during the fire, almost everything was destroyed, and the few scattered documents left were with former members. Understan-

¹⁰ Angélica, Müller; Francine Iegelski. O Brasil e o tempo presente. In: Jorge Ferreira.; Lucília N. Delgado. *Brasil republicano: o tempo da nova república - da transição democrática à crise política de 2016*. Vol. 5. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização brasileira, 2018. pp. 17.

¹¹ Archives and narratives composed of oral testimonies became the object of community projects that sought to contribute to the formation of group identities and also help build company cultures. In this sense, from the 1990s onwards, some companies and/or professionals started to sell or create this type of product, such as the successful venture of the *Museu da Pessoa* - <https://museudapessoa.org/>

¹² Angélica Müller. 'A história como arma': a memória histórica como objeto da resistência estudantil contra a ditadura militar no final dos anos 1970. In: Lucília N. Delgado; Marieta M. Ferreira. (ed.). *História do Tempo Presente*. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2014, p. 81-97.

ding the importance of memory in the identity of the student movement, UNE begins its attempt to reconquer its land plot at Praia do Flamengo, 132, in Rio de Janeiro, and “rebuilding” its history, headquarters, and memory. In the 1980s, there were some actions with this goal in mind. Among them is the “Fontes para a História do Movimento Estudantil” project, developed at Unicamp and financed by CNPq and UNE. It was initially coordinated by Professor Marco Aurélio Garcia¹³ (1984-1988) and later by Professor Mirza Pellicciota¹⁴ (1988-1991). There was also an attempt to create the Honestino Guimarães Study Center (Centro de Estudos Honestino Guimarães, Cehog)¹⁵, based at the University of Brasília, which would be directed by a former president of the UNE, Gisela Mendonça. However, in the early 2000s, UNE sought partners to perform a large institutional memory project.

The MME Project and its Oral Archives

The result of an “unusual” partnership, the “Student Movement Memory Project” (Projeto Memória do Movimento Estudantil, PMME), was developed between 2004 and 2008. It was an initiative of UNE, the Roberto Marinho Foundation¹⁶, and the Museum of the Republic, with support from Petrobrás via the Culture Incentive Law¹⁷. The main goal was “recovering and preserving the memory and history of the Brazilian SM, thus contributing to new research and analysis as well as the formation of new generations of

¹³ Vice-president of UNE in the 1960s who went into exile in 1970 in Uruguay and later in Chile and Panama. He helped found the Workers’ Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*) in 1979. He was a Professor in the Department of History at Unicamp and held the position of Special Presidential Advisor for International Affairs during the mandates of Lula and Dilma Rousseff. He passed away in 2017.

¹⁴ A historian who at the time was working on her seminal Master’s dissertation about the student movement in the 1970s. Between 2000 and 2010, she wrote her Ph.D. thesis about a Trotskyist current in the student movement, Freedom and Fight (*Liberdade e Luta*). She is a freelance historian who works with heritage issues.

¹⁵ Honestino Guimarães was head of UNE between 1971 and 1973, when he was arrested, tortured, and killed by the forces of repression. Honestino’s corpse was never delivered to his family, therefore he is still classified as “disappeared due to political reasons”.

¹⁶ Foundation named after the owner of the largest Brazilian media conglomerate, Organizações Globo, whose television broadcast permit was granted during the dictatorship and, by the end of it, was already the largest television network in the country. Roberto Marinho openly supported the military regime.

¹⁷ Law No. 8,313, of December 23, 1991. Federal law to encourage, safeguard, and provide incentives to the Brazilian cultural heritage.

Brazilians”¹⁸. To this end, a team of multidisciplinary researchers led by university professors Carla Siqueira, from the Communication Program of PUC-Rio; Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro, from the Communication Program of UFRJ; and myself, who had recently left the position of Director of Science and Technology at UNE and was joining the Master’s Program in History of the State University of Rio de Janeiro, studying the foundation and activities of UNE in the 1930s and 40s¹⁹.

One of the three axes developed was the implementation of an Oral History program²⁰, which resulted in 102 interviews with people who were part of the history of the SM that were part of a research initiative carried out in 2004 and 2005. The choice of names followed some criteria, including a time and region-based split of the interviewees, the presence of university-level and high-school activists, and contemplating different political currents simultaneously. Interviews with all former UNE presidents who were still alive also took priority. Over fifty interviews with activists who worked during the military dictatorship stand out among these. A bio for each interviewee was written based on research by the PMME team with primary and secondary sources; in some cases, there was a prior conversation with the interviewee. The researchers created a personalized script for each interviewee based on each bio and a bibliography about the period.

¹⁸ Report of the *Memória do Movimento Estudantil* project. Rio de Janeiro: MME, 2008. (mimeo).

¹⁹ Here, I have a personal remark that helps demonstrate this advancement in Brazilian historiography, albeit in temporal terms. When starting my Master’s degree in 2002, my initial idea was to study the “caras-pintadas” movement that led to the impeachment of President Fernando Collor in 1992. However, as it had only been 10 years since it had happened, I was advised against writing about such recent events, which could be seen as a more journalistic endeavor. Today, my students at the Universidade Federal Fluminense investigate the “journeys of 2013” and how the SM faced the Bolsonaro government (2018-2022). About my dissertation: Angélica Müller. *Entre o Estado e a sociedade: a política de juventude de Vargas e a fundação e atuação da UNE durante o Estado Novo*. 2005. Dissertation (Masters in History) - Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2005.

²⁰ A source guide was also created with a corresponding archive, comprising documents donated by former activists and some institutions. There will be a brief explanation of the methodology used in the interviews and the products derived from them. There will be a brief explanation of the methodology used in the interviews and the products derived from them. For more references on the MME project, its different activities, the complete list of interviewees and its outcome, see: Angélica Müller. *Projeto Memória do Movimento Estudantil: relato de uma experiência*. In: Angelica Müller; Inez Stampa; Marco Aurélio Santana. (ed.). *Documentar a ditadura: arquivos da repressão e da resistência*. 1st edition, Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 2014, p. 152-172.

The vast majority of the interviews were recorded in studios in the cities of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Brasília, in audio and video format. The PMME team chose to work with life stories, seeking to account for the interviewee's trajectory from childhood/teenage years until the moment [of recording] the interview. The trajectories were described based on the surrounding political, socioeconomic, and cultural situations, thus creating a crossover between biography and history. The scripts were organized in chronological order, which, in the team's view, would serve the purpose of chaining the interviewee's memories.

Whenever possible, all interviews were performed by two interviewers and an initial set of questions about the interviewees' family, background, and participation on the SM. The intent was to incorporate biographical data about the interviewee to understand their trajectory and also provide a backdrop so they could present their narrative more easily. In addition to questions about their time as student activists, some questions approached their professional and personal lives. In the final set, all interviews included a standard question about the influence the SM had on the person's life. Finally, the interviewees were asked to provide their opinion on the project about the memory of the Brazilian student movement.

Despite following a previously defined script, the interviewers had the flexibility to add new topics that emerged as the interview progressed. We tried to make as few interruptions as possible during the interviews, allowing the interviewee to follow their train of thought, freely associate ideas, and chain past events. On the other hand, the interviewers were "passive listeners". They intervened by requesting more explanations, asking about specific topics, or raising new questions whenever necessary. The questions sought to make the interviewees recall their experiences and how the social subjects thought and acted during the events²¹. The goal of the interviews was to present data on the history of the Brazilian student movement that were not present in written and iconographic archives precisely because of the possibility that oral narratives enabled: to offer different versions and new information on specific topics from the perspective of the people who lived through them.

In the second stage of the project (2006-2008), the idea was to create products based on the interviews. With this in mind, more than 250 hours of videos were sent to documentary filmmaker Sílvio Tendler, who used this wide range of audiovisual material to make two medium-length films: *Ou*

²¹ Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro. "Memória oral: Alguns procedimentos." Rio de Janeiro: 2004. (mimeo).

ficar a pátria livre ou morrer pelo Brasil and *O afeto que se encerra em nosso peito juvenil*, which are available on YouTube. The same interviews were also sent to historian Maria Paula Araújo (UFRJ), who wrote the book *Memórias estudantis: da fundação da UNE aos nossos dias* (2007), which narrates the period from the 1930s to the “Lula Era” with help by the memories of former activists. Above all, the interviews were a source that the author used to write an approachable book capable of reaching a wider audience.

The book became a core reference for SM researchers and the Project’s interviews were used as sources for several other dissertations²², theses²³, and books²⁴. This is not an exhaustive list, nor are the other references presented throughout this article. One of the main standouts is Aline Portilho’s master’s thesis: *Praia do Flamengo 132: memória, reparação e patrimonialização da União Nacional dos Estudantes*²⁵. One of its chapters was dedicated

²² For example: Carlos Henrique Barbosa Buck. “A UNE e a mobilização das massas estudantis durante o Estado Novo.” Master’s dissertation, Universidade Salgado de Oliveira, Niterói, 2012; Raísa Luísa de Assis Marques. “Do espontâneo ao organizado: O papel da Juventude Comunista no processo de construção da União Nacional dos Estudantes (1935-1938).” Master’s dissertation, Universidade Salgado de Oliveira, Universo, Niterói, 2015; Maria Julia Dias Rodrigues. “Memória em movimento: Repertórios de ação e experiências do tempo no movimento estudantil do ‘fora Collor’ às ‘jornadas de junho’ (1992-2013).” Master’s dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro, 2022; and Julia de Paula França. “PUC-Rio e a resistência universitária à ditadura militar.” Master’s dissertation in Social History of Culture, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, 2022.

²³ For example: Angélica Müller. “O Congresso de Ibiúna: Uma narrativa a partir da memória dos atores.” In: Carlos Fico and Maria Paula Araújo (ed.). “1968 - 40 anos depois: História e memória.” 1st ed. Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2010, pp. 63-80; Angélica Müller. “O movimento estudantil na resistência à Ditadura Militar (1969-1979).” 1st ed. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2016; Mateus da Fonseca Capssa Lima. “A direita estudantil universitária no Rio Grande do Sul: Entre a democracia e a ditadura (1961-1968).” Doctoral thesis, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, São Leopoldo, 2017; Silvana Lazzarotto Schmitt. “A UPE une o Paraná: (Re)organização do movimento estudantil paranaense (1974-1985).” Doctoral thesis, Unicamp, 2018; and Santos, Jordana de Souza. “O movimento estudantil na democratização: Crise da Era Collor e neoliberalismo.” Doctoral thesis, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Marília, São Paulo, 2018.

²⁴ Such as: André Cintra and Raísa Marques. *UBES - uma rebeldia consequente: A história do movimento estudantil secundarista do Brasil*. Projeto Memória do Movimento Estudantil, 2009; Angélica Müller and Tatiana Matos Rezende. “Praia do Flamengo, 132: Histórias e memórias.” São Paulo: Letras do Pensamento, 2012; and André Luiz Rodrigues de Rossi Mattos. “Uma história da UNE (1945-64).” São Paulo: Pontes Editores, 2014.

²⁵ Aline dos Santos Portilho. “Praia do Flamengo 132: Memória, reparação e patrimonialização da União Nacional dos Estudantes.” Master’s dissertation, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Política e Bens Culturais, Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, 2010.

to PMME, especially to the Oral History work performed by the team. For Portilho, the project tried to create “an official history of the UNE”, which does not correspond to the goal of systematizing and producing sources about the history of the SM nor to the goals of the authors of the products based on the interviews.

The products based on the PMME were created by professionals renowned in their respective fields, and the interviews were used as sources for several academic works. Therefore, I propose another way of seeing the PMME –as a public history action. Academic knowledge can be structured by leveraging social and political demands to create products for the general public. In other words, it is a project with experts from various fields (including History, Journalism, and Social Sciences) that employed different media and technologies to create distinct products, helping spread knowledge in various media and languages to different audiences. Ultimately, the PMME can be considered, as Juniele Rabelo Almeida and Marta Rovai point out, a new perspective on knowledge and practice on how to make History and help preserve material culture (in this case, the archives), while also motivating the community to reflect on its history and the relationship between past and present, by means of making the past a live dimension of the present²⁶.

Since the 2000s, academic texts about SM that use interviews performed using oral history techniques have become a constant. Beyond the one mentioned above, we can include the dissertations by Mansan²⁷ and Pinto²⁸, who produced a series of interviews and corresponding data. A few studies have focused on reflecting on the memory of the SM or specific student groups²⁹. However, a work that deserves special attention is the thesis by

²⁶ Juniele Rabêlo Almeida and Marta Gouveia de Oliveira Rovai. “História pública: Entre as ‘políticas públicas’ e os ‘públicos da história.’” *Anais do XXVII Simpósio Nacional de História: Conhecimento histórico e social*. Natal: Anpuh, 2013.

²⁷ Jaime Valim Mansan. “*Os expurgos na UFRGS: Afastamentos sumários de professores no contexto da ditadura civil-militar (1964 e 1969)*.” Master’s dissertation, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul. Porto Alegre, 2009.

²⁸ Magda de Oliveira Pinto. “*A Reforma Universitária como reivindicação estudantil e política pública: A UEE na luta universitária no Rio Grande do Sul (1960-68)*.” Master’s dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, 2010.

²⁹ Like Antônio Mauricio Freitas Brito. “*O golpe de 1964, o movimento estudantil na UFBA e a resistência à ditadura militar (1964-1968)*.” Doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2008; Lucileide Costa Cardoso. “Entre o movimento estudantil e a luta armada: Eudaldo Gomes da Silva.” *História Oral*, vol. 15, no. 2, Jul.-Dec. 2012, pp. 193-216; Gustavo Esteves Lopes. “Ensaio de terrorismo: História oral da atuação do Comando de Caça aos comunistas.” Salvador: Editora Pontocom, 2014; Angélica Müller. “O Congresso de Ibiúna: Uma narrativa a partir da memória dos atores.” In: Carlos Fico and Maria Paula Araújo (ed.). “1968

historian Gislene Lacerda, presented before the UFRJ in 2015 and published in book format in 2017: *A História em disputa: o Movimento Estudantil e a transição democrática brasileira*. This thesis deals with the role of the Brazilian SM in the country's path towards democracy, highlighting its different trends and pioneering spirit that led to street protests in 1977, in addition to the reconstruction of the UNE in 1979 and the mobilizations alongside other social movements during the period. However, as the author demonstrates, for these activists of the 1970s, their recognition is still hindered in favor of a memory centered around the revolutionary generation of 1968. Such memory was supposedly created by the 1968 activists and reinforced by the transition model agreed and endorsed by the State policies regarding memory after the 1988 Constitution³⁰. The thesis relies on a vast range of documents and 20 interviews the author performed with former activists. These two works, by Portilho and Lacerda respectively, are a more in-depth reflection on the history of the SM, as they investigate the constitution of memory and myths, typical of narratives that use interviews solely as sources.

At the end of the first decade of the 2000s, two renowned Brazilian historians dedicated their research to a broader topic: the university environment, including the student environment. Marieta de Moraes Ferreira³¹ addressed a precise object: the development of the History course at the former University of the Federal District, which would later become the University of Brazil and, finally, the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). However, the focus was the faculty trajectory. The students' movement was noticeable from the 1960s onwards, especially since some, like Francisco Falcon, became teachers. In the book's second part, the historian presents the interviews

- *40 anos depois: História e memória*." 1st ed. Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2010, pp. 63-80; Angélica Müller. "*O movimento estudantil na resistência à Ditadura Militar (1969-1979)*." 1st ed. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2016; and Carla Simone Rodeghero and Vanderlei Machado. "Mulheres e movimento: Militância estudantil." *História Oral*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2017, pp. 33-57.

³⁰ I systematized the struggles over memory and historiographical production around the SM resistance against the 21 years of military dictatorship, which enabled me to reflect on a new chronology for the "1968 era" of the Brazilian SM. I concluded that there was an initial historiographical production, led mostly by former activists who endorsed the revolutionary idea as the only means of understanding the 68 era. The subsequent works also adopted the same tone. I try to investigate this issue further by presenting other perspectives, such as counterculture and different modes of resistance, such as peaceful resistance, expanding this temporality. For more information, see: Angélica Müller. O "acontecimento 1968" brasileiro: reflexões acerca de uma periodização da cultura de contestação estudantil. *Revista de História (USP)*, v. 180, p. 1-21, 2021.

³¹ Marieta de Moraes Ferreira. "*A História como ofício: A constituição de um campo disciplinar*." Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2013.

she performed, thus establishing them as a primary source. The second work that deserves special attention was extensive research in the archives of the National Information System (*Sistema Nacional de Informações*, SNI) coupled with oral history interviews: *As universidades e o regime militar* by Rodrigo Patto Sá Motta³². The author analyzed how universities behaved during the dictatorship and outlined major aspects of Brazilian political culture using concepts such as resistance, adherence, and accommodation. Despite not focusing on the SM, these contributions enabled a deeper understanding of its research object by expanding the understanding of the university environment. That allowed new works to reflect on how the SM is organized from its own environment, considering not only its actions but further deepening the relationship between university policies and the various agents that are part of this scenario. And this happened at the same time that another important milestone in this field was attracting the attention of Brazilian society.

The CNV and University Committees: the creation of new oral sources and the consolidation of the history of the present time

Nearly 30 years after the end of the military dictatorship, in November 2011, President Dilma Rousseff established the National Truth Commission (*Comissão Nacional da Verdade*, CNV)³³, thus sanctioning the Access to Information Act (*Lei de Acesso à Informação*)³⁴ and answering a demand from human rights movements and the families of disappeared and missing political agents, as well as other individuals fighting for the tortuous transitional justice process in Brazil³⁵. Despite the quarrels between academics in favor and against historians participating in the Commission³⁶, the CNV enabled countless other truth commissions to be established nationwide, in different formats and levels (state, municipal, and in the name of various associations and unions). Inside universities, that was no different - Several of them created

³² Rodrigo Patto Sá Motta. *As Universidades e o Regime Militar: cultura política brasileira e modernização autoritária*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2014.

³³ Law No. 12,528, of November 18, 2011.

³⁴ Law No. 12,527, of November 18, 2011.

³⁵ For more information about the transitional justice process in Brazil, see: SCHENNEIDER, Nina (ed.) *The Brazilian truth commission: local, national and global perspectives*. New York/Oxford: Berghahn books, 2019. GOIRAND, Camille ; MULLER, Angelica (dir). *Documenter les violences : usages publics du passé dans la justice transitionnelle*. Aubervilliers : Iheal-Creda, 2020.

³⁶ This issue and other ones regarding the role of historians in the CNV and university committees are further investigated in: MULLER, 2020.

their truth commissions, and 15 partnered with the CNV³⁷, whose work I was able to facilitate during 2014 as a senior researcher³⁸. The main goal of the work between the CNV and university committees was to write a chapter about severe violations in universities, included in Volume II of the report³⁹.

Here, I will focus on the work of these commissions, which produced hundreds of interviews, depositions, and hearings (in Portuguese, “*oitiva*”)⁴⁰. Firstly, it is necessary to tackle the term “*oitiva*”. Although the researchers tended to use other terms like “*entrevistas*” (interviews) or “*depoimentos*” (depositions) when executing the work, the term “*oitiva*” (hearing) was chosen by the CNV due to its legal tone, i.e., a hearing for a witness involved in the process. On top of establishing the “historical truth” provided for in the act that created the CNV, the term “*oitiva*” (which is at least controversial for historians) shows that the members of the CNV were seeking to use the report to constitute a “legal truth”⁴¹. It is possible that, at its origin, this decision by the CNV could be guided by a sense of impartiality, of “building evidence”, performing a critical analysis of the “credibility of the witnesses”, issues specific to the work of a judge; however, as Carlo Ginzburg⁴² states, this is also the work of a historian, although in an entirely different way, since only the former enacts judgment. There was a cross of legal argumentation and a historical approach, each with distinct aspects, given that the work followed political, social, and moral guiding threads⁴³.

In the vast majority of cases, the interviewees were professors and students who were persecuted for being part of the resistance against the military regime. Some committees managed to interview employees who worked during the period, particularly the UFRN, which heard depositions from two

³⁷ *Fundação Escola de Sociologia e Política de SP* (FespSP), PUC/SP, UnB, Unesp, Unicamp, Unifesp, Unioeste, UFBA, UFC/UECE, Ufes, UFPA, UFPR, UFRJ, UFRN, and USP.

³⁸ Angélica Müller. “As graves violações aos direitos humanos na universidade.” In: Brazil. *Relatório da Comissão Nacional da Verdade*. Tomo II. Brasília: CNV, 2014, pp. 265-298.

³⁹ For more information about the work of the CNV and university committees, see Müller 2019.

⁴⁰ It is important to remember that the CNV alone had more than a thousand hearings.

⁴¹ According to the CNV coordinator, jurist, and USP Professor Pedro Dallari (2016). In this interview, Dallari presents his view on the CNV work and discusses the issue of historical truth and legal truth.

⁴² Carlo Ginzburg. *«Le juge et l'historien: Considérations en marge du procès Sofri.»* Paris: Verdier, 2007.

⁴³ Angélica Müller. “O ‘tesouro perdido’ da justiça de transição brasileira: a CNV, as comissões universitárias e o trabalho dos historiadores.” *Revista Tempo e Argumento*, 2021, vol. 13, no. 32, p. e0501.

employees of the Security and Information Advisory (*Assessoria de Segurança e Informação*, ASI), the part of the Ministry of Education (*Ministério da Educação*, MEC) responsible for monitoring and producing information about students, faculty, and staff members to be sent to the National Information System (*Sistema Nacional de Informações*, SISNI). To provide a brief overview of how these commissions operated and used various oral history techniques, I would like to detail the work of two of them to highlight not only how rich their contributions were but, above all, to show how such results could be used in distinct activities: primarily playing a social role, but also serving as the initial groundwork that their reports could be built upon. In addition to their social role, the interviews were used in academic works, as shown below.

The Truth Commission of the Federal University of Espírito Santo (*Comissão da Verdade da Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo*, CVUfes) was established under Ordinance No. 478 of March 2013 to recover documents and memories from the military dictatorship, particularly the ones regarding students and public servants from Ufes; this was done by collecting depositions of people from the university community who suffered political repression⁴⁴. The activities of the commission were split into two work groups: Collection and Interviews, which, according to the report, were called “testimonial evidence hearings” (“*oitivas de provas testemunhais*”)⁴⁵ and were performed with 15 witnesses. These “hearings” were divided between “reserved depositions” (“*depoimentos reservados*”) and “public declarations” (“*audiências públicas*”), as prescribed by the CNV template. The reports included only a few references regarding the methodology used during oral testimonies. The CNV report states that:

The deposition collection methodology used by the CNV initially involved defining, based on research by workgroups and guidance by partner truth commissions and societal entities, who the Commission should hear. Thus, state, municipal, sectoral, or union truth commissions (on top of the families of victims and memory, truth, and justice people committees) suggested the names of people the CNV should hear. After the names were chosen, the next step was to collect information about each person in public databases. A list of questions was created for each case.⁴⁶

According to a note about the methodology presented by the Commission of the University of Brasília (UnB), the interviews had clear benefits:

⁴⁴ Pedro Ernesto Fagundes. (coord.). “*Relatório final da Comissão da Verdade.*” Vitória: Ufes/Supecc, 2016, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Idem, p. 18.

⁴⁶ CNV Report, Volume I, 2014, p. 55.

The second line of work, i.e., the private depositions collected in public hearings, proved irreplaceable. Written documents rarely reveal vivid memories, personal journeys, ideals, losses, pains, and joys. Lives pulse under the apparently impersonal chain of events. The testimonies are also very rich in the sense of revealing political options and differences, as well as the friendship bonds established at the time. Every point where power is exercised is also one of resistance. Moreover, the reported memories brought new and substantial information, e.g., the backdrop on which the documents found in the archives were created. This is major because, commonly, in official documents, statements of people deemed “subversive” are captured and adapted according to the interests of agents of State crimes. What is less important but should not be ignored is how testimonies can help fill gaps, e.g., dates, a missing name, or stories that the repression agent did not want, could not, or did not know how to tell.⁴⁷

In the 363 pages of the UnB Commission report⁴⁸, which included the possibility of analyzing documents from the depths of its ASI (one of the only remaining ones), the 47 depositions were prominent and were a reaffirmation for the witnesses by defining who played the roles of victims and perpetrators of violations. This is the case of Euclídes Pirineus, punished under Decree 477 in 1969, who recalled the persecution he suffered by Captan at Sea José Carlos Azevedo, who was Vice-Rector and later became Rector of the University:

UnB was going through difficult times. The student movement no longer had its comrades: Honestino was being persecuted and was no longer there, and by then, Prates had also left. So, the few people who stayed tried to keep the student struggle alive, I, Hélio Doyle, Maninha, and Ivonette. I was just a student leader who fought with other comrades for some university freedoms so that UnB would not be militarized and turned into military barracks.⁴⁹

Excerpts from the interviews produced by the State Truth Committee (*Comissão Estadual da Verdade, CEV*) of the Federal University of Espírito Santo also appear in the report. A good example is Marcelo Paes Barreto, who gave a “reserved deposition”. Marcelo was the son of Rector Manuel Xavier Paes Barreto Filho, who was dismissed from the university shortly after the *coup* and was a friend of João Goulart. Marcelo also remembered another major character in the history of the UFES during the dictatorship, who later became Head of the UFES ASI: Alberto Monteiro. According to the report, Marcelo stated: “He was a coward. That’s what those people, they report, (...)”

⁴⁷ CATMV UnB Report, 2016, p. 27.

⁴⁸ The UnB created a website for the committee with the material they worked on, the entire report, deposition videos, reports, etc.: <http://www.comissaoverdade.unb.br>

⁴⁹ CATMV UnB Report, 2016, p. 141

I remember one time when he came into the house, and my mother yelled at him: ‘What are you doing? Why are you reporting my husband?’”⁵⁰.

The intent is to highlight the importance and potential of the material produced by the commissions, which undoubtedly deserves a careful critical analysis by the historians who choose to analyze them. The immense effort of these university truth commissions provided access to information about a little-known facet of the military dictatorship’s history, which had significant repercussions. The Federal University of Espírito Santo was an exemplary case because of what the actions of the Commission enabled in the scientific field: there have been five dissertations on the University and the local student movement using the documents produced⁵¹, in addition to two theses⁵².

Final notes

The two experiences narrated herein showcase how the “memorial boom” that began in the 1980s and 1990s was important to rally agents and institutions in Brazil that advocated for the ideals of memory, truth, and justice –pillars of transitional justice– and how they managed, from the 2000s onwards, to perform actions geared towards fulfilling these demands. First of all, for the student entity that took it upon itself to build and make available

⁵⁰ Pedro Ernesto Fagundes. (coord.). *Relatório final da Comissão da Verdade.* Vitória: Ufes/Supecc, 2016, p. 27.

⁵¹ Namely: Ayala Rodrigues Oliveira Pelegrine. *Modernização e Repressão: Os Impactos da Ditadura Militar na Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (1969-1974).* Master’s dissertation, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Vitória, 2016; Leonardo Baptista. *Entre a Ilegalidade e a Luta Institucional: A Atuação do PCB no Espírito Santo no Contexto da Abertura Política (1978-1985).* Master’s dissertation, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Vitória, 2016; Luiz Fernando da Silva Brumana. *O Grito da Resistência: O Jornal Posição e a Cobertura da Abertura Política no Espírito Santo (1976 a 1981).* Master’s dissertation, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Vitória, 2016; Ramilhes Grassi Athaydes. *Documentando a subversão: A reorganização do movimento estudantil na Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (1976-1978).* Master’s dissertation, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Vitória, 2017; and Mateus da Fonseca Capssa Lima. *A direita estudantil universitária no Rio Grande do Sul: Entre a democracia e a ditadura (1961-1968).* Doctoral thesis, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, São Leopoldo, 2017.

⁵² Dinorah Lopes Rubim Almeida. *A vigilância e a repressão política durante o governo Ernesto Geisel (1974-1979): As universidades brasileiras sob a mira da ditadura.* Doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, 2019, and Ayala Rodrigues Oliveira Pelegrine. *Mulher presa pra mim é homem”: Ditadura militar e violência de gênero institucional na Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (1971-1973).* Doctoral thesis, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História das Relações Políticas, 2021, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo.

a documentary corpus –notably an oral one– the development of the Student Movement Memory Project had noticeable effects in expanding knowledge and studies on the topic. Many of these studies even used the sources from the project. The same happened in the CNV process, albeit in a much smaller scale, since this moment was a turning point⁵³ in the historiography of the history of the present time in Brazil, and topics surrounding the student movement and universities (among others) deserve to be highlighted.

Since the work of the National Truth Commission has finished⁵⁴, interest in the topic in academia has greatly increased, particularly in the field of History. Proof of this is the Thematic Symposium of the National History Association (*Associação Nacional de História*, Anpuh), “Universities and the student movement”, in its third edition in 2019. All editions were attended by over twenty researchers (including master’s students, doctoral students, and university professors) from all country regions and even researchers from Argentina. Much of the research uses oral sources (either through interviews by the authors or found in the various archives mentioned herein and others). Oral history, which has a strong presence in Brazilian historiography, is also a highlight in works on the SM. Truthfully, in their vast majority, these interviews act as a source, thus dictating a partial interpretation of the past. It is also a fact that a large part of this work is performed by young historians who have had some type of involvement in the SM and who, therefore, also have a preconceived view. That in itself is not an issue when this perspective is made explicit to the reader⁵⁵. Here I go back to where this article first started: the fleeting time a researcher has to focus on this topic. Deeper reflections require maturity and, at the end of day, time for study and research. But what I can attest to after two decades investigating this topic is that this is still a collective endeavor and that reflections on the history of the SM have become denser precisely due to advancements and more in-depth studies on historiography, be it by encompassing more varied topics and periods, or by the reflections that have emerged over time.

⁵³ Marieta de Moraes Ferreira. Notas iniciais sobre a história do tempo presente e a historiografia no Brasil. *Tempo e Argumento*, 10 (23): 80-108, 2018.

⁵⁴ It is important to note that several commissions kept working after the CNV, like the UFRJ Commission, which was renewed at the beginning of 2019.

⁵⁵ In my History course senior research assignment, I wrote about my experience with activism and the history of the project that I was a part of and helped stay active during the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso. That monograph became a book: Angélica Müller. *Qualidade no ensino superior: a luta do Programa Especial de Treinamento*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2003.

It is also worth noting that, over fifteen years after the survey by Menegozzo, the topic of student movements has become more plural, as shown by the examples presented herein. And regarding its depth, I believe that the field of memory studies and public uses of the past is an adequate way to further develop the historiography of the SM. As well as the analysis of the production of different types of oral testimonies produced by truth commissions and their differences in comparison to interviews produced directly for academic research, like Marieta Ferreira and Maud Chirio with Mariana Joffily⁵⁶ have already done on investigations about the dictatorship.

The “CNV moment”⁵⁷ opened the way for multiple narratives of the past, including denialist ones, to emerge in the present time. Greater proof of this was the election of Jair Bolsonaro, an enthusiast of the military dictatorship and former president Dilma Rousseff’s torturer, Colonel Brilhante Ustra. It is no coincidence that the current Brazilian scenario led researchers to focus on right-wing SM, which has already consolidated itself⁵⁸. Studies on the right-wing SM were practically non-existent until the beginning of this century, which shows that historians of the present time are not only driven by social demand; as agents of history, they feel compelled to interpret the facts that unfold before their eyes. As “masters of time”, the density of their reflections is showcased by the possible interpretations of the different temporalities of the present.

⁵⁶ Both chapters are part of the following book: Camille Goirand; Angélica Müller (dir). *Construire la mémoire historique : usages publics du passé dans la justice transitionnelle*. Paris: Iheal, 2020.

⁵⁷ By “CNV moment”, I mean the period from the creation of the Access to Information Act (and the one that created the CNV in 2011), until the delivery of the Final Report, in December 2014. This “moment” encompasses the array of actions, characters, and movements, including activities from all other commissions created in the period that advocated for transitional justice in Brazil. It is my understanding that this “CNV moment” was a turning point not only in recent Brazilian history but also in our historiographical production about the present time, especially in what concerns reflections about our practice. For more information: Angélica Müller. *Responsabilidade histórica, responsabilidade do historiador: o “momento CNV” como turn point da historiografia da história do tempo presente*. *Tempo e Argumento* (mimeo).

⁵⁸ See: Gustavo Esteves Lopes. *Ensaio de terrorismo: História oral da atuação do Comando de Caça aos comunistas*. Salvador: Editora Pontocom, 2014; André Luiz Rodrigues de Rossi Mattos. *Uma história da UNE (1945-64)*. São Paulo: Pontes Editores, 2014; Mateus da Fonseca Capssa Lima. *A direita estudantil universitária no Rio Grande do Sul: Entre a democracia e a ditadura (1961-1968)*. Doctoral thesis, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, São Leopoldo, 2017; and Rafaela Mateus Antunes dos Santos Freiberger. *O outro lado da Rua Maria Antônia: A atuação das juventudes de direita em 1960*. Master’s dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2015.

Another critical point is that these studies are no longer restricted to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo⁵⁹. That shows that Brazilian historiographical production is more decentralized and that there is no longer the need to go to large urban centers to research archives. However, above all, this is a testament to the fact that, in a continental country like Brazil, the experiences are multiple and encompass regional and local particularities; for this very reason, they deserve to be analyzed and highlighted, since the movement cannot be summarized in the actions of the UNE nor in the events that happened in large urban centers like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Several works have tackled periods before and after the military dictatorship⁶⁰. I believe these topics have also been motivated by the consoli-

⁵⁹ See: Antônio Mauricio Freitas Brito. “*O golpe de 1964, o movimento estudantil na UFBA e a resistência à ditadura militar (1964-1968)*.” Doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2008; Jaime Valim Mansan. “*Os expurgos na UFRGS: Afastamentos sumários de professores no contexto da ditadura civil-militar (1964 e 1969)*.” Master’s dissertation, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul. Porto Alegre, 2009; Magda de Oliveira Pinto. “*A Reforma Universitária como reivindicação estudantil e política pública: A UEE na luta universitária no Rio Grande do Sul (1960-68)*.” Master’s dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, 2010; Mateus da Fonseca Capssa Lima. “*A direita estudantil universitária no Rio Grande do Sul: Entre a democracia e a ditadura (1961-1968)*.” Doctoral thesis, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, São Leopoldo, 2017; Marcos Luiz Hinterholz. “*O lugar onde a casa mora: Memórias sobre a Casa do Estudante Universitário Aparício Cora de Almeida - CEUACA (1963-1981)*.” Master’s dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Faculdade de Educação, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Porto Alegre (RS), 2017; Dimas Brasileiro Veras. “*Palácios Cariados: A Elite Universitária e a Ditadura Militar - O Caso da Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (1964 - 1975)*.” Doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 2018; Juan Ignacio Gonzales. “*Estudantes e política sob ditadura. Os universitários nas vésperas do Cordobazzo (1966-1969)*.” Doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro, 2018; Gustavo Bianch Silva Matias. “*A UREMG/UFV e suas relações com o poder: Modernização, ditadura e convênios internacionais*.” Doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2019; and Thiago Nunes Soares. “*Um clima de agitação criado por alunos esquerdistas: Vigilância, militância política e lutas pelas liberdades democráticas na UFPE (1973-1985)*.” Doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2020.

⁶⁰ See: Carlos Henrique Barbosa Buck. “*A UNE e a mobilização das massas estudantis durante o Estado Novo*.” Master’s dissertation, Universidade Salgado de Oliveira, Niterói, 2012; André Luiz Rodrigues de Rossi Mattos. “*Uma história da UNE (1945-64)*.” São Paulo: Pontes Editores, 2014; Raisa Luisa de Assis Marques. “*Do espontâneo ao organizado: O papel da Juventude Comunista no processo de construção da União Nacional dos Estudantes (1935-1938)*.” Master’s dissertation, Universidade Salgado de Oliveira, Univero, Niterói, 2015; Jordana de Souza Santos. “*O movimento estudantil na democratização: Crise da Era Collor e neoliberalismo*.” Master’s dissertation, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Marília, São Paulo, 2018; Gustavo Bianch Silva Matias. “*A UREMG/UFV e suas relações com o poder: Modernização, ditadura e convênios internacionais*.” Doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2019; and

dation of the history of the present time in Brazil⁶¹ and are a sign of how historiography is influenced by social demand (and vice versa). Although the current production is still centered to a large extent around the period of the military regime, the focus is no longer on the 1960s and the activism of the 1970s⁶², even reaching the 1980s⁶³.

Student activism is now analyzed based on the broader context of the universities, thus enabling research around gender studies⁶⁴, university housing⁶⁵ and also its relationship with culture⁶⁶, for example. The “other side” of resistance –repression– has now become a topic of interest, providing a more

Maria Julia Dias Rodrigues. *Memória em movimento: Repertórios de ação e experiências do tempo no movimento estudantil do 'fora Collor' às 'jornadas de junho' (1992-2013)*. Doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro, 2022.

⁶¹ For an in-depth look of the trajectory of the field of current history in Brazil and its current challenges, see: Marieta de Moraes Ferreira. “Notas iniciais sobre a história do tempo presente e a historiografia no Brasil.” *Tempo e Argumento*, vol. 10, no. 23, 2018, and Angélica Müller and Francine Iegelski (eds.). *História do tempo presente: Mutações e reflexões*. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2022.

⁶² See: Angélica Müller. *O movimento estudantil na resistência à Ditadura Militar (1969-1979)*. 1st ed. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2016; and Gislene Edwiges de Lacerda. *A história em disputa: Movimento estudantil e a transição democrática brasileira*. Curitiba: Prismas, 2017.

⁶³ See: Leonardo Baptista. *Entre a Ilegalidade e a Luta Institucional: A Atuação do PCB no Espírito Santo no Contexto da Abertura Política (1978-1985)*. Master's dissertation, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Vitória, 2016; Gislene Edwiges de Lacerda. *A história em disputa: Movimento estudantil e a transição democrática brasileira*. Curitiba: Prismas, 2017; and Silvana Lazzarotto Schmitt. *A UPE une o Paraná: (Re)organização do movimento estudantil paranaense (1974-1985)*. Doctoral thesis, Unicamp, 2018.

⁶⁴ For example: Carla Simone Rodeghero and Vanderlei Machado. “Mulheres e movimento: Militância estudantil.” *História Oral*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2017, pp. 33-57; Mateus da Fonseca Capssa Lima. *A direita estudantil universitária no Rio Grande do Sul: Entre a democracia e a ditadura (1961-1968)*. Doctoral thesis, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, São Leopoldo, 2017; Athaysi Colaco Gomes. *A atuação das mulheres no movimento estudantil secundarista fortalezense na luta contra a ditadura militar (1964-1972)*. Master's dissertation in History and Cultures, Universidade Estadual do Ceará, 2019; and Ayala Rodrigues Oliveira Pelegrine. *Mulher presa pra mim é homem: Ditadura militar e violência de gênero institucional na Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (1971-1973)*. Doctoral thesis, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História das Relações Políticas, 2021, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo.

⁶⁵ Marcos Luiz Hinterholz. *O lugar onde a casa mora: Memórias sobre a Casa do Estudante Universitário Aparício Cora de Almeida - CEUACA (1963-1981)*. Master's dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Faculdade de Educação, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Porto Alegre (RS), 2017.

⁶⁶ Miliandre Garcia. *Do teatro militante à música engajada: A experiência do CPC da UNE*. São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2007.

in-depth reflection on the actions of students and the military⁶⁷. However, this topic deserves further study, given the number of sources (written and oral) that have emerged in the last ten years. It is true that the high school SM continues to be understudied in comparison to the university movement thus, it is another topic that can be further explored. Finally, there is a lack of works focused on an in-depth analysis of historiography presenting developments and setbacks, as well as potential research paths. In this sense, this article is an invitation.

Ultimately, besides the richness of oral sources, this plurality of approaches and topics is chock-full of potential. This is a testament to the wide diversity of works about the SM and the possibility of presenting more developed reflections, showing that, even with their respective specificities, social demand, and historiography are two parts of the same feedback loop.

⁶⁷ Jaime Valim Mansan. "*Os expurgos na UFRGS: Afastamentos sumários de professores no contexto da ditadura civil-militar (1964 e 1969)*." Master's dissertation, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul. Porto Alegre, 2009.