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AND THE PHOTOJOURNALISM  
(1964-1985)**

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***Ph.D. Student:***

***Thomas Dreux Miranda Fernandes***

***Supervisor***

***Prof. David Bruni***

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Amigo, não sabes  
que existe amanhã?  
Então um sorriso  
nascerá no fundo  
de tua miséria  
e te destinará  
o melhor sentido.  
Exato, amanhã  
será outro dia.  
Para ele viajas.  
Vamos para ele.  
Venceste o desgosto,  
calcaste o indivíduo,  
já teu passo avança  
em terra diversa.  
Teu passo: outros passos  
ao lado do teu.  
O pisar de botas,  
outros nem calçados,  
mas todos pisando,  
pés no barro, pés  
n'água, na folhagem,  
pés que marcham muitos,  
alguns se desviam  
mas tudo é caminho.  
Tantos: grossos, brancos,  
negros, rubros pés,  
tortos ou lanhados,  
fracos, retumbantes,  
gravam no chão mole  
marcas para sempre:  
pois a hora mais bela  
surge da mais triste.

DRUMMOND, Carlos. *Uma hora e mais outra*. In: A Rosa do Povo, 1945.

## ABSTRACT

The research focuses on the role played by photojournalism in the press during the military dictatorship. The aim is to understand how the relationship between the newspapers «Folha de S. Paulo» and «Jornal do Brasil» with the military that were in power for two decades evolved. The hypothesis was that both newspapers elaborated a dialectical process of discursive reorganization on what the dictatorship was, revealing consequently, an updated attitude towards those who governed the country and how it was enunciated themselves as a newspaper. Were verified significant changes that occurred during the period under consideration, first and foremost through the extensive use of images, were a response to the increasing complexity of relations in Brazilian society. Given the centrality of discursive production as a useful tool to achieve certain political and economic objectives, the photograph language and the verbo-visual tools interaction in the pages of newspapers were analyzed in a dialogical key, resorting to certain categories and concepts present in the thought of Bakhtin's Circle and Antonio Gramsci.

**Keywords:** Dictatorship; Photojournalism; Discourse; Brazilian History

La ricerca si concentra sul ruolo svolto dal fotogiornalismo nella stampa durante la dittatura militare. L'obiettivo è capire come si sia evoluto il rapporto tra i quotidiani «Folha de S. Paulo» e «Jornal do Brasil» e i militari che hanno gestito il potere per due decenni. La ipotesi di lavoro è che entrambi i quotidiani abbiano elaborato un processo dialettico di riorganizzazione discorsiva su cosa fosse la dittatura e, di conseguenza, sull'atteggiamento di sé stessi da assumere nei confronti di chi governava il Paese e della Storia. Le modifiche anche significative verificatesi nel corso del periodo considerato, innanzitutto grazie a un ampio utilizzo delle immagini, furono la risposta all'aumento della complessità dei rapporti della società brasiliana. Data la centralità della produzione discorsiva come strumento utile per raggiungere determinati obiettivi politici ed economici, il linguaggio fotografico e l'interazione degli strumenti verbo-visuali nelle pagine dei quotidiani sono stati analizzati in chiave dialogica, ricorrendo ad alcune categorie e concetti presenti nel pensiero di Circolo Bakhtin e di Antonio Gramsci.

**Parole chiavi:** Dittatura; Fotogiornalismo; Discorso; Storia del Brasile

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## **ABBREVIATIONS LIST<sup>1</sup>**

ABI – Associação Brasileira de Imprensa  
AI – Ato Institucional  
ANL – Aliança Nacional Libertadora  
AP – Ação Popular  
ARENA – Aliança Restauradora Nacional  
ASI – Assessoria de Informações  
BNDE – Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento  
CBA – Comitê Brasileiro pela Anistia  
Cenimar – Centro de Informações da Marinha  
CEPAL – Comissão Econômica para a América Latina e Caribe  
CIE – Centro de Informações do Exército  
Cisa – Centro de Informações da Aeronáutica  
CMN – Conselho Monetário Nacional  
CNPTS – Confederação Nacional dos Bispos  
CNS – Conselho Nacional de Segurança  
CNV – Comissão Nacional da Verdade  
Codi – Centro de Operações e Defesa Interna  
Codimec – Comitê de Divulgação do Mercado de Capitais  
Colina – Comando de Libertação Nacional  
CPDOC – Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação em História Contemporânea  
CSN – Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional  
DEFE - Ministério da Defesa  
DEOPS – Departamento de Ordem Político e Social  
DFSP – Departamento Federal de Segurança Pública  
DOI – Destacamento de Operações e Informações  
DPF – Departamento de Polícia Federal  
DSI – Divisão de Segurança e Informações  
ESG - Escola Superior do Guerra  
FAB – Força Aérea Brasileira  
FGTS – Fundo de Garantia do tempo de serviço  
FIESP – Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo  
FSP – Folha de S. Paulo  
INPS – Instituto Nacional de Prev. Privado  
Ipeac – Instituto de Pesquisas, Estudos e Assessoria do Congresso  
IPT – Instituto de Polícia Técnica  
JB – Jornal do Brasil  
MCV – Movimento Custo de Vida  
MDB – Movimento Democrático Brasileiro  
MNR – Movimento Nacional Revolucionário

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<sup>1</sup> In this list the abbreviations and acronyms are presented in Portuguese as in original, the translations are presented along the text as they are mentioned.

MPJQ – Movimento Popular Jânio Quadros  
MR-8 – Movimento Revolucionário 8 de Outubro  
OAB – Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil  
Oban – Operação Bandeirante  
Paeg – Plano Ação Econômica do Governo  
PCB – Partido Comunista Brasileiro  
PCdo B – Partido Comunista do Brasil  
PDC – Partido Democrata Cristão  
PDS – Partido Democrático Social  
PED – Programa Estratégico de Desenvolvimento  
PL – Partido Libertador  
PND – Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento  
Popolp – Política Operária  
PR – Partido Republicano  
PRC – Partido Revolucionário Comunista  
PUC – Pontifícia Universidade Católica  
PSB – Partido Socialista Brasileiro  
PSD – Partido Social Democrático  
PSP – Partido Social Progressista  
PTB – Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro  
SBPC – Sociedade Brasileira para o progresso da Ciência  
SIAN – Sistema de Informações do Arquivo Nacional  
SIP - Sociedade Interamericana de Imprensa  
SNI – Serviço Nacional de Informações  
SNT – Serviço Nacional de Teatro  
SUS – Sistema Único de Saúde  
TSE – Tribunal Superior Eleitoral  
UDN – União Democrática Nacional  
UNB – Universidade de Brasília  
UNE – União Nacional dos Estudantes  
VPR – Vanguarda Popular Revolucionária  
VAR-Palmares – Vanguarda Armada Revolucionária – Palmares

## **Introduction – The discourse as a path to History**

A first overall reference to the idea of a Military Dictatorship might lead to the conception of a scenario mostly mediated by physical violence. Although it is true, there are many more layers of authoritarianism into what might be supposed to mean a Military government in the 20<sup>th</sup> century's second half. The main objective of the present work is to analyze how photojournalism was inserted in a context of a multifaceted spiral of violence and authoritarianism; in which in different opportunities and layers the mass media press practice was included, even if with an apparent discourse that indicates the opposite. From the night between March 31<sup>st</sup> and April's 1<sup>st</sup> of 1964, Brazil had been under a reactionary, conservative and right-wing military dictatorship until April 1985. In more than twenty years of authoritarianism, the Brazilian militaries have had the support of the United States government in a Cold-War context, and their regime presented some specific characteristics, the main one has been the fact that in Brazil five different «military presidents» took turns in power instead of a sole dictator. In addition to it, the country went through some clearly different political moments under the military's yoke.

These specific characteristics were taken into account in the overall organization of the analysis, in which three main time periods were considered. A first moment, between 1964-1968, in which the first military government was consolidated into a military regime; a second one from the end of 1968 until 1974, marked by the apparent controversial coincidence of two main factors: the terrors of the most violent repression period, the so called «years of lead», in the forms of censorship, political persecution, torture, killings, etc., conjugated with the most prosperous development years, or the «economic miracle»; finally, from 1975 until 1985, corresponding to the period in which the détente had started and its unfolding, a process built around the idea of a national reconciliation and unity. Along these three main moments of socio-political movement inside the military dictatorship - and according to the immediate or long-term class interests - the mass media press had undergone a similar process. Some newspapers have grown, others have shrunk, political or economic closings and detachments between the conglomerates and the regime. It is the comprehension of this discursive and narrative reorganization that is this analysis's main objective.

The main research object proposed is the news production and discursive organization accomplished by two of the main Brazilian newspapers during the indicated period indicated. Thereby, a group of editions published by two different newspapers will be scrutinized: the «Folha de S. Paulo» a São Paulo's daily news that along the 1900s second half consolidated



itself as one of the most important media conglomerates in the country; and the «Jornal do Brasil», a daily news from Rio de Janeiro that in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was economically consolidated and has been the first Brazilian newspaper that had published photographs in its pages, although, after the 1970s, the newspaper saw the beginning of its decline. The choice of these two press organs is justified by its discursive representation of the two most important and influential cities in the country (politically and economically). Furthermore, the material transformation undergone by both papers are worthwhile examples of the material changes that the press and society went through in those decades.

Regarding the access to the sources, archives and documents the work was concentrated in the Digital Archives of the newspapers that are available online. In both cases almost the entire historical archive of the dailies is digitalized and available either on the newspaper website as the «Folha de S. Paulo» case, or in the Brazilian «Biblioteca Nacional» digital hemeroteca and «Google Archives» as has been the case of the «Jornal do Brasil». A first selection of key dates and daily issues has been made before the beginning of the Ph.D. studies, during the research development years this initial framing had suffered some changes and additions. Overall, the analysis proposal selected six key dates to the regime politics distributed along the regime's decades, resulting in two dates for each decade. Each date and the motivation for its selection will be further detailed. At this point, however, the historian's work faces its most challenging task: the attempt to create a coherent pathway by correctly selecting sources that exist in abundance (DI BELLA, 2021, p. 44). In addition to it, other documents have been related to the main sources, intersecting the newspapers production with the official version of the Military Government, the National Congress, different repressive agencies, diplomatic cables, and international documents related to the denounces of the regime's arbitrariness in international forums.

Supporting and sustaining the analysis, the present work relies in a convergence of several theoretical and methodological tools in the intention to dissect the ways, but mainly, the reasons of how the press enunciation has been built, reorganized and up-dated along the dictatorship in a perspective that aims the historicization of the discourse in a historic-materialist gaze. In so, Antonio Gramsci (1975) categories offers the main framing of the political comprehension of that specific social horizon, relating the political-economical assets with the cultural and intellectual production. Adding extra layers, the considerations and conceptualization on Language Philosophy proposed by Valetin Volosinov (1973) and Mikhail Bakhtin (1986) guided a dialogical interaction path inside the verbo-visual elements that a newspaper page presents to the reader. Finally, aiming a better understating and description of

the photographs and its narrative tools, some perspectives were amalgamated in an attempt to create an analytical grid capable of organizing the gaze to the images and the comprehension of its path flow along the decades. To do so, central were the works of Boni (2000), Mauad (2005b), Pieroni (2006) and Marra (2017). It is fundamental to underscore that the work here proposed is intentionally placed in an intersectional disciplinary point between History, Philosophy and Cultural Studies, which can bring important difficulties to its realization, we believe that these difficulties do not annulate the potentiality of a multilayered proposal like this, and that it's methodological articulation attempted was inserted and focused. In brief, this attempt considers that «la storia è sempre composta e multiforme, la verità sta nelle sfumature, nelle pieghe, nei chiaroscuri. Non bisogna mai smettere di approfondire, di porsi domande, di aprire la mente al dubbio e alla complessità»<sup>1</sup> (GOBETTI, 2020, p. XVI).

In a pragmatic perspective, the thesis is divided in two main sections: the first one, formed by three different chapters, presents in first place the «State of Art» related to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship historiography works, dividing it thematically according to some of the main approaches. The following chapter is dedicated to the theoretical and methodological foundations of the analysis, indicating the main philosophical debates related to the conceptualization of the newspapers as «private apparatus of hegemony», the substance of the uttering and the language tools that an image can carry and develop. The goals with this chapter, beyond indicating such issues, is to address a possible application of the convergence of these concepts and gazes. Finally, the last chapter of the first section brings an historical trail of how the photography and the two press organs analyzed developed inside Brazilian history, and its main idea is to deepen the interactions and the materiality that are the basis of the narrative sense that will be analyzed. The second section of the research, divided in its turn in six chapters, each regarding one of the historical key dates selected, is fully dedicated to the images and the newspaper analysis. Each chapter of the second part presents information on the overall aspect of the press coverage of the events and then detailed information that emerged from the analysis of the photographs and its verbo-visual interactions inside the newspaper pages, its issues and the overall context. Resuming the constant exchanges between the narrative process and the historicization as an analytical trail to better understand the historical events.

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<sup>1</sup> «History is always composite and multiform, the truth lies in the nuances, the folds, the shadings. One must never stop investigating, asking questions, opening one's mind to doubt and complexity».

## **PART I – The convergence acquainting**

### ***CHAPTER 1 – Routes and paths, the State of Art interpretations inside the human sciences***

The attempts to understand, comprehend, and explain what the Brazilian Military Dictatorship during the second half of the 20th century has been, promoted several strands of interpretation inside the academy, and the society. Common sense and scientific research had unfolded diverse reactions and memories of the period. These facts, in its turn, brings as consequence a fruitful, intense, and necessary debate until nowadays. Our goal in the following pages is to indicate and underline what are the mains lines of study, interpretation, and comprehension of the period mostly inside the Brazilian academy and society. With this objective we must, at first, underline that our aim in this chapter it is not to fully cover the entire scientific production about the Brazilian Dictatorship and exhaust the titles or interpretation trends but expose and report what we retain as the most important themes of debate, its authors, and fields of actuation.

In so and taking in consideration how the interest and researches dedicated to the period had suffered changes throughout the decades we decided to create framing items that will help us to remain in the tracks and synthetic. In first place, we will be dedicated to the studies and analysis that aimed to explain what the Dictatorship as a political and social event has been, as well as its relations with different cultural aspects and its relations with the press; its transformations and how the analysis had migrated from different areas of study, among them: Communication, Linguistics, Social Sciences and History. Afterwards, in a second part the chapter will be focused on the main contributions to the comprehension of the Press History.

Finally, we must also draw attention to the fact that the following pages does not proposes to solve or deal with the theoretical and methodological aspects, arguments and bases that support the reflections carried in the present research. To these, it is dedicated the second chapter of the present work, in which not only will be indicated the foundations of the theoretical grounds in which this research relies on, and yet other considerations and reflections that have the Historic Semiotics, Language Philosophy, and Iconological Interpretation as the field of work. As much as we consider the interaction of this areas of studies inside the human sciences as fundamental to the understanding of our object of study, the decision of creating this framing in this chapter has the objective of delimitation of the interactions proposed.

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## *The Brazilian dictatorship – Perspectives and changes along the decades*

Even though the phenomenon of the Dictatorship had last for twenty-one years (1964-1985), its foundations and reasons were accumulated and come from more than thirty years before the coup. In addition to that, its consequences might be felt until these days<sup>3</sup>, more than three decades after the official end of the Military regime. However, throughout the years, different interests of analysis have surfaced regarding diverse fields of study. In first place, still during the regime and in the first years after the return of the democracy, what has been seen was a strong interest of sectors of the Political Sciences, Economy<sup>4</sup>, and Journalism that tried to understand what had been those two decades of authoritarianism. Perhaps the sequence of five books written by Elio Gaspari<sup>5</sup> is the most popular work dedicated to the theme. With access to General Golbery Couto e Silva's special and personal files, the journalist had the opportunity to narrate key moments of the period from a new perspective, the one of the governments itself. Most of the first works (especially those made still during the military regime) were produced by the so-called «Brazilianists» or by Brazilians that were living and working abroad as direct or indirect results of the authoritarianism.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> There is a long and strong trend inside the analysis of the Military Regime that stress out the fact that the lack of a judgement, condemn and reparation process after the end of the dictatorship led the country to a weak democracy, in which the groups that perpetrated several human rights and constitutional violations walked free from the transition process. This debate has retaken force inside the Brazilian society specially after the process of deposition of Dilma Rousseff from presidency in 2016 and the electoral campaign in 2018, when Jair Messias Bolsonaro, an ex-military and still candidate to the presidency organized his campaign and won the elections giving constant and several declarations in the memory of the Dictatorship, the militaries, and its actions.

<sup>4</sup> The works of Maria Conceição Tavares, *Da substituição de importações ao capitalismo financeiro*. Rio de Janeiro, Zahar, 1972 and Francisco Oliveira, *A economia brasileira: crítica à razão dualista*, Petrópolis, Vozes/Cebrap, 1981. Are good examples of how some economical aspects of the regime were treated inside this fields of study in a moment in which the regime was still in place and political analysis had less space.

<sup>5</sup> Elio Gaspari it was born in Naples, Italy and when he was still a child migrated with his family to Brazil. In the country he dedicated his studies to History, although he has been expelled from the «Faculdade Nacional de Filosofia FNF/RJ». From 1984, due to a scholarship he started his studies dedicated to the Generals Ernesto Geisel and Golbery do Couto e Silva, two central figures of the Brazilian Dictatorship. From this long research were published his main books: *As ilusões armadas: a ditadura envergonhada* (2002), *As ilusões armadas: a ditadura escancarada* (2002)», *O sacerdote e o feiticeiro: A ditadura derrotada* (2003) e *O Sacerdote e o Feiticeiro: A ditadura encurralada* (2004) e *A ditadura acabada* (2016).

<sup>6</sup> The political scientist Alfred C. Stepan (USA) proposed in 1971 an analysis of the relations of the military and civil society trough a new kind of source, Brazilian military academy files, editorials, interviews with military and civilian leaders. To further information see: Alfred C. Stepan. *The military in politics: changing patterns in Brazil*. Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1971. Another example it is the work of Thomas Skidmore, professor at the Brown University, published the historiographical manual Thomas Skidmore. *Brasil: de Castelo a Tancredo* or. *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil 1964-85*, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1988. Finally, we must indicate other two major works of the period and this field of interpretation, René Armand Dreiffus in the *1964: A conquista do Estado a Ph.D. thesis presented at the Glasgow University* and Maria Helena Moreira Alves *Estado e Oposição no Brasil – 1964/1984* also a Ph.D. thesis in this case presented at the MIT. Both are references to understand some of the first perspectives of the coup. In addition to it, the work of Riccardo Campa. *Ontem. L'elegia del Brasile*. Il Mulino, Bologna, 2007. It is a work of depth that presents an Italian gaze to the Brazilian history, however, in a wider approach with different methodological tools that the ones used in the present work.

Naturally, to the historiography were needed some years to begin the development of a significant interest in the Dictatorship and its layers. Nevertheless, a growing concern of the historical studies to the theme has not blocked other disciplines to dedicate themselves to the same subject, in that way, were also developed studies in the fields of Linguistics comprehending Semiotics<sup>7</sup> and Discourse Analysis<sup>8</sup>. Lately, the topic had stimulated also works in Archeology<sup>9</sup>, Diplomacy<sup>10</sup>, Music<sup>11</sup>, and Cinema<sup>12</sup>, in this case a strong connection with historiographical works and their support are seen. Another interesting aspect that will be faced in the following pages it is the fact that during the last decades the works dedicated to the Brazilian Dictatorship had been more and more inserted in the University and less related to the work of journalists or specialists from outside the academy dedicated to the topic.

### *The coup d'état*

A first secession inside the studies and analysis of the regime might be seen in the several points of view and interpretations that exists around what were the causes and reasons

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<sup>7</sup> In this field of study, one of the pioneers' propositions has been the work of José Luiz Fiorin. *O regime de 1964: discurso e ideologia*. 1 ed. São Paulo: Atual, 1988. In this case, the author proposes a Structuralist Semiotic analysis of the speeches of the first military that occupied the presidency, General Humberto Castelo Branco.

<sup>8</sup> An example of how the argument has been treated inside this branch of studies it the work of Danielle Forget, *Conquistas e resistências do poder or. L'émergence d'un discours démocratique au Brésil. Conquêtes et résistances du pouvoir (1964-1984)* São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1994.

<sup>9</sup> In 1990 a major archeology work has been initialized aiming to identify the bones remains that had been found in clandestine graves at the Cemetery of Perus in the outskirts of São Paulo. According to the works and research related to this case the ditches were used to bury political prisoners' victims of torture and killed by the military regime. To further information about this archeology branch of the historiography we suggest the work of Maria Oliveira Calazans et. al. *A vala de Perus e as universidades públicas na trajetória por memória, verdade e justiça (1990-2019)*. *Revista Hydra: Revista Discente De História Da UNIFESP*, 4(7), 8–49. 2020. Available in: <https://doi.org/10.34024/hydra.2019.v4.9927> Access in: 06/10/2021. The report published by the «Truth Commission of the state of São Paulo» indicate other technical and details information about the archeological approach to the case. Available in: [http://comissaodaverdade.al.sp.gov.br/relatorio/tomo-i/downloads/I\\_Tomo\\_Parte\\_1\\_A-formacao-do-grupo-de-antropologia-forense-para-identificacao-das-ossadas-da-vala-de-perus.pdf](http://comissaodaverdade.al.sp.gov.br/relatorio/tomo-i/downloads/I_Tomo_Parte_1_A-formacao-do-grupo-de-antropologia-forense-para-identificacao-das-ossadas-da-vala-de-perus.pdf) Access in: 06/10/2021.

<sup>10</sup> One example is the work of David do Nascimento Batista. *Habitus diplomático: um estudo do Itamaraty em tempos de regime militar (1964 -1985)*. Tese (Doutorado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Recife, 2010. From the sociologic perspective shows the existence of some specific's practices of the diplomatic corps that were extremely useful to the adaptation of those government functionaries to the military regime. Available in: <https://repositorio.ufpe.br/handle/123456789/9199> Access in: 06/10/2021.

<sup>11</sup> As a main reference to the music production during the Brazilian Dictatorship we suggest the works of Marcos Napolitano. Especially, *Seguindo a canção: engajamento político e indústria cultural na MPB*, São Paulo, Annablume/Fapesp, 2001.

<sup>12</sup> The professor Ismail Xavier placed in a chair of the bachelors' course in Cinema and Audiovisual at the «Universidade de São Paulo», has still in 1993 dedicated himself to the studies of the avant-garde cinema made in Brazil after the civil-military coup of 1964 opening a new field of studies. For futher information we suggest: Ismail Xavier. *Alegorias do subdesenvolvimento: cinema novo, tropicalismo e cinema marginal*, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1993. This work is dedicated to this relation in between the cinema and the contradictions of the capitalist development in Brazil.

to the civil-military coup of 1964.<sup>13</sup> As will be further on detailed, the years of João Goulart's term in presidency (1961-1964) were extremely unstable in several aspects. The main works around these subjects diverge in considering which was the more determinant variable to the coup be feasible in that moment. In so, the gaze variations will also be the result of differences not only in the discipline of which the analysis come from, but also from the archives and sources used during the analysis and research process.

Lately, David Ricardo Sousa Ribeiro<sup>14</sup> defended the thesis that it has been the political crisis inside Jango's term that had led the country to the civil-military coup. The author analyzed the actuation of the congressmen and the Congress throughout the diaries of the house in the months that had anticipated the coup, highlighting a strong deputies positioning change in the final months before the destitution of Jango, to what the author considers as a growing protagonism of the Congress in the coup process.

With a different perspective, Eduardo Gomes Silva<sup>15</sup> proposes a gaze in which the so-called «Rede da Democracia»<sup>16</sup>, a coalition of newspapers composed by «O Globo», «Jornal do Brasil» and «Diários Associados» active between the end of 1963 until the moment of the coup in 1964, had promoted and gave more strength to a branch of the opposition to Jango's term. One of the main objectives of this mediatic coalition was to feed the idea that the nation's modernization project supported by the political group of the president was equivocated, especially due to the expansion of democracy rights related to it, in this sense, the author stands that those newspapers were central in the decisive moments related to the coup itself.

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<sup>13</sup> Marcos Napolitano presents a lecture guide in which he exposes three hegemonic branches of interpretation of what has been the coup in 1964. All of them are still in fields of study that were first explored by the social sciences. In first place, it is the idea of the «populism collapse» synthetized in the work of Octavio Ianni, *O colapso do populismo no Brasil*, that proposed the coup as the consolidation of the end of a period of a populist democracy that started in 1946. A second line of interpretation brings to light the idea of great a conspiracy against Goulart, are examples of this branch the works of René Armand Dreyfuss and Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira. Finally, the third stream of analysis sees the coup as an institutional crisis, in other words, the lack of political negotiation that led the country to the coup as a crisis resolution. The pioneer reference in this case it is the work of Alfred Stepan. Marcos Napolitano. *Roteiro de leituras para o estudo do golpe civil-militar de 1964*. Guia Bibliográfico da FFLCH/USP. Available in: <https://www.fflch.usp.br/sites/fflch.usp.br/files/2017-11/Golpe%20civil-militar%20de%201964.pdf> Last access in: 25/10/2021.

<sup>14</sup> David Ricardo Sousa Ribeiro. *Da crise política ao Golpe de Estado: conflitos entre o Poder Executivo e o Poder Legislativo durante o governo João Goulart* or. *From the political crisis to the coup: conflicts between Executive Power and Legislative Power during the government of João Goulart*. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2013.

<sup>15</sup> Eduardo Gomes Silva. *A Rede da Democracia e o golpe de 1964* / Eduardo Gomes Silva. – 2008. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Universidade Federal Fluminense, Instituto de Ciências Humanas e Filosofia, Departamento de História, 2008.

<sup>16</sup> «Democracy Network».

Also having the newspapers as main source to the analysis, Pablo de Oliveira Mattos<sup>17</sup> sustains an argumentation in which History and Linguistics are closely related. According to the author, the main reason to the deposition of João Goulart was how his political actions were interpreted, read, and reported by a mainstream press that used the concept of «democracy» dedicated to organize the political participation, although at the same time, modulated it according to its interests, very well related to a conservative and bourgeoisie agenda.

On his turn and in an analytic proposal that extends itself through the decades, Caio Navarro Toledo<sup>18</sup>, exposes in a very direct form the clear position that the civil-military coup was at the same time a coup against the social reforms and the representative democracy that was being consolidate since 1945. In his view it has been the rejection of that nation project that unfolded the coup. In the last decades the author defends this argument in opposition to several trends in the Brazilian Historiography that comprehends the coup as the result of the inability and radicalism inside the left-wing Brazilian political groups, especially those related to João Goulart and its party.<sup>19</sup> We must underline the fact that in the last years, the growing participation of the militarys in the national politics, gave a new breath to the concerns that are related to what Toledo (2004a, p. 31) proposes when affirming that those who had perpetrated the coup were defeated by a progressive and democratic thinking inside the Brazilian society.<sup>20</sup>

The work of Charles Domingos (2010), by analyzing the actuation of João Goulart as a political leader of the «PTB» in the state of Rio Grande do Sul and the consequent consolidation of the party in the region, underlines his centrality to the national politics in that time, and how part of the historiography sees Jango's term inside the recent Brazilian history.

Para a História, João Goulart passou como um derrotado, em razão de ter sofrido o golpe de Estado, de ter sido apeado do poder e de ter sido exilado. Além disso, a lembrança – e por isso mesmo a memória – que se tem de Goulart não é tanto da sua vida, como é forte a lembrança da sua morte, pois foi o único

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<sup>17</sup> Pablo de Oliveira de Mattos. *Para Aonde Vamos? Crise e Democracia no Governo João Goulart. Or. Where Are We Going? Crisis and Democracy in the João Goulart's government.* Rio de Janeiro, 2010. 164 p. Master Dissertation – Departamento de História, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>18</sup> The «Universidade Estadual de Campinas – Unicamp» professor produced several works dedicated to this subject, we here suggest three of them: Caio Navarro Toledo, *O governo Goulart e o golpe de 64*, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1984. Caio Navarro de Toledo. *1964: Golpismo e democracia. As falácias do revisionismo.* Crítica Marxista, São Paulo, Ed. Revan, v.1, n.19, 2004a, p.27-48. And Caio Navarro de Toledo. *Brasil: do ensaio ao golpe (1954-1964).* Revista Brasileira de História, vol. 24, no 47, p 13.28, 2004.

<sup>19</sup> This argument had already been placed by Thomas Skidmore in 1968 in the first edition of *Brasil: de Getúlio Vargas a Castelo Branco (1930-1964)* in which he states that Jango's government had felt, mainly due to its inability and incapability of dealing with the political organization of the coup. In addition to that it is added the fact that the president has not resisted to the coup.

<sup>20</sup> The sociologist Florestan Fernandes in *O Brasil em compasso de espera*, São Paulo, HUCITEC, 1981. And *O significado da ditadura militar*, in: Caio Navarro Toledo (org.), *1964: visões críticas do golpe – democracia e reformas no populismo*, Campinas, Editora da UNICAMP, 1997. Are examples of this line of interpretation.

presidente brasileiro a morrer no exterior, e nas agruras do exílio.  
(DOMINGOS, 2010, p. 04).<sup>21</sup>

The author remarks the perspective proposed by Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira<sup>22</sup> already in 1977 in which he stands that the main reason to the fall of Jango's presidency was the fact that in a moment of growing social tension the administration had tried to negotiate and deals with the demands of all sectors of the society, from the popular ones to the great capital. This attitude, according to Bandeira, was at the same time a virtue and a weakness of Goulart's term. With this proposal the author might be considered as part of a group inside the studies of the subject that relate the coup to a conspiracy.

Other works, such as the case of the historians Ângela de Castro Gomes e Jorge Ferreira<sup>23</sup> make a statement in the direction of an argumentation based in the idea that Goulart was at the same time negotiator, but also authoritarian and centralizer as a political leader, this attitude made the political administration more difficult in some occasions, although, the authors also remarks the fact that the coup was a process almost unstoppable, precisely because the presidency of «PTB» was the realization of a nationalist, popular and independent process in Brazil, what was not well received by sectors of the political and economic elites.

Delgado (2010, p. 128) in proposing another collection of authors which were dedicated to the end of João Goulart presidency and the coup, insists in the idea that so far, there was a lack of studies in this theme, resulting in a small number of works. According to the author, only in the beginning of the 2000s that this subject became a point of interest to the historiography. However, as we seen so far, there are also several different opinions about the period and the deposition of Jango. The author sustains that the coup was the result of a series actions organized by different conservative groups such as: the «União Democrática Nacional (UDN)», the armed forces, a conservative wing of the Catholic Church, Rural landowners, and a major part of the industry owners. These groups with the support of the mainstream press were able to organize and realize the deposition of the president with the objective of stop the

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<sup>21</sup> «For History, João Goulart passed as a loser, because he suffered a coup d'état, was removed from power and went into exile. Moreover, the remembrance - and therefore the memory - that one has of Goulart is not so much of his life as it is of his death, since he was the only Brazilian president to die abroad, and in the hardships of exile».

<sup>22</sup> With a formation in Law School and Ph.D. in Political Science, the author was dedicated to several themes related to the period that we are analyzing in this research. The work that we are referring now it is *O Governo João Goulart – As lutas sociais no Brasil 1961-1964* Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1977.

<sup>23</sup> Both authors worked together in two main works dedicated to João Goulart's presidency, political actions, and the civil-military coup. *Jango: as múltiplas faces*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2007 and *1964: o golpe que derrubou um presidente, pôs fim ao regime democrático e instituiu a ditadura no Brasil*. 1ed. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2014.



advance of the reforms and progressist proposals. In this sense, the proposition it is very similar to the one presented by Toledo (2004).

Mais instigante ainda é o fato de que até os dias atuais, passados mais de vinte anos de encerramento do período da ditadura, poucos órgãos de imprensa se interessam em divulgar notícias referentes ao presidente Goulart. No ano de 2006, quando se completaram trinta anos de sua morte, o noticiário foi escasso, acanhado e displicente. No ano de 2008, quando a Comissão de Anistia do Ministério da Justiça concedeu, tardiamente, pensão de viúva de presidente da República a Maria Tereza Goulart, esposa de Jango, pequenas notas esparsas e curtas deram conhecimento público a essa medida oficial.<sup>24</sup> (DELGADO, 2010, p. 127).

Along its reflections, Delgado (2010) indicate some different trends of interpretations to the coup inside the historiography, we summarize them in other two groups. On the one side there is still a trend of works that proposes a structural vision of the period and the coup itself, usually with an extreme valorization of the political aspects that are related with the fact. In this sense the works of Jorge Ferreira and David Ribeiro goes in this direction. According to Delgado (2010, p. 137), to these we might add the works of Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos and Argelina Cheibub Figueiredo.<sup>25</sup> Finally, a new generation of historians and works, based also in new files and sources, sustains that in a thin line between conspiracy and destabilization, what took place in 1964 was a medium range process of destabilizing the government. Rodrigo Pato Sá Motta<sup>26</sup> uses cartoons to add a new layer to this interpretation that had already been presented by Carlos Fico.<sup>27</sup>

First of moving on is important to remark that most of the analysis presented here agree that conservative groups were determined to not let the country deepen the modernization process that Jango was proposing. One of the few and relevant works that are not entirely in accordance with this perspective is proposed by Marco Antônio Villa<sup>28</sup>. The historian with a clear disagreement with Goulart's political positioning, sustained in 2004, in a work with

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<sup>24</sup> «Even more instigating is the fact that even today, more than twenty years after the end of the dictatorship, few press organs are interested in publishing news regarding President Goulart. In 2006, the thirtieth anniversary of his death, the news was scarce, shy, and uncaring. In 2008, when the Ministry of Justice's Amnesty Commission belatedly granted a pension to Maria Tereza Goulart, Jango's wife, as widow of the President of the Republic, short and sparse notes made this official measure public knowledge».

<sup>25</sup> Wanderley Guilherme Santos, *Sessenta e quatro: anatomia da crise*, Rio de Janeiro, Vértice, 1986. Argelina Cheibub Figueiredo, *Democracia ou Reformas? Alternativas democráticas à crise política – 1961-1964*, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1993.

<sup>26</sup> Rodrigo Pato Sá Motta. *Jango e o golpe de 1964 na caricatura*, Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar Editor, 2006

<sup>27</sup> Carlos Fico. *O grande irmão. Da Operação Brother Sam aos anos de chumbo. O governo dos Estados Unidos e a ditadura militar brasileira*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2008.

<sup>28</sup> Marco Antonio Villa, *Jango, um perfil*. Rio de Janeiro, Editora Globo, 2004.

strong methodological problems by relating some of achievements and failures of Jango's term as the result of luck or bad luck, indicating what might be a major proportion of subjective judgement in its work. On the other side, the author makes use of different files of the press of São Paulo, which is not often used in the works dedicated to João Goulart. In so, we consider important to indicate that the different works quoted here are an example of how the different opinions, interpretations and material documentation consulted might influence in the analysis that is constructed around the subject.

### *A military regime and dictatorship were born*

The definition of what has been the Brazilian dictatorship is among the subjects which still nowadays attracts most of the attention in the historiographic field and between actors that comprehend the public opinion debates outside the academy, mainly in the press. Nevertheless, in the recent years the debate had become a constant presence in the daily life of the country engaging politicians and other actors of the public debate.<sup>29</sup> Helping to deepen the polemics around this issue in 2019, the Brazilian President of the Republic, Jair Bolsonaro<sup>30</sup>, has expressed a negationist opinion declaring in an interview that for him what the Brazil has lived was not a dictatorship justifying his position with the fact that by experiencing a pacific transition and the return to the democracy what had existed before was not a dictatorship. «Onde você viu no mundo uma ditadura entregar para a oposição de forma pacífica o governo? Só no Brasil, então não houve ditadura».<sup>31</sup>

At the same time, an opinion polling survey published in 2020 indicated that has been seen a reduction in the number of Brazilians that see a dictatorship as tolerable political model for the society. According to the survey, the actual number of supporters of the democracy – 75% of the interviewed (a record since the beginning of the pool's series in 1989). The same inquire indicated that only 10% of the population sees the dictatorship model as the best option

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<sup>29</sup> The already mentioned grown of explicit opinions defending the militaries and the military-regime from 2016 on, it is inserted in this context which in the most recent years had also seen public manifestations in favor of the military regime. Available in:

[https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2019/04/01/cultura/1554136024\\_994794.html](https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2019/04/01/cultura/1554136024_994794.html) Access in: 11/10/2021.

<sup>30</sup> Still in 2019 the president has ordered that the Brazilian Armed Forces must celebrate the 55<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the coup d'état that had removed João Goulart from the presidency in 1964. Available in: <https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,bolsonaro-estimula-celebracao-do-golpe-militar-de-1964-generais-pedem-prudencia,70002766930> Access in: 11/10/2021.

<sup>31</sup> «Where in the world have you seen a dictatorship peacefully hand over the government to the opposition? Only in Brazil, so there was no dictatorship» Available in: <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/politica/noticia/2019-03/para-bolsonaro-nao-houve-ditadura-no-brasil> Access in: 11/10/2021.

to the country on some occasions and that for 62% of the interviewed the dictatorship's legacy was more negative than positive, a tendency that it is growing in the last pool's – 2014 (46%), 2018 (51%) and 2019 (59%).<sup>32</sup> The pool had also asked if the interviewed thought that the military regime has been a dictatorship

Quando questionados se o governo militar de 1964-1985 foi uma ditadura, 78% avaliam que o período foi uma ditadura e 13% que não foi. Uma fração de 10% não opinou – entre os mais velhos o índice sobe para 19%. Entre os eleitores de Bolsonaro, o índice dos que avaliam que o período foi uma ditadura cai 10 pontos percentuais (68%). O índice dos que avaliam que o período foi uma ditadura alcança taxas mais altas entre os que reprovam a administração Bolsonaro (91%). Em contrapartida, a taxa que avalia que o período não foi uma ditadura é mais alta entre os que aprovam a administração Bolsonaro (28%) e entre os que avaliam que em certas circunstâncias uma ditadura é melhor que democracia (23%)<sup>33</sup> (DATAFOLHA, *Democracia e Ditadura*, 23/06/2020).

Despite the recent disputes around the subject and to which the present reflection tries to add other layers of interpretation, inside the historiographical studies there are several debates related the quarrels and divisions linked to the idea of when the *coup d'état* (as a social and political process) had become a regime. However, there is no doubt or discussion that what the country had lived was clearly a regime created and sustained by the militaries and the political groups that saw in that kind of organization a viable alternative to the country.

A construção do Regime é um ponto que remete a uma questão básica: em que momento o golpe de Estado se transformou em um regime político? O Ato Institucional N° 2 (AI-2) ou AI-5 tem dividido as explicações dos analistas neste sentido, transformando-se em lugares de memória e esquecimento, para além do seu aspecto jurídico-político. Neste ponto, a historiografia ainda precisa aprofundar a função histórica do

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<sup>32</sup> The entire polling survey and its details might be seen in:

<https://datafolha.folha.uol.com.br/opiniaopublica/2020/06/1988776-apoio-a-democracia-atinge-75.shtml> Access in: 11/10/2021.

<sup>33</sup> «When asked if the military government of 1964-1985 was a dictatorship, 78% said the period was a dictatorship and 13% said it was not. A fraction of 10% did not give an opinion - among older people this rate rises to 19%. Among Bolsonaro's voters, the rate of those who evaluate the period as a dictatorship falls 10 percentage points (68%). The rate of those who evaluate the period as a dictatorship reaches higher rates among those who disapprove of the Bolsonaro administration (91%). On the other hand, the rate that evaluates that the period was not a dictatorship is higher among those who approve of the Bolsonaro administration (28%) and among those who evaluate that in certain circumstances a dictatorship is better than democracy (23%) ». Available in: <https://datafolha.folha.uol.com.br/opiniaopublica/2020/06/1988776-apoio-a-democracia-atinge-75.shtml> Access in: 11/10/2021.

Atos Institucionais para além da mera “fachada” legalista do regime<sup>34</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2011, p. 215).

At this point, is mandatory to highlight that the debates around the different kinds and stages of the memory dispute around the different aspects of the regime will appear along our work, but is not the main goal of the analysis, especially in this chapter.

That being said, in the recent years most of the academic effort has been dedicated to the creation of a debate that proposes to solve a series of distinctions that still exists, especially in the press, about the regime. Based in a series of dichotomic pairs such as heroes vs. victims; militaries vs. civilians or State vs. society, there is a predominance of a mechanicist analysis. The works of Daniel Aarão Reis Filho, Samantha Viz Quadrat, Denise Rollemberg, Marcos Napolitano, João Roberto Martins Filho and Adriano Codato are some examples of this movement inside the historiographical works that intend to present a heterogeneous reading of the period. The work of Daniel Aarão Reis Filho<sup>35</sup>, proposes a revision of the reasons to the coup in 1964 and the later organization of the regime based in the argument of the «two demons», that consists in the idea of a military coup as an extreme answer to the possibility of a left-wing extremists taken of the power in 1964. Denise Rollemberg in the work «Exílio: entre raízes e radares» (1999), presents a new approach to the meaning of the exile and the amnesty law to those that were politically persecuted and had to leave the country. The analysis made of the press and the publications made by the left-wing militants brings to light aspects of the political changes after 1974. João Roberto Martins Filho in «O palácio e a caserna: a dinâmica militar das crises políticas na ditadura (1964-1969)» (1994). Indicates a revision in the idea of a «liberal» line inside the military regime represented by Castelo Branco and its allies. Finally, Samantha Viz Quadrat and Denise Rollemberg in «A construção social dos regimes autoritários» (2010) presents an important reflection on how different sectors of the society had removed the political support to the military regime in its second half, putting more and more the government in a difficult legitimacy position.

In this sense, two main aspects are underlined. At first the idea that the coup itself has been a civil-military political movement, although the regime has not. During the twenty-one years of the regime, were the militaries the ones who occupied all the decision-making

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<sup>34</sup> «The construction of the Regime is a point that refers to a basic question: at what moment did the coup d'état become a political regime? The Institutional Act no 2 (AI-2) or AI5 has divided the explanations of analysts in this sense, becoming places of memory and oblivion, beyond its juridical-political aspect. At this point, historiography still needs to deepen the historical function of the Institutional Acts beyond the mere legalistic "façade" of the regime».

<sup>35</sup> Daniel Aarão Reis Filho, *A sociedade civil como cúmplice - Ditadura, esquerdas e sociedade*, Rio de Janeiro Ed. Zahar, 2000.

positions inside the government, the «Doutrina de Segurança Nacional»<sup>36</sup> was the theoretical and methodological base to the organization of the regime actions. The historiography<sup>37</sup> sustains that even if inside the group of beneficiaries were present the industrial elite, bankers, and the foreign capital, were the military that controlled the government in an ideological and executive way. In second place, must be highlighted the idea that also the resistance to the regime and its violent and authoritarian actions it was not unified and united in a single opposition block. In practice it was present several shades and grades of resistance to the military's actions, that are nowadays (in most cases) excluded from the hegemonic memory of what has been the military dictatorship in the country and its opposition.

A memória social hegemônica apóia-se sobre dois pressupostos: (i) a existência de dois grupos militares, os “castelistas” e a “linha dura”, sendo os primeiros mais intelectualizados e liberais e os segundos mais tacanhos e de extrema direita; (ii) a visão monolítica de uma sociedade vitimada pelo arbítrio que teria resistido em bloco, sobretudo depois do AI-5. Nesta lógica binária, a explicação para o recrudescimento da ditadura recai sobre a pressão da “linha dura” sobre a “linha mole”, exigindo mais rigores policiais contra a oposição [...] esta lógica também funciona como alibi para os civis liberais que apoiaram o golpe de 1964 em nome da luta contra o comunismo e pela “defesa da Constituição de 1946” [...] Esta visão histórica considera que os ideais “constitucionalistas” e “liberais” de 1964 foram traídos pela pressão da linha dura que, em confronto com o radicalismo da guerrilha de esquerda, teria exigido um “golpe dentro do golpe”, tal como ficou conhecido a promulgação do Ato Institucional no5, marco da legislação repressiva do regime, em 13 de dezembro de 1968<sup>38</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2011, p. 217).

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<sup>36</sup> The «National Security Doctrine» has been studied and analyzed by Joseph Comblin in 1978 and will be further detailed in the following chapters.

<sup>37</sup> This position it is clear in the works of Marcos Napolitano, 1964, *História do Regime Militar Brasileiro*, 1. Ed. São Paulo, Contexto, 2014. Adriano Codato, *Uma história política da transição brasileira: da ditadura militar à democracia*, Revista Sociologia Política 25, 2005, p. 83-106. And João Roberto Martins Filho, *Estado e regime no pós-64: autoritarismo burocrático ou ditadura militar?* Revista de Sociologia e Política, n. 2, 1994, p.7-23.

<sup>38</sup> «The hegemonic social memory is based on two assumptions: (i) the existence of two military groups, the "castellistas" and the "hard line", the former being more intellectualized and liberal and the latter more narrow-minded and extreme-right; (ii) the monolithic vision of a society victimized by the arbitrary rule that would have resisted as a bloc, especially after AI-5. In this binary logic, the explanation for the upsurge of the dictatorship lies in the pressure of the "hard line" on the "soft line", demanding more police strictness against the opposition [...] this logic also functions as an alibi for the liberal civilians who supported the 1964 coup in the name of the fight against communism and for the "defence of the 1946 Constitution" [...] This historical view considers that the "constitutionalist" and "liberal" ideals of 1964 were betrayed by hard-line pressure that, in confrontation with the radicalism of the left-wing guerrillas, would have demanded a "coup within the coup", as the promulgation of Institutional Act no. 5, the hallmark of the regime's repressive legislation, on 13th December 1968, came to be known».

To this fact, corroborates the press *mea-culpa* that is being take place in the recent years.<sup>39</sup> The aspect of how the press sees itself and its memory of the regime will be deepened in the following chapters by the proposition of understanding how the sense of narration has been constructed inside the papers. Examine the layers of actuation and enunciation of the media publications is, in our view, one way of enriching the historiography about the period and an attempt to comprehend how the dichotomic discourse changes throughout the years in a more complex analysis of the regime. In addition to it inserts the newspapers and its owners' groups as active characters of the period.

### *The armed struggle*

The long-term effects and traumas related to the repression to the Brazilian Armed Struggle groups during the military regime made of the topic an important subject to the studies dedicated to understanding the period. The violence, deaths, and torture that the militaries imposed to the regime's opposition by the authoritarian tripod<sup>40</sup>, created a circle of collective trauma and fear «A tortura não é apenas uma técnica de extrair informações, mas também uma forma de destruir a subjetividade do inimigo, reduzir sua moral, humilhá-lo»<sup>41</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 140). Due to these effects and the deepness of the social traumas the topic had been approached soon by the studies dedicated to the dictatorship; trying to answer some of the inquietudes of the events such as, why those armed groups were created and its reasons? Who were these subjects? And the theoretical differences inside the guerrilla groups. Besides that, the studies had also been trying to indicate and organize information related to the so-called justifications to the violent repression, its methods and memory. Is important to mention that even if new possibilities of accessing some archives of the Brazilian Armed Forces, especially throughout the «SIAN – Sistema de Informações do Arquivo Nacional»<sup>42</sup>,

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<sup>39</sup> The most explicit example of this fact is the editorial published on August 31<sup>st</sup> of 2013 by the newspaper «O Globo» in which was recognized after fifty years the mistake that it has been the support of the newspaper and the whole Globo Organizations to the coup and the military regime. This topic it is deepened by Sabrina Franzoni and Gisele Dotto Reginato in *Apoio editorial ao de 64 foi um erro: apagamento e rememoração no discurso do jornal O Globo*, Estudos em Mídia e jornalismo Vol. 11 N°1 janeiro a junho, 2014. Available in: DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5007/1984-6924.2014v11n1p66> Access in: 25/10/2021.

<sup>40</sup> Vigilance, censorship and repression.

<sup>41</sup> «Torture is not only a technique to extract information, but also a way to destroy the enemy's subjectivity, reduce his morale, humiliate him».

<sup>42</sup> The National Archive Information System allows the access of this huge amount of data as a result of the Decree N°5.584 of 2005 which had determined that the collection of the «Conselho Nacional de Segurança – National Security Council» and the «Serviço Nacional de Informações – National Information Service» which were in charge of the «ABIN – Brazilian Intelligence Agency» were in the occasion reallocated to the National Archive. To that, both the «Lei de Acesso à Informação – Law of Information Access (2011)» and the «Comissão Nacional da Verdade – National Truth Commission (2011)» had portered new contributions to the archives.

allowed the online access to more than 13 million documents of the period; there are still thousands of documents that are inaccessible, as indicated by Lucas Figueiredo (2015)<sup>43</sup> in exposing the impossibility of accessing the archives of the «Forças Armadas», «CIE», «Cisa», and «Cenimar»<sup>44</sup> has demonstrated.

Being that said, a first important topic of debate are the reasons that had led the Brazilian left-wing to the armed opposition option, one interpretation is the one that indicates the armed struggled as a logical consequence to the left-wing groups after the reformists and the negotiation policy that had first failed with Goulart's term and deposition, and in second place considering the option made by the «PCB»<sup>45</sup> of remaining in the pacifist and parliamentary way. In so, after the end of the regime works dedicated to the Brazilian Armed groups started to frame the topic and its interpretations. Jacob Gorender, a former member of the «PCB» and later of the «PCBR»<sup>46</sup>, with «Combate nas trevas: a esquerda brasileira das ilusões perdidas à luta armada»<sup>47</sup> published in 1987 had inaugurated the analysis of what had signified the existence of guerrilla groups inside the opposition to the regime, indicating what were the groups, its differences and actions. Based also in interviews with the actors of the period this work brought to light fundamental elements of the armed struggled organization and its repression.

Lucileide Costa Cardoso (2014) in proposing a bibliographic revision in this topic indicates that the also fundamental work of Daniel Aarão Reis Filho puts itself inside a major debate and in 1990 the historian tried to understand what were the reasons to the defeat of those armed groups, according to him, what happened in the Brazilian case was that the communist revolution did not happened and an authoritarian coup d'état did took place, provoking a major defeat to the Brazilian left-wing armed groups. The detailed Ph.D. thesis of the author proposes exposes what were the main theoretical fundaments of the guerrilla groups and its relations with what he indicated as the fall of the revolutionary proposal.<sup>48</sup> In third place, Marcelo Ridenti in

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<sup>43</sup> Lucas Figueiredo, *Lugar nenhum: Militares e civis na ocultação dos documentos da ditadura*. Companhia das Letras, São Paulo, 2015.

<sup>44</sup> «Centro de Informações do Exército – Army Information Center»; «Centro de Informações da Aeronáutica – Air Force Information Center» and «Centro de Informações da Marinha – Navy Information Center».

<sup>45</sup> «Partido Comunista do Brasil».

<sup>46</sup> The «Partido Comunista Brasileiro Revolucionário – Brazilian Revolutionary Comunista Party» was created by him, Mario Alves and Apolônio de Carvalho, former member of the «PCB» which did not agreed with the new propositions and attitudes of the party after 1964. The author was arrested in 1970 and tortured, remaining in jail for two years.

<sup>47</sup> Jacob Gorender. *Combate nas trevas: a esquerda brasileira das ilusões perdidas à luta armada*. Ática, São Paulo, 1987.

<sup>48</sup> Daniel Aarão Reis Filho. *A revolução faltou ao encontro: os comunistas no Brasil*. Ed. Brasiliense, São Paulo, 2ed. 1990.

«O fantasma da revolução brasileira» (1993) presents an argumentation in which the main objective is to create a new gaze to what he baptized as «revolutionary romantism», especially inside the urban armed groups, there is a predilection in indicating the presence of a resistance feeling within the rural armed groups (CARDOSO, 2013, p. 17). One of the main sources used in the work of Ridenti were the documents produced by the armed groups itself, in addition to that an aspect that is central in his proposition is his disagreement with Aarão Reis Filho, especially in respect of the reasons intern or external to the fall of the armed struggled and how it was each day more distant from the popular shares of the Brazilian population.

In the following decades new studies and historiographic productions had generated different approaches and thematic to what has been the so-called Brazilian «lead years». Being dedicated specially to the repressive system, its violence, the censorship and how the memory in this topic is being treated.<sup>49</sup> We must highlight two recent works that open a new field of interpretation and brought new information and events to the knowledge of the public. The works of Mario Magalhães<sup>50</sup> dedicated to the life of Carlos Marighela and the book of the journalist Alfredo Sprovieri<sup>51</sup> in which the life trajectory of Libero Giancarlo Castiglia (an Italian immigrant that became part of the Guerrilha do Araguaia and was killed by the repressive actions of the Brazilian Armed Forces) these are good examples of how the biographies are being used to deepening the topic of the armed struggled and its repercussion inside the Brazilian society, its relations, and nowadays repercussions.

### *Cultural aspects and transformations*

At this point is possible to move to another important field of studies that are central in the analysis of what has been and signified the military dictatorship inside the Brazilian

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<sup>49</sup> Carlos Fico, *Como eles agiam: Os subterrâneos da ditadura miliar: espionagem e polícia política*. Editora Record, Rio de Janeiro, 2001 and *Reinventando o otimismo*, Editora FGV, Rio de Janeiro, 1997. Janaina Teles, Edson Teles e Cecília M. Santos. *Desarquivando a ditadura: memória e justiça no Brasil*. Hucitec, São Paulo, 2009. Luciano Oliveira, *Ditadura militar, tortura, história: a “vitória simbólica” dos vencidos*. Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais, 26/75, fev. 2011, p. 8-25. Available in: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69092011000100001> Access in: 27/10/2021. Mariana Joffily, *No centro da engrenagem: os interrogatórios na Operação Bandeirante e no DOI de São Paulo (1969-1975)*, Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, São Paulo, 2013. Jean Rodrigues Sales (org.). *Guerrilha e revolução: a luta armada contra a ditadura militar no Brasil*. Ed. Lamparina, Rio de Janeiro 2015a. Luiz Fernando Mangea da Silva. *A luta armada contra a Ditadura Militar: revisitando os debates sobre esse movimento no Brasil e na Argentina [The armed fight against Military Dictatorship: revisiting the discussions on this movement in Brazil and Argentina]* *Intellectus*, ano XVI, n. 1, 2017, p. 86-105 ISSN: 1676-7640. Available in: DOI: 10.12957/intellectus.2017.28339 Access in: 18/07/2021.

<sup>50</sup> Mario Magalhães, *O guerrilheiro que incendiou o mundo*, Companhia das Letras, São Paulo, 2013.

<sup>51</sup> Alfredo Sprovieri, *Joca il “Che” dimenticato, la vera storia del ribelle italiano che sfidò il regime dei gorillas*, Mimesis Edizioni, Milano, 2018.



society. The cultural aspects and transformations that the country had witness and had been through during the two decades of authoritarian regime. Due to the great variety of approaches and topics this subject is calling the attention of the scholars since the end of the regime. Alongside the next pages the main questions related to this subject will be exposed, also presenting some of the fundamental works dedicated to the topic. Another justificative to the attention dedicated it, is the fact that it has been via the cultural expressions alternatives that it was possible to first see and try to understand the contradictions and key moments of impasses that the regime had faced. In this sense, at the same time that the regime tried to control the cultural productions and the ideas that were circulating, in the first four years of the regime the repression and control was dedicated to institutions and associations, keeping the individuals' artists and intellectuals with some liberty. This strategy has been the way that the militaries found to do not generate a significant antipathy and opposition to the regime within the medium class population, a major asset to the manutention of the legitimacy to the authoritarian group in power (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 98).

In addition to this, Napolitano (2014) proposes the understanding of the relation between the repression and the cultural expressions in three different phases. As we indicated, in a first moment, during the years between 1964 and 1968, the repression had focused on the theatrical productions and specifics center of cultural production with the goal of distancing it from the mass population.

Em suma, o golpe militar de 1964 e a inquisição que se seguiu no imediato pós-golpe deveriam não apenas reprimir a massa, mas destruir uma certa elite, menos pela eliminação física dos seus membros e mais pela morte civil, pela dissolução de suas redes formais e pelo isolamento político<sup>52</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 103).

After December of 1968, the imposition of the «AI-5»<sup>53</sup> and, via the «Lei de Censura»<sup>54</sup>, until 1978 the regime had tightened the repression to the cultural expressions aiming to avoid new additions to a growing opposition, in this case, the student's movement and the loss of support within the same medium class. In this period, the mainstream press had commonly saw a

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<sup>52</sup> «In short, the military coup of 1964 and the inquisition that followed in the immediate post-coup period were supposed not only to repress the masses but to destroy a certain elite, less by the physical elimination of its members and more by civilian death, the dissolution of its formal networks and political isolation».

<sup>53</sup> «Ato Institucional – N° 5; Institutional Act N°5». The details of these institutional processes will be approached in the second part of the present work.

<sup>54</sup> «Censorship Law».

process of auto-censorship, as a form to avoid other forms of official persecution.<sup>55</sup> The third phase of this repression, developed in between the years of 1979-1984, the moment in which the re-democratization process was in course, had as the main objective to control the moral and costumes aspects, in an attempt to organize the social values that should be part of the political opening process.<sup>56</sup>

Being that said, another aspect that must be highlighted is the contradictory choice made on one side by the regime, in accepting the possibility of different forms of cultural expressions in opposition to a continuous strong cultural repression. By making this choice, the regime was allowing the development of a cultural marketplace that had also the meaning of promoting a new modernization to the country, especially throughout the new shares of consume related to the television and the music markets. On the other hand, these stimulus to the cultural creation and sell of new supports were contradictory in two ways to the artists and intellectuals, at first due the opposition itself to the militaries, and in a deeper layer the ideological opposition to that form of modernization proposed.<sup>57</sup> In other words, was the pragmatic choice of giving preference to the development of a consumer public and market rather than choosing the path of a possible critical thinking closer to the population masses.

According to Napolitano (2014, p. 103) the historiography is dedicated to this movement inside the left-wing artistic group from long ago<sup>58</sup>. Most of the works produced so far presented the fact that even if creating committed cultural expressions, the productions did not achieve the mass of the Brazilian population and at the same it was not a threat to the regime. However, other works exposes how this strategic choice made by the regime in its first years, has showed its problems, especially on how it allowed the hegemony in the later memory dispute and even contributing to the opposition inside the medium class as was seen during the 1970s.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Beatriz Kushnir, *Cães de guarda: jornalistas e censores do AI-5 à Constituição de 1988*, Ed. Boitempo, Rio de Janeiro, 2004 proposes the understading of what has been the relation between the «Serviço de Informação ao Gabinete do Ministro da Justiça Sigab/MJ» created in 1971 and the press.

<sup>56</sup> The works of Vanderli Maria Silva, *A construção da política cultural no regime militar*, Master's thesis in Sociology, USP, São Paulo, 2001 and Maika L. Carocha, *Pelos versos das canções: um estudo sobre o funcionamento da censura musical durante a ditadura militar*, Master's thesis in History, UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro, 2007 are dedicated to this last phase and Carocha demonstrate that in still in 1980 more than 400 songs were censored by the regime.

<sup>57</sup> This topic is developed by Marcos Napolitano in, *Seguindo a canção: engajamento político e industrial cultural na MPB*, Annablume/Fapesp, São Paulo, 2001.

<sup>58</sup> Roberto Scharwz, proposed one of the first works in this topic with *Cultura e política: 1964-69*, Ed. Paz e Terra, Rio de Janeiro, 2001.

<sup>59</sup> The main works in this field are: Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda, *Patrulhas ideológicas*. Ed. Brasiliense, São Paulo, 1980; Celso Favaretto, *Tropicália: alegoria, alegria*, Ateliê Editorial, São Paulo, 1995 and Marcelo Ridenti, *Ensaio geral de socialização da cultura: o epílogo tropicalista*. Edusp/Fapesp, São Paulo, 2002.

From 1965 on, the born of the «Música Popular Brasileira – MPB» symbolized the search of an esthetic capable of represent a left national and popular cultural expression. Napolitano (2014, p. 106) highlights how this committed goal was the main strategy of the main artistic groups to fight the dictatorship, even if during the following decade the cultural production had been adopted by the liberal wing, especially after the defeat of the armed struggle in the second half of the 1970s. However, with the contradictions inside the relation of this cultural opposition creation and the liberal appropriation of it, the artistic production that took place during the regime was fundamental in organizing a social sentiment of dissatisfaction and the will of democracy. The movement of the «Tropicália» born in the intense year of 1968 can be seen as the synthesis of the approximation between the Avant-guard and the masses during the regime.<sup>60</sup>

In short, the «Tropicalismo» as a cultural movement represents the cultural radicalism that became central in the Brazilian society, especially inside the youth that was building the opposition to the regime. Due to this fact it was spread in diverse fields of actuation. In the theater, the «Grupo Oficina» was the main expression presenting an aesthetical breakthrough.<sup>61</sup> At the same time, the born of the «Cinema Novo» movement as the main expression of the tropicalism in the screens had as main directors and propositions the works of Glauber Rocha and Rogério Sganzerla. Also, according to Napolitano (2014, p. 113) The movie, «O Bandido da Luz Vermelha» is the allegorical representation of the regime contradictions in a context of modernization, industrialization inserted in a marginal country<sup>62</sup>. The works dedicated to comprehending the television's production influence and strength within the public during the military regime are also being aimed by the Brazilian historiography recently.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Helio Oiticica in *O aparecimento do suprasensorial na arte brasileira*, 1968 in *Arte em Revista* 7, p. 41-42 organize some of the fundamentals of the movement itself as a sort of continuation of the Brazilian modernism, a tradition that come from 1922 with Concretist contributions. Is important to highlight that this art movement proposes an approach diverse in comparison to the Communist left-wing group. A fundamental panorama of the cultural projects' differences inside the regime's opposition it is made by Marcos Napolitano in *1964, História do Regime Militar Brasileiro*, Ed. Contexto, São Paulo, 2014.

<sup>61</sup> To see further on this topic we suggest the work of Rosângela Patriota, *A cena tropicalista no Teatro Oficina de São Paulo*, *Revista História*, São Paulo, 22(1): 135-163, 2003.

<sup>62</sup> For more information on this topic we suggest the work of Mauricio Cardoso. *O cinema tricontinental de Glauber Rocha: política, estética e revolução (1969-1974)*. Tese de doutorado, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo. 2007.

<sup>63</sup> The professor Roberto Abdala Junior from the Universidade Federal de Goiás approaches different subjects in this field of study, we highlight three works:

*Um Papel histórico Para a televisão: A minissérie Anos Rebeldes E a Cultura histórica Brasileira Dos Anos 1980*. *História Da Historiografia: International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography* 9 (20). Ouro Preto. <https://doi.org/10.15848/hh.v0i20.978>. *Brasil anos 1990: televisão e ditadura — entre memórias e história*. *Topoi*, v. 13, n. 25, jul./dez. 2012, p. 94-111.

*Memórias da ditadura, TV e os 'rebeldes' anos 1980*. 1. ed. Curitiba - BR: Editora Prismas, 2017. v. 1. 458p .

If, on the one hand, the year of 1968 also represent the limit of this model of coexistence between the committed left-wing artist, the market, a consume logic and the regime tolerance to the opposition cultural expressions.<sup>64</sup> The section of the Armed Forces that saw in these expressions a form of subversion and cultural war was growing bigger and the «AI-5» in December of that year symbolized the moment in which the repression was expanded even to the medium class, what at the same gave new breath to will of cultural opposition, however, increased the political persecution to the committed artists. The 1970s witness a double expansion that resumes in short the main paradox of the cultural left-wing movement. In one hand, the cultural market was being consolidate opening new possibilities to this section of the society; on the other hand, instead, the repression as we already mentioned had reached all the trends of cultural expression with many prominent names being forced to the exile.<sup>65</sup> Napolitano (2014) proposes an important synthesis of what has been the attempt to understand and organize a new form of «national-popular» expression was the main challenge, and the consolidation of the «Organizações Globo»<sup>66</sup> has deepened the paradox.<sup>67</sup>

O nacional-popular almejava a construção de um novo gosto para as massas “consequente e crítico”, a partir de valores preexistentes. Em áreas em que o mercado já era forte, como na música ou na televisão, a “corrente da hegemonia”, nome dado aos artistas filiados ao nacional-popular de esquerda, impôs uma linguagem padrão para suas obras que se confundiam com o gosto médio do público escolarizado. O grande sucesso da MPB no mercado fonográfico e da teledramaturgia feita por autores comunistas empregados pela Rede Globo são os exemplos mais paradoxais de uma linguagem artística tributária do nacional-popular triunfante na indústria cultural, ao mesmo tempo que vigiada pela censura estatal<sup>68</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 176).

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<sup>64</sup> Bernardo Kucinsk in *Jornalistas e revolucionários: nos tempos da imprensa alternativa*, São Paulo, Scritta editorial, 1991 indicates how it was the alternative press the one that in the final years of the 1960s absorbed most of the counter-culture expressions.

<sup>65</sup> Marcos Napolitano. *No exílio, contra o isolamento: intelectuais comunistas, frentismo e questão democrática nos anos 1970*. Estudos Avançados, São Paulo, v. 28, n. 80, p. 41- 58, jan/abr. 2014.

<sup>66</sup> «Globo Organizations» during the military regime the communication company, that first was centered in the newspaper «O Globo» lived a great expansion becoming the main Radio and TV chain in Brazil. Hegemony that it is active until nowadays.

<sup>67</sup> The works of Renato Ortiz, *A moderna tradição brasileira*. Ed. Brasiliense, São Paulo, 1988 and Marcelo Ridenti. *Em busca do povo brasileiro: artistas da revolução, do CPC à era da tv*. Record, Rio de Janeiro, 2000. are also central to the comprehension of what has been the mains contradictions and paradoxes of that period.

<sup>68</sup> «The national-popular aimed to build a new taste for the masses that was "consistent and critical", based on pre-existing values. In areas where the market was already strong, such as in music or television, the "hegemonic current", the name given to artists affiliated to the left national-popular, imposed a standard language for their works that blended with the average taste of the educated public. The great success of MPB in the phonographic market and the teledramaturgia made by communist authors employed by Rede Globo are the most paradoxical

As a result of a constant negotiation and conflict with the regime, in the second half of the 1970s the MPB was consolidated as the most popular and central opposition cultural expression to the regime. Napolitano (2010) indicates how is possible to understand these music compositions as the soundtrack of the democratic opening process that had its beginning in the end of the 1970s.<sup>69</sup> At this point is important to underline the absence of works dedicated to the photography as a cultural expression; in the following chapters the subject will be treated, indicating how the recent works are focused in the understand of the image's productions inside the press production logical.<sup>70</sup>

During the 1970s the Brazilian cinema and theater productions had seen in a few years the possibility of moving from the center of the counterculture to a golden period, in which the productions received more financing and could achieve a higher number of spectators. Napolitano (2014, p. 193) highlights the fact that in the first half of the decade the movie productions saw an aesthetical and political crisis, however, the contradictory support of «Embrafilme», from 1976 gave the necessary boost to a mix of authorial and industrial movies, giving a new breath to the national production<sup>71</sup>. At the same time the «SNT – Serviço Nacional de Teatro» was organizing and opening new opportunities to some plays that were contradictory anti-regime<sup>72</sup>.

Realizing that the cultural dispute was a lost dispute, in the mid-1970s the regime noticed that something needed to be done, however the choice of an active cultural policy did not mean a cultural program created by the militaries

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examples of an artistic language tributary to the national-popular triumphing in the cultural industry, at the same time guarded by state censorship».

<sup>69</sup> Marcos Napolitano, *MPB: a trilha sonora da abertura política*, Estudos Avançados, v.69, 2010, p. 389-404. The works of José Miguel Wisnik, *O minuto e o milênio ou Por favor, professor, uma década de cada vez: anos 70/música popular*, Ed. Europa, Rio de Janeiro, 1970. As well as Massimiliano Sala e Roberto Illiano (orgs.) *Music and Dictatorship in Euro and Latin America*, Brepols Publishers, Turnhout (Belgica)-Lucca, 2009. Are important references to the analysis of the cultural expressions in the second half of the regime.

<sup>70</sup> Other works dedicated to the photography kept the analysis out of the dictatorship period, such as the case of Juliana de Arruda Sampaio in *Construções: Imagens, discursos e narrativas na Brasília de Thomaz Farkas* or. *Constructions: Images, speeches and narratives in the Brasília of Thomaz Farkas*. Master's thesis, Faculty of Philosophy, Literature and Human Sciences, University of São Paulo, 2016. As well as the case of Maria Beatriz R. de V. Coelho in *The field of professional photography in Brazil*. VARIA HISTORIA, Belo Horizonte, vol. 22, no 35: p.79-99, Jan/Jun 2006

<sup>71</sup> The works of José Mário Ortiz Ramos, *Cinema, estado e lutas culturais nos anos 1950, 60 e 70*, Ed. Paz e Terra, Rio de Janeiro, 1987; Alcides Ramos, *O canibalismo dos fracos: cinema e história do Brasil*, Edusc, Bauru, 2002; Inimá Simões, *Roteiro da intolerância: a censura cinematográfica no Brasil*, Ed. Senac, São Paulo, 1998 and Silvia Fernandes, *Grupos teatrais dos anos 1970*, Editora Unicamp, Campinas, 2000 are central to see more in this subject.

<sup>72</sup> Marcos Napolitano, Rodrigo Cazjaka e Rodrigo Patto Sá Mota (orgs.) *Comunistas brasileiros: cultura política e produção cultural*, Ed. UFMG, Belo Horizonte, 2013.

Sem contar com intelectuais orgânicos valorizados pela classe média intelectualizada, o regime evitou se pautar por um estrito controle de conteúdo nos produtos e obras de arte. Estava mais preocupado com o que não deveria ser dito do que com a construção de uma estética e de um temário oficiais [...] Se existiu uma “política cultural” que perpassou os governos militares, ela pode ser resumida numa palavra: censura<sup>73</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 196).

With a different repercussion in the public during the regime other areas of cultural production had been also covered by the studies that are being made especially after the end of the dictatorship. Dedicated to the Literature, Jaime Ginzburg<sup>74</sup> is nowadays one of the main authors dedicated to the topic, in addition to it, the research of Viviane Bosi<sup>75</sup> recalls the attention the transformations in the poem’s productions in that period. Also, in this topic Napolitano (2014, p. 218) exposes that the literature romance production after the military coup had also felt the effects of the intellectual contradiction of that time, in between the intellectual social aspect and the need of a stronger opposition to the regime; in this debate the author suggests the work of Daniel Aarão Reis Filho<sup>76</sup> as fundamental to the understanding of the political disagreements inside the opposition committed authors. Is important to underline that the great amount of works dedicated to the cultural aspects and its transformations in the period exposes the importance of the subject to the Brazilian society, creating and representing the bases to a democratic resistance even in the more authoritarian years of the dictatorship.

In this sense, in 1965, Nelson Werneck Sodr e proposed that the culture mobilization would be the one capable and responsible for unifying all the opposition groups of the military

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<sup>73</sup> «Without counting on organic intellectuals valued by the intellectualized middle class, the regime avoided being guided by a strict control of content in products and works of art. It was more concerned with what should not be said than with the construction of an official aesthetic and a theme [...] If there was a "cultural policy" that permeated the military governments, it can be summarized in one word: censorship».

<sup>74</sup> His main works are *A literatura contra o Estado em 1968: política e exclusão em Clarice Lispector*. Via Atlântica (USP), v. 12, p. 133-139, 2009. *Imagens da tortura: ficção e autoritarismo em Renato Tapajós*. Estudos de Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea, Brasília, v. 21, p. 129-142, 2003. *Crítica cultural em tempos autoritários: notas sobre lírica e história em Carlos Drummond de Andrade*. Revista da Biblioteca Mário de Andrade, São Paulo, v. 60/61, p. 108-113, 2003. *Littérature Bresiliénne et Dictature Militaire*. In: Isabelle Bleton; Maria da Conceição Coelho Ferreira; Fabienne Dumontet; Florence Godeau. (Org.). *Constructions comparées de la mémoire*. 1ed.Paris: Herrmann, 2018, v. 1, p. 70-80. *A ditadura militar e a literatura brasileira: tragicidade, sinistro e impasse*. In: SANTOS, Cecília Macdowell; TELES, Edson; TELES, Janaina de Almeida.. (Org.). *Desarquivando a Ditadura. Memória e Justiça no Brasil*. Sao Paulo: Hucitec, 2009, v. 2, p. 557-568.

<sup>75</sup> Viviana Bosi, *Poesia em risco: itinerários a partir dos anos 60*, post-doctoral thesis in Brazilian Literature, USP, São Paulo, 2011.

<sup>76</sup> Daniel Aarão Reis Filho, *Intelectuais, história e política*, Ed. 7 Letras, Rio de Janeiro, 2000.

regime.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, the work of Tatyana de Amaral Maia<sup>78</sup> proposes to analyze the intellectuals and its contributions to the «Conselho Federal de Cultura»<sup>79</sup> as a path to the understanding of who was and what represented the conservative intellectual group that supported the regime. To the press transformation and its relations with the cultural manifestations in the Brazilian dictatorship we will dedicate a new chapter further on, in which will be treated the history of the publications and how the militaries in the government affect them. At this point we must underline the fact that the auto censorship played a major role in the way that the editors proved to deal with the political control of the information and ideas.

A final element that comprehends a major cultural aspect is the one of the education organization and policies. To the regime, the student's movement was an important focus of opposition and subversion, aiming to reduce its influence in the society the strategy of the militaries combined repression and the reorganization of the educational system. The idea was that of reforming the system to formalize a proposal that would be at the same time authoritarian and technicist, guaranteeing that the interests of the formation of a technical and acritical working class would be kept. In this sense, there are two main practical assets that were used to change the relations in the educational field. In first place the Suplicy Law of 1964 and the Decree n° 477 of 1969 that created new restrictions to the students' political activities. On the other hand, the University's reform Law (Lei n°5540, 23/11/1968) established the actual Brazilian University system, in which to accede to university the student must take an exam after the end of the high school. In practice this system is the institutionalization of the educational social exclusion.<sup>80</sup>

In so, the regime tried to give a fast response to the contributions that Paulo Freire and his proposal of a Liberation Pedagogy<sup>81</sup> (which main theoretical asset relies in the idea that the student it is a subject of the history and not only an object of it) had made in the years before the arrival of the military in power. To that the close relation of the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC) with the U.S. Agency for International Development was the path found to retake the Brazilian education to the path of a conservative social tradition. Thus, with both goals, the educational system rapidly was reorganized to absorb the demands of the economic development and the position of the country in the international labor division. If this demand,

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<sup>77</sup> Nelson W. Sodre, *O terrorismo cultural*, Revista Civilização Brasileira, 1965, p. 239-97.

<sup>78</sup> Tatyana de Amaral Maia, *A construção da memória em tempos autoritários: a experiência do Conselho Federal de Cultura (1966-1975)*, Ph.D thesis, UERJ, 2006.

<sup>79</sup> «Federal Council for Culture» institution that was officialy linked with the military government during the dictatorship.

<sup>80</sup> A pioner work in this field was proposed by Maria de Lourdes de Albuquerque Fávero, *Da universidade "modernizada" à universidade disciplinada Atcon e Meira Mattos*, Ed. Cortez, São Paulo, 1991.

<sup>81</sup> Paulo Freire, *La pedagogia degli oppressi*, A Mondadori, Milano, 1971.

the technical-functional education in Brazil was reinforced, creating gaps in the basic education, and deepening the important restrictions to the access to the public university.<sup>82</sup>

### *Coming to an end*

The political transition and the end of the military regime in Brazil was a long and gradual process in which the return to a representative bourgeois democracy has been a path created and consolidated throughout great amounts of political negotiation. In this context, the participation of other political movements and groups that were excluded from the institutional politics showed to be fundamental. At that time the military controlled and allowed the legal existence of the political parties and the participation in the institutional negotiations to the return of democracy.<sup>83</sup> The debate about the «civil society» ruptures with the military government and how the different political groups were being organized inside the regime's opposition became another important section of the studies dedicated to the period. In so, the importance and reach of these organizations start to be analyzed in different approaches of what has been the opening process.<sup>84</sup>

There are other elements that occupy important sectors of the studies dedicated to the dictatorship. In first place is the opposition organization and its difficulties related to the strategies of the regime to make it weaker; while the left-wing was divided in multiple groups, the right-wing organized itself in a solid block (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 294). In a row, must be also mentioned some of the studies dedicated to the Amnesty process, the «Diretas Já» movement, the importance of the Union's organization to the acceleration of the opening to democracy, the debates around a possible neoliberal project to the country.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> The works of Paulo Ghiraldelli, *História da Educação*. Ed. Cortes, São Paulo, 2000 and Juliano de Melo. *As vozes de um mesmo tempo: a educação física institucionalizada no período da Ditadura Militar em Cacequi*. UFSM, Santa Maria, 2006 are good examples of a broader view of the period transformations in education and a detailed perspective of its consequences.

<sup>83</sup> The analysis that Guilherme O'Donnell e P. Schmitter proposes in *Transição do regime autoritário, primeiras conclusões*, Revista dos Tribunais, São Paulo, 1988 had opened the debate about the transition process just a few years after its conclusion. In this same topic, Antonio Costa Pinto e Francisco Carlos Palomanes Martinho in *O passado que não passa, as sombras das ditaduras na Europa do sul e na América Latina*, Ed. Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 2013 presents a group of considerations to what were the different processes of transition in the XXth century.

<sup>84</sup> One of the main works that was first dedicated to argument of the importance of social movements inside the opposition to the regime was proposed by Maria Glória Gohn, *Teoria sobre os movimentos sociais*, Ed. Loyola, São Paulo, 1997. The work of Eder Saber, *Quando novos personagens entraram em cena: experiências, falas e lutas dos trabalhadores nos anos 1970 e 1980*, Ed. Paz e Terra, São Paulo, 2001 also addresses the political transformations related to this social movement groups.

<sup>85</sup> In the first topic there are the works of Maria Helena Alves, *Estado e oposição no Brasil (1964-1984)*, Vozes, Petrópolis, 1984. And Heloisa Greco, *Dimensões fundacionais da luta pela anistia*, Editora UFMG, Belo Horizonte, 2003. In his turn, Alberto Tosi Rodrigues, *Diretas Já: o grito preso na garganta*, Fundação Perseu Abramo, São Paulo, 2003; Lincoln Secco, *História do PT*, Ateliê Editorial, São Paulo, 2018. And Francisco Fonseca, *Consenso forjado: a grande imprensa e a formação da agenda ultraliberal*, Hucitec, São Paulo, 2005. Are dedicated to the comprehension of the other two elements indicated, as final acts of the regime and its end.



## **Chapter 2 – A convergence road to realty building: dialogical, dialectic and imagetic discursive elements**

### ***Hegemony, Dialogism, and Consensus in the reality construction***

An analysis proposal dedicated to understanding the sense-relation between written texts and photographs inside mainstream<sup>86</sup> newspapers during a determined historical period demands the convergence of concepts and theoretical-methodologic assets that lead the reflection beyond the initial layers of an historical and political contextualization. In so, it is mandatory at this point to engage in a reasoning that aims to unfold the several tiers that this necessary convergence of concepts reclaims. The following pages will be dedicated to the presentation, organization, and dissection of the theoretical and methodological tools that compose this work. We must also underline the fact that a written thesis imposes material limits to an exposition path that cuts through layers as if peeling an onion.<sup>87</sup> Being that said it possible to advance to the first elements of this conceptualization. As part of the reflection movement, it will be retaken some historical and contextual aspects and other will be presented giving the needed connection in between what might be the abstract part of a concept and its application in praxis.

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The political and historical context of the Brazilian society in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century second half indicates the base elements to the framing of the mainstream newspapers as «private apparatus of hegemony».<sup>88</sup> According to Antonio Gramsci (1975, p. 801, 1518, 1519) and opening a translation proposal of his categories, these apparatus goes understood as a dialectical unfolding of the dominant class hegemony in the society. To the Sardinian

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<sup>86</sup> We reefer as mainstream press, the newspapers that were taken in consideration for the present analysis. Are they: «Folha de S. Paulo» and «Jornal do Brasil». The first from the São Paulo and the later from Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>87</sup> Later in this work will be presented an attempt of a theoretical map exploring the possibilities of a multidimensional lecture of it. We must indicate that the «onion's layers» metaphor was taken from the lessons of the Professor Marina Machado Gouvea – Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – UFRJ.

<sup>88</sup> At this point it is mandatory to point out the fact that Antonio Gramsci's categories which served as fundament to the present work are theoretical and methodological tools that were conceived with a clear political objective of understand and interpretate the Fascist phenomenon in Italy during the 1930s, in so the references that will appear in the following pages have the objective of providing to the reader an idea of the philosopher thought path without exhausting its layers, possibilities and applications. With this goal we rely in the critical edition curated by the «Istituto Gramsci» and Valentino Gerratana.

philosopher, in the social interactions that organizes the hegemony are conjugated the relations between the socio-material production and the intellectual/cultural one, articulating superstructural elements of the civil society. In brief and in our view, the journalists (photographers) production goes interpreted as one of the mediation results between the production world and the intellectual/cultural one, having as a result being the clerks of the ruling class because in a bourgeois State the journalist, inside the communication and cultural industry, reveals itself as part of the State and dominant class private apparatus of hegemony<sup>89</sup>. Nevertheless, deepening the conceptualization, this period must be interpreted as an unfolding of the non-classic Brazilian modernization process, its insertion and consolidation in the capitalist development. A process that in the same breath, brought to light aspects of the national elites and its relations with the international dominant bourgeoisie and its forms of expressions. According to Carlos Nelson Coutinho (2011, p. 233) the civil-military coup of 1964 represented a new stage of the Brazilian «Passive-Revolution»<sup>90</sup> creating the possibilities to the reorganization of the International Capital in a new regime based in a State Monopolist Capitalism. Octavio Ianni (2019), when analyzing the monopolist capital in the context of the military regime and in defending the thesis that not always the dominant class must directly exercise its power, indicates there is a difference between what has been the military dictatorship and the dictatorship of the great capital, once it has been this last one that determined the characteristics of the dictatorship State. In the path of Coutinho, the author analyzes the deepening of the repression as a tool that the Brazilian State used to keep under control the value production, the social demands, and its possibilities of transformation. In so, presents how the Executive Power forced the concentration in itself of the other republicans' powers, emptying the spheres of the Legislative and Judicial powers and organizing a repression structure that had as real justification not a political threat but the goal of a further

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<sup>89</sup> In the following pages we will detail the conceptualization of Intellectual and Hegemony, based in Gramsci's thought; in his trail Raymond Williams in proposing a definition of «Hegemony» as a concept to comprehend the domination of a determined class, underlines the fact that the Hegemony it is lived or experienced in a process. It can be understood as a group of practices and expectations that are distributed along a meanings and values system organized in order to give sense to ourselves in the existing world and that in the movement of existence and interaction reinforce and reconfirms itself. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford University Press, Berkshire, 1977, p. 112. In so, in our vision, a newspaper can be taken as example of organization and signification of the world under the effects of a determined hegemony, and a press organ can be then retained as part of a counter hegemony movement or a reinforcing element of the status quo.

<sup>90</sup> In one of the most important examples of Antonio Gramsci's categories translation to the Brazilian context, the «Passive Revolution» concept goes understood as a process of social modernization that brings changes to a determined society, albeit without a popular and massive participation. In this sense, it is a modernization made by the upper classes through a series of negotiations and without a rupture nor elimination of the precedent order. It must not be considered a failed revolution, the exclusion of the mass share of the population it is one of its objectives as a process that transforms in a way to maintain. (GRAMSCI, 1975, p. 1325).

deepening of the working class and peasantry exploitation (IANNI, 2019, p. 238). The movement of self-legitimacy that the military regime made along the years, at the same time that built a strong intelligence and repression structures, had the double goal of political control and economical exploration.

A verdade é que os governantes montaram um vasto aparelho repressivo. Aparelho esse que se tornou produto e condição da sua continuidade. É obvio que a ditadura não se reduzia a isso. O principal, da sua criação e seu desenvolvimento, era determinado pela sua economia política: super-exploração do proletariado e do campesinato, em benefício do capital monopolista, sob o comando do imperialismo. A repressão tinha muito a ver com essa economia política. O bloco de poder representado na ditadura (formado principalmente pela burguesia estrangeira, burguesia nacional, tecnocracia estrangeira e nacional, a burocracia e tecnocracia civil e militar) transformou a violência estatal em técnica de expropriação econômico, e não apenas em técnica de dominação política. Isto é, a repressão política desdobrava-se na superacumulação monopolista (IANNI, 2019, p. 242).<sup>91</sup>

In other words, the Brazilian «Prussian-Way» that made a long path throughout the 1900s had in an authoritarian military-regime dedicated to defending the elite's interests yet another demonstration of how the social and political transformations organized in a top to bottom vector during the national Republican history was still in play, being felt in the material life conditions but also in the elements of social debate and cultural production.<sup>92</sup> The military coup of 1964 was the expression of the structural impossibility of the Brazilian bourgeoisie in expand the consensus over itself into the new and more complex stratifications of the society. The continuous repression remained as the main tool to exercise the class dominance in a period in which the hegemony was weak; what Gramsci would call as a «dictatorship without hegemony» (COUTINHO, 2011, p. 233).

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<sup>91</sup> «The truth is that the government set up a vast repressive apparatus. This apparatus became a product and condition of its continuity. Is obvious that the dictatorship was not reduced to this. The main part of its creation and development was determined by its political economy: the over-exploitation of the proletariat and peasantry, to the benefit of monopoly capital, under the command of imperialism. Repression had a lot to do with this political economy. The power bloc represented in the dictatorship (formed principally by the foreign bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, the foreign and national technocracy, the civil and military bureaucracy, and technocracy) transformed state violence into a technique of economic expropriation, and not only into a technique of political domination. That is, political repression unfolded in monopolistic over-accumulation».

<sup>92</sup> According to Coutinho due to the «conservative modernization» that the country has been through in all the moments of passing to a new stage of development, the Brazilian transition to capitalism has always been mediate by the interests of an elite that in the colonial period was under a formal subordination and within the acceleration of the capitalism development has inserted the country and its economy in a dependence capital logic, a real subordination – the cultural elements were trawled in the very same movement as a form of justification and reinforcement of a dominant gaze of the world (COUTINHO, 2011, p. 51).

The military coup in 1964 had triggered a continuous process of imposition of an authoritarian institutionality (based in the creation of Institutional Acts) that has been supported in its initial consolidation and, at least in the following ten years, by a military cesarim (MACIEL, 2022, p. 231). In so, Gramsci's category of cesarism it is extremely useful to better understand the formation and consolidation of the military's power bloc with an extreme concentration of force in the Executive power. The conceptualization of cesarism understands that when in a situation of a «catastrophic balance» between opposite forces an arbitrary solution is required, which might guide the conflict towards one of the forces and its allies, although, this solution can be progressive or regressive

Ma il cesarismo, se esprime sempre la soluzione «arbitrale», affidata a una grande personalità, di una situazione storico-politica caratterizzata da un equilibrio di forze a prospettiva catastrofica, non ha sempre lo stesso significato storico. Ci può essere un cesarismo progressivo e un regressivo e il significato esatto di ogni forma di cesarismo, in ultima analisi può essere ricostruito dalla storia concreta e non da uno schema sociologico. È progressivo il cesarismo, quando il suo intervento aiuta la forza progressiva a trionfare sia pure con certi compromessi e temperamenti limitativi della vittoria; è regressivo quando il suo intervento aiuta a trionfare la forza regressiva, anche in questo con certi compromessi e limitazioni, che però hanno un valore, una portata e un significato diversi che non nel caso precedente.<sup>93</sup> (GRAMSCI, 1975, p. 1619).

David Maciel (2022, p. 255) synthetizes the unfolding of the category in Gramsci's thought, presenting a great framing of how the reactionary cesarism has become prevalent

Nonostante la categoria del cesarismo sia stata utilizzata per analizzare situazioni storiche diverse, come i governi di Cesare nell'antica Roma, Cromwell nell'Inghilterra del XVII secolo o Napoleone III nella Francia del XIX secolo, per Gramsci, soprattutto dopo il 1848, il cesarismo ha assunto un carattere diverso, «poliziesco», in quanto l'antagonismo insormontabile tra borghesia e proletariato impedisce la loro unione o addirittura fusione attorno alla *leadership* cesarista. In tal modo, il cesarismo

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<sup>93</sup> «But caesarism, if it always expresses the 'arbitrary' solution, entrusted to a great personality, of a historical-political situation characterized by a balance of forces with a catastrophic perspective, does not always have the same historical meaning. There can be a progressive and a regressive Caesarism, and the exact meaning of each form of Caesarism can ultimately be reconstructed from concrete history and not from a sociological scheme. Caesarism is progressive when its intervention helps the progressive force to triumph, albeit with certain compromises and temperaments limiting the victory; it is regressive when its intervention helps the regressive force to triumph, again with certain compromises and limitations, which however have a different value, scope and meaning than in the previous case».

possibile è quello che favorisce le possibilità di sviluppo storico già presenti nell'ordine sociale e in cui viene esercitato un controllo permanente sul proletariato, preservandone la relativa debolezza e impedendogli di assumere una prospettiva rivoluzionaria.<sup>94</sup>

In the Brazilian case, 1964 represented the rising and consolidation of a military cesarism as the arbitrary and reactionary solution to the populist hegemony crisis.<sup>95</sup> In other words, to the dominant classes that were facing the growing of social tensions and conflicts in the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, the authoritarian solution connected with a fast industrialization process and an alignment with the USA presented itself in political and ideological accordance with their interests. In so, the military slogan «security and development» was perfect to the aspirations of the dominant classes that were going through hegemony weakness period, even if not a full crisis (MACIEL, 2022, p. 257).<sup>96</sup>

Another central aspect in this debate that must be highlighted, was the absence of any kind of barriers to a European centered cultural penetration in the country as universal, reinforcing a cycle of economic dependence and cultural domination. «Em suma: quando o pensamento brasileiro “importa” uma ideologia universal, isso é prova de que determinada classe ou camada social de nosso país encontrou (ou julgou encontrar) nessa ideologia a expressão de seus próprios interesses *brasileiros* de classe»<sup>97</sup> (COUTINHO, 2011, p. 41). That is to say, the Brazilian bourgeoisie saw in the cultural elements of the European centers the ideal expression of its own interests, economic and cultural, and exactly because were these

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<sup>94</sup> «Although the category of Caesarism has been used to analyse different historical situations, such as the governments of Caesar in ancient Rome, Cromwell in 17th century England or Napoleon III in 19th century France, for Gramsci, especially after 1848, Caesarism took on a different, 'police-like' character, in that the insurmountable antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat prevented their union or even fusion around Caesarist leadership. Thus, possible caesarism is that which favours the possibilities of historical development already present in the social order and in which permanent control is exercised over the proletariat, preserving its relative weakness and preventing it from assuming a revolutionary perspective».

<sup>95</sup> To this it important to add the element of an «reactionary subversivism» inside the Brazilian society that gave an extra layer of social legitimation to the civil-military coup, especially within the middle-class groups. Gramsci (1975, p. 324-326) indicates how elements of the small bourgeoisie that were expecting for changes had a subversivism component, that in the moment of «despair» tend to a reactionary solution; in our interpretation a similar movement has been seen in the Brazilian context in the beginning of the 1960s.

<sup>96</sup> Is important to indicate that after 1974, in the moment in which the dictatorship's détente has begun, this military cesarism element has been reinforced. That is to say, after the «economic miracle» and the first signs of an economic crisis, the growing of opposition civil society elements, and disagreements inside the bourgeoisie groups that were not a pack block in favor of the State intervention in the economy, the militaries gave a new strength to its arbitrary intervention and conduction of the country as a preventive action. Instead of risking losing the political control of the Dictatorship end and the transition to a new political regime, the option of a «slow, gradual and safe» transition was putted in motion with the militaries guaranteeing the transition from an authoritarian bourgeoisie autocracy into a democratic one in a new chapter of the Brazilian «Passive Revolution».

<sup>97</sup> «In short: when Brazilian thought "imports" a universal ideology, this is proof that a certain class or social stratum of our country has found (or thought it has found) in this ideology the expression of its own Brazilian class interests».

universal elements that were already part of a classist understanding of the world and its own rule since the colonial period. We must indicate the fact that Coutinho (2011), in the track of Gramsci, points out to the existence of possibilities to the development and surge of antagonistic intellectuals as opposition cultural expressions; were these breaches and forms of resistance that, in the Brazilian case, gave the possibility to the existence and organization of a more complex «Civil Society»<sup>98</sup> during the 1920, generating reflexes in the next decades.

Gramsci's conceptualization of «Civil Society» places itself dialectically centrally and converges the concept of «Intellectual» with the already presented notion of «private hegemony apparatus» in a circle process that inside this chapter meets its start again

Il rapporto tra gli intellettuali e il mondo della produzione non è immediato, come avviene per i gruppi sociali fondamentali, ma è «mediato», in diverso grado, da tutto il tessuto sociale, dal complesso delle superstrutture, di cui appunto gli intellettuali sono i «funzionari». Si potrebbe misurare l'«organicità» dei diversi strati intellettuali, la loro più o meno stretta connessione con un gruppo sociale fondamentale, fissando una gradazione delle funzioni e delle sovrastrutture dal basso in alto (dalla base strutturale in su). Si possono, per ora, fissare due grandi «piani» superstrutturali, quello che si può chiamare della «società civile», cioè dell'insieme di organismi volgarmente detti «privati» e quello della «società politica o Stato» e che corrispondono alla funzione di «egemonia» che il gruppo dominante esercita in tutta la società e a quello di «dominio diretto» o di comando che si esprime nello Stato e nel governo «giuridico». Queste funzioni sono precisamente organizzative e connettive. Gli intellettuali sono i «commessi» del gruppo dominante per l'esercizio delle funzioni subalterne dell'egemonia sociale e del governo politico [...]»<sup>99</sup> (GRAMSCI, 1975, p. 1518).

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<sup>98</sup> In a similar path, Raymond Williams in a cultural key presents a conceptualization in which he refers to the interaction between the *Traditions*, the *Institutions* and the *Formations* as elements that summarizes in their movements the relations that are generated in the organization of the Society and its cultural elements as the expression of the complexifications and the superposition of layers of influence. The author retains that the *Traditions* are somehow the continuity of a Hegemony, having in the *Institutions* the bases to new possible and transformative interactions and in the *Formations* the cultural trends that frame the cultural manifestations. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford University Press, Berkshire, 1977, p. 116.

<sup>99</sup> «The relationship between intellectuals and the world of production is not immediate, as it is for fundamental social groups, but is 'mediated', to varying degrees, by the entire social fabric, by the complex of superstructures, of which intellectuals are precisely the 'functionaries'. One could measure the 'organicity' of the different intellectual strata, their more or less close connection with a fundamental social group, by establishing a gradation of functions and superstructures from bottom to top (from the structural base upwards). We can, for now, fix two great superstructural 'planes', that which can be called 'civil society', i.e. the set of organisms vulgarly called 'private', and that of 'political society or state', and which correspond to the function of 'hegemony' that the dominant group exercises throughout society and to that of 'direct domination' or command that is expressed in the state and in 'juridical' government. These functions are precisely organizational and connective. Intellectuals are the dominant group's 'clerks' for the exercise of the subordinate functions of social hegemony and political government [...]».

In the essay «Os intelectuais e a organização da cultura»<sup>100</sup> Coutinho presents an important balance of the complexifying process that Brazil went through during the decades, from 1920 until the 1960, and how it generated reflexes in a diversification and reorganization of the national culture and a slow insertion of the lower classes in the national cultural production and expression. Is in the field of the political-cultural production that we might understand the narrative production and commitment of the mainstream newspapers as the expression of a «private apparatus of hegemony». Aiming to fulfill the public space of debate and sphere of political dispute, this part of the Brazilian press was organized to exercise and reaffirm a form of power based in the control of the consensus and consolidation of a bourgeoisie gaze of the world. This narrative and sense-constructive movement is traceable in different moments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Brazil, in what will be further detailed in the present work in the cosmopolitanism of the 1920s, the laborism of the 1930s/1940s, as well as the democrat exception period of the 1950s and finally in the National-developmentism from the 1960s on. In the following chapters some examples of this different moments of expression inside the Brazilian mainstream press will be indicated in relation with its historical context.

At this point the concept of «Intellectual»<sup>101</sup> shows itself as fundamental to the positioning of the present analysis for its convergence with other theoretical elements and articulation inside the «Civil Society». In our interpretation of the Brazilian case, journalists, photographers and editors that are responsible for the production of the newspapers are in their majority dominant class (bourgeois) organic intellectuals, which in a dialectical relation are, on the one side, being pressed by «traditional» intellectuals (old political elites, the clergy and landowners) and on the other side, by new political and social actors representants of the subaltern classes that started, especially from the second half of the 1970s on, to get organized and demand to a larger and stronger political-material influence in the society (GRAMSCI, 1975, p.1551). This movement led to a new political, cultural and discursive organization inside the dominant class and its superstructural apparatus. In this sense, the cooptation process of

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<sup>100</sup> Carlos Nelson Coutinho. *Os intelectuais e a organização da cultura*. In: *Cultura e sociedade no Brasil: ensaios sobre idéias e formas* / Carlos Nelson Coutinho. -- 4.ed. -- São Paulo : Expressão Popular, 2011, p 13-33»

<sup>101</sup> In an overall we are based on Gramsci's propositions which indicates the layered «intellectual» role in a complex relation with the economic production and the cultural organization (press, educational system, publishing houses, etc.), as part of the diverse «private apparatus of hegemony» inside the «Civil Society», which on its turn, articulates an expanded State concept. Extrapolating the repressive social elements and including an ideological and cultural front. (GRAMSCI, 1975, p. 1406). In the following pages of the \$16 inside the «Q11» Gramsci proposes an interesting exemplification around the term «materialism» and its ideological, philosophical and cultural disputes.

sectors of the subaltern «intellectually» was still active and can be included in the discursive reorganization that we intend to dissect in the following pages.

As just indicated, other consequence of the «Passive Revolution» in Brazil has been the extremely slow organization of a strong group of social elements, institutions, and apparatus that the classes utilize to participate of the dispute for the hegemony control, according to the Gramsci conceptualization the «Civil Society». Coutinho (2011, p. 47) points out that what the country saw throughout the first decades after the independence and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century instead was a strong «Political Society» in which the establishment was able to keep control of the power thanks to the bureaucratic and military institutions. This fact in its turn lead to another deficiency in the Brazilian cultural organization and consolidation. Considering that took some decades until the «private apparatus of hegemony» starts to hold a significant influence in the society, the «Intellectuals», in other words, the individuals capable of synthetizing, organizing, and expressing the demands, needs and ideologies of a social group that was not that one in power, in many cases suffered a process of cooptation to the already existing apparatus.

Temos assim um claro “desequilíbrio” na luta cultural: enquanto as classes dominantes encontram com relativa facilidade os seus representantes ideológicos ou os seus “intelectuais orgânicos”, as camadas populares são frequentemente “decapitadas” e lutam com grandes dificuldades para dar uma figura sistemática à sua autoconsciência ideológica<sup>102</sup>. (COUTINHO, 2011, p. 48).

It is in this process of decapitation that the hegemonic historical power bloc presents itself, in the effort of keeping control of the power (GRAMSCI, 1975, p. 1504). The result is not the obligation of defending the establishment, however, the situation organizes itself in a scenario in which the individual becomes politically aseptically, harmless, its cultural formulations begin to fit in the limits of the power in rule. There is then according to Coutinho (2011, p. 49) a component of intimacy in this cooptation process, in other words, there is a general notion of liberty in the flow of ideas, nevertheless confined in the frontiers of the dominant hegemony.

In this sense, Leonardo Paggi (1984) stresses the fact that in his argument about the role of the «Intellectual» as an organizer of the new emergent civil society, to Gramsci the working class was not in the need of class organizers, but instead, they should be the organizers themselves. In second place, is also fundamental the consciousness that the intellectual might

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<sup>102</sup> «There is thus a clear "imbalance" in the cultural struggle: while the dominant classes find it relatively easy to find their ideological representatives or their "organic intellectuals", the popular layers are often "decapitated" and struggle with great difficulty to give a systematic figure to their ideological self-awareness».



act as an intermediary organizer between the masses and the ruling classes; especially taking in consideration the fact that in determined contexts this intermediate position might be responsible for a complexification process of the society.

L'importanza determinata dell'elemento organizzativo intermedio («il contadino meridionale è legato al grande proprietario terriero per il tramite dell'intellettuale») consiste nel fatto che esso svolge simultaneamente la sua funzione sia nello Stato apparato che nello Stato società civile, sia come burocrate e funzionario, che come ideologo e organizzatore politico. Ed è appunto questa figura di intellettuale, ossia «l'elemento organizzativo di una società a base contadina e artigiana», piuttosto che la nuova figura di «organizzatore tecnico» prodotta dall'industria, che costituisce per Gramsci l'elemento di complessità, rispetto ai moduli interpretativi della tradizione marxista, che merita di essere particolarmente indagato<sup>103</sup> (PAGGI, 1984, p. 334).

Gianni Fresu (2019) underlines the fact that back in his youth, when Gramsci recognizes for himself his work as a journalist, the philosopher gave great importance to the journalistic production as a social element capable of influence and transformation of a critical consciousness to the masses. In addition to that his conceptualization retains that the journalistic activity was a fundamental intellectual field to the dispute of hegemony between the Liberal ideology and other forms of construction and gaze to the world

In tal senso, nel *Quaderno 6*, Gramsci trattò della necessità di formare giornalisti «tecnicamente preparati a comprendere la vita organica di una grande città, impostando in questo quadro (senza pedanteria, ma anche non superficialmente e senza “brillanti improvvisazioni”) ogni singolo problema mano mano che diventa di attualità». Per l'intellettuale sardo, il giornalista, non solo il caporedattore ma pure il capocronista, doveva avere la preparazione tecnica necessaria a esercitare anche altre funzioni di direzione politica (sindaco, prefetto, membro di un consiglio provinciale); in tal senso «le funzioni di un giornale dovrebbero essere equiparate a corrispondenti funzioni dirigenti alla vita amministrativa». Gramsci parla del “capocronaca di tipo organico” come di una figura di grande spessore intellettuale, capace di porre a sintesi gli aspetti più generali e costanti nella vita di una città, sfrondandoli dagli elementi episodici dell'attualità, che pure devono sempre essere al centro

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<sup>103</sup> «The determined importance of the intermediate organizational element ("the southern peasant is linked to the large landowner through the intellectual") consists in the fact that he performs his function simultaneously in both the apparatus state and the civil society state, both as bureaucrat and official, and as ideologue and political organizer. And it is precisely this figure of the intellectual, that is, "the organizing element of a society based on peasants and artisans", rather than the new figure of the "technical organizer" produced by industry, that constitutes for Gramsci the element of complexity, with respect to the interpretative modules of the Marxist tradition, that deserves to be particularly investigated».

dell'attività giornalistica. Il tema dell'organicità nella professione giornalistica è nuovamente oggetto del *Quaderno 14*, dove questa attività è presentata come «esposizione di un gruppo che vuole, attraverso diverse attività pubblicistiche, diffondere una concezione integrale del mondo»<sup>104</sup> (FRESU, 2019, p. 69).

At this point, is then necessary return to what proposes Williams (1971, p. 121) by pointing out that in the process of socialization and formation of a Hegemony the Institutions / Private apparatus of hegemony have a great influence, especially the media conglomerates since they are capable of materialize a selection of facts, opinions, and perceptions of the world. However, they are not the Hegemony itself, but in a contradictory and conflicting interaction they are, in themselves, the representation of the process of dispute in action.

The Brazilian context reclaims an additional layer of analysis to this path dedicated to the interpretation of the class-political dispute and social organization in the country. The so-called tendency to an ideological eclecticism – this notion unfolds the fact that the superposition of visions of progressivism inside the political wings that were in action in the country history, also the conservative ones, are an example of how the «Passive-Revolution» has been a process in consolidation and repetition along the decades. The consequences of it to the cultural production was what has been already mentioned, a slow born and construction of «private apparatus of hegemony», in other words

Dado que na raiz do “intimismo” está a separação entre os intelectuais e a realidade nacional-popular, uma separação posta e resposta pela “via prussiana”, o antídoto contra tal veneno não pode ser produzido simplesmente no laboratório imanente da própria cultura: a superação do “intimismo”, tanto no nível pessoal quanto social, passa pela orgânica integração dos intelectuais com a luta das classes subalternas para se afirmarem como sujeitos efetivos de nossa evolução social e política.<sup>105</sup> (COUTINHO, 2011, p. 53).

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<sup>104</sup> «In this sense, in Notebook 6, Gramsci dealt with the need to train journalists “technically prepared to understand the organic life of a large city, setting out within this framework (without pedantry, but also not superficially and without ‘brilliant improvisation’) every single problem as it becomes topical”. For the Sardinian intellectual, the journalist, in all its functions, had to have the necessary technical background to also carry out other political management positions (mayor, prefect, member of a provincial council); in this sense, “the functions of a newspaper should be equated with corresponding management functions in administrative life”. Gramsci speaks of the 'organic type of news editor' as a figure of great intellectual depth, capable of synthesizing the most general and constant aspects of the life of a city, stripping them of the episodic elements of current events, which must always be at the center of journalistic activity. The theme of organicity in the journalistic profession is once again the subject of Notebook 14, where this activity is presented as “the exhibition of a group that wants, through various publicity activities, to spread an integral conception of the world”».

<sup>105</sup> «Given that at the root of "intimism" is the separation between intellectuals and national-popular reality, a separation posed and answered by the "Prussian way", the antidote against such a poison cannot simply be produced in the immanent laboratory of culture itself: the overcoming of "intimism", on both the personal and social levels, passes through the organic integration of intellectuals with the struggle of the subaltern classes to assert themselves as effective subjects of our social and political evolution».

Going deeper in the Brazilian context, if on the one hand the military regime of 1964 was the expression of the imposition of a determinate dominant class and its hegemony as presented, on the other hand has been also the moment in the country's history in which the multiple «private apparatus» were better consolidated and had strength to defy the ruling power. These elements of contradiction and duality of the military regime transformed the «cultural question» in a major issue to the militaries, especially because as was presented before, this topic represented an important element to the maintenance of the regime's legitimacy and the middle-class support. In so the choice made by the regime was to let the cultural road open to the market rather than to the masses (NAPOLITANO, 2014 p. 103).

Is then our understanding that the mainstream press places itself in a dual position in the Brazilian context after 1964. On the one hand, as a result of the consolidation of a system in which the State controlled and was controlled by the monopolist capital; along the years the press suffered a concentration process reinforcing the monopolist aspect of the regime, especially in the TVs networks and printed press<sup>106</sup>. On the other hand, the mass media might be seen as well as the element capable of expressing the breaches in the hegemony and control of the cultural and political spheres. In short, the contradictory expansion that the Brazilian Society saw due to the national developmentism gave to the country a more active and complex «Civil Society», capable of generate and use the gaps that a bigger civil participation putted in play in the Brazilian case.<sup>107</sup> Even if is not completely clear what were the cooptation effects in this period and how this space for negotiation existed in this process of diversification of the cultural expressions, the present analysis intends to deepener this line of thought and tries to understand how these cracks had a dual use, since allowed the newspapers to create an image of democracy and resistance in its publications, giving more legitimacy to them, but at the same time this repositioning was strategic to the maintenance of a hegemonic position – in other words, it might has been the case that the openings in the hegemony had generate the possibility to absorb or coopt some of the opposition and resistance to the regime, using them in favor of a specific expression of a determined social class position.

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<sup>106</sup> In the next chapter there will be presented elements of the history and development of press organs here analyzed and how has been seen an economic and material concentration process in TV networks, but also in the newspapers sector.

<sup>107</sup> David Maciel (2022, p. 236) presents that to the foreign capital and the monopolistic national capital, after 1974 the strong presence of the State in the economy was not a consensus and started to attack the government arguing that they were competing between one another and that the militaries were attacking the press freedom. Is interesting to note that has been from this moment on that the «MDB» as an opposition force had gained strength, other movements were born inside of the civil society and some press agents undergone a strong growing and concentration process.

In our interpretation and based in the authors indicated in this chapter, it is possible to understand the second half of the dictatorship, from 1974 on, as the moment in which the militaries had to deal with a not favorable economic context and a growing social dissatisfaction inside of the subaltern groups. This new configuration of the forces generated the need to an update of the historic bloc power structures, in a new unfolding of the Brazilian «Passive Revolution», the transition process into an autocratic bourgeoisie democracy represented this refreshment and perfecting of the dominant class structures

La transizione “lenta, graduale e sicura”, dunque, è stata condotta in modo tale da evitare che la crisi della dittatura e dello programma economico “sviluppista”, basato sul rafforzamento dell’industria nazionale grazie agli aiuti statali, implicassero il superamento dell’autocrazia borghese e del modello di produzione capitalista che la sosteneva. In questo processo, il metodo delle modificazioni molecolari è stato fondamentale per evitare che il processo di transizione conservatore venisse interrotto dall’intervento delle classi subalterne, facendo in modo che una parte delle loro rivendicazioni venisse accolta senza però mettere in discussione la dominazione borghese.<sup>108</sup> (MACIEL, 2022, p. 251).

In the approach of the present work, the newspapers, as private apparatus of hegemony, accomplished a central role in also updating the narratives regarding the dictatorship, the militaries actions, and the possibilities to the future of the country. And to do so, a refreshment and reorganization of its own discourse was needed being accompanied by new layers of cooptation and narrative tools towards a national consensus of unity and reconciliation.

In so, a short break is recalled presenting the hypothesis that this work aims to solve. The idea retains that, the selected newspapers «Folha de S. Paulo» and «Jornal do Brasil» represented, during the regime, the expression of a process of reorganization in the discourse of this press sector towards a new form of self-legitimation in front of the Public Opinion, but also of the dictatorship itself as political and economic possibility to the country in that moment, even if there were cases of institutional violence and violations. This reorganization can be called as another form of conservative transformation that had the goal to keep under the control of a mass and dominant press sector the disputes and the narrative of the military

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<sup>108</sup> « The 'slow, gradual and safe' transition, therefore, was conducted in such a way as to prevent the crisis of the dictatorship and the 'developmentalist' economic programme, based on the strengthening of national industry through state aid, from implying the overthrow of bourgeois autocracy and the capitalist production model that supported it. In this process, the method of molecular modification was fundamental in preventing the conservative transition process from being interrupted by the intervention of the subaltern classes, ensuring that a part of their demands were accepted without, however, challenging bourgeois domination».

in power. We understand, in the paths of Gramsci and Williams<sup>109</sup>, that this system has in itself the possibilities to the opposition and to an anti-hegemonic organization of the discourse. However, in this possibility is as well placed the construction of an eclecticism as mentioned before that does not place itself as an expression of a different political and social project to the country, but on the other hand, realizes the discourse reorganization in order to complete the need of a new placement of the social and political roles with the objective of the maintenance of the class hegemony from which belong the press organs owners and to which most of the journalists/intellectuals were cooptated.

Considering that this hypothesis of a changing attitude by the press organs was a reflect and an expression of the transformations in the reality in which these publications were inserted, had been chosen some specific dates of the historical context that are not only key moments to the military regime, but also marks how the press had refracted and narrate those moments. In so, the dates spread over three decades that will be under further analysis are:

\* The military coup - the days before and after the coup. 30/03/1964; 31/03/1964; 01/04/1964; 02/04/1964.

\* The upcoming days after the promulgation of the Institutional Act – N°5. 14/12/1968; 15/12/1968; 16/12/1968; 17/12/1968.

\* The press covering of the deaths of three individuals with different insertions in the Brazilian Society – the student Edson Luis, the left-wing guerrilla Carlos Marighela and the journalist Vladimir Herzog. In these cases, the analysis will be dedicated respectively to the following dates: 29/03/1968, 30/03/1968 31/03/1968; 01/04/1968; 02/04/1968;03/04/1968; 05/11/1969, 06/11/1969;07/11/1969; 08/11/1969; from 26/10/1975 until 01/11/1975 and 20/12/1975.

\* Key days of the process to the approval of the Amnesty Law. 28/08/1979; 29/08/1979 and 30/08/1979.

\* The «Diretas Já» rallies as representatives of the final process of democratic retaking. Also, in this case the analysis will be centered in a group of days that are: 27/11/1983, 28/11/1983; 25/01/1984, 26/01/1984; 24/02/1984, 25/02/1984; 10/04/1984, 11/04/1984; 16/04/1984, 17/04/1984.

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<sup>109</sup> Raymond Williams underlines the fact that the cultural alternatives and anti-hegemonic initiatives have their importance expanded beyond themselves once they present fundamental elements of what a determined hegemonic process was trying to control. Furthermore, the author sustains that there is a significant dualism in the opposing cultural actions – on the one hand they are product inside the limits of the dominant cultural hegemony and on the other hand, even with this fact they represent significant rupture movements being neutralized or acting as ferment to other initiatives. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford University Press, Berkshire, 1977, p. 114. We retain that the nuances and shades of the press discourse expresses itself in this dualism and its possibilities of absorption and resistance from and to the hegemony.

\* The election of the first civilian President after twenty years, Tancredo Neves, and his death three months after his election. 15/01/1985, 16/01/1985, 21/04/1985 and 22/04/1985.

Considering that the present work is dedicated to an analysis of the «structured material expression», we underline once more the transdisciplinary character of it and how its field of actuation requires a multiple gaze. In so, the «verbo-visual» concept allows a theoretical and methodological approach that proves to combine the explanation of both aspects of the material expression – the verbal and the visual. Having in consideration its gradings organized in a single path of expression, even if Valentin Volosinov (1973) did not dedicate himself to the images, the semiotic-philosophic-ideological perspective (in building the ideological sign) gives the basis to the analysis of the visual; especially due to the impossibility of separation between the two aspects (verbo-visual); acknowledging the risk of losing the sense effects and the comprehension of the meaning production (BRAIT, 2013, p. 44). Therefore, the verbo-visual dialogical relations add another layer of interpretation to the onion's unpeeling process.

In his work «Marxism and Philosophy of Language», Valentin Volosinov<sup>110</sup>, in 1929, tries to indicate the general direction of what he calls a Marxist thought on language and, what its fundamental methodological points should be.<sup>111</sup> In proposing a dialectic synthesis, the author seeks to construct a theory of the concrete enunciation/uttering, creating a unifying concept that is based on the notion that «[...] verbal interaction is the basic reality of language» (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 94). To this end, Volosinov points to the need of build a philosophy of the «ideological sign», a notion that retains the «sign» as the aspect of language that can be filled in with ideology to accomplish different functions. To the author, ideology is formed and forms consciousness through material reality, that is to say, through the «ideological sign» itself.<sup>112</sup> This, in turn, will be constituted through social interaction that builds of

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<sup>110</sup> For clarifications about the authorship and context of Bakhtin's Circle's works, we suggest consulting the introductory essay by Sheila Grillo, published with the last Portuguese edition of «Marxism and Philosophy of Language» (2018). The same author points out that Mikhail Bakhtin declared in an interview with Botcharov that he was not affiliated to Marxism as a theoretical proposition, which, according to Grillo, means that the propositions related to historical materialist dialectics have Valentin Volosinov and Medvedev as their main reference. In: Sheila Viera de Camargo Grillo. Gêneros primários e gêneros secundários no círculo de Bakhtin: implicações para a divulgação científica. *Alfa*. São Paulo, 52(1): 57-79: 2008.

<sup>111</sup> At this point a clarification is necessary on the debate around the materialism and idealism on the historical context of Volosinov's and Bakhtin's production. According to the Introduction section of the work «Repensando o círculo de Bakhtin: novas perspectivas na história intelectual», the author, exposes the fact in a context in which a positivism reductionist was under a Marxist dressing, take shelter under an idealist dialectic was understandable as a tool to escape from materialist mechanicisms in the theoretical organization. (BRANDIST, 2012, p. 09).

<sup>112</sup> Is necessary to point out that in the moment of publication of the first edition of «Marxism and Philosophy of Language», the work «The German Ideology, 2nd edn, Arthur, C. J. (ed.) (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974 written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had not been published, something that only occurred in 1933. The same remark has been made by Ives (2006, p. 68) when commenting that both «Gramsci and Volosinov

representations, refracted by class interests, resulting in performing a dialectical synthesis of the ideological formation of the sign (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 13). In this sense, the author indicates the fact that the element of language that fulfills the role of sign, is not only determined by the real, but also, by reflecting and refracting<sup>113</sup> this real, it contributes to the formation of the reality, which conforms as «an intersecting of differently oriented social interests within one and the same sign community, i.e., by *the class struggle*» (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 23).

In order to better understand the conceptualization that Volosinov and the «Bakhtin's Circle»<sup>114</sup> proposes it is necessary to present the scenario of the theoretical influences that had an important role in influencing Volosinov's philosophical expression in a flourishing period on the field of debate and its relations with the political context of that time. In first place, on thinking the theory of the «dialogical nature of the enunciate», as well as the importance of the different genres categories, the «Circle» considered that there were diverse limitations in the ideas present on the «formalists» proposition and did not agree with the notion that considered the genres; poetical and the quotidian life language, as oppositional. In this sense, a first major influence has been the Plekhanov's<sup>115</sup> «quotidian ideology» concept, in other words, the notion of an existing «social body psychology»<sup>116</sup> as an intermediary in between the infrastructure and the superstructure rolled a great influence in the «dialogism» building. This Plekhanov

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further develop Marx and Engels's notion that consciousness is not 'pure consciousness' but rather 'practical consciousness,' which is identified with language».

<sup>113</sup> Brandist (2012, p. 49) retains that the optical image in Volosinov's conceptualization has an origin in Lenin's work «Materialism and Empirio-Criticism», from this work the reflex theory and the concept of distortion of the representativeness based in class interests became popular in the working-class defenders.

<sup>114</sup> What became known as «Bakhtin's Circle» has been a group of philosophers and linguists that was dedicated to organizing a Marxist theory of the language and superstructure. To the authors of the group, the main objective was to indicate what are the refined mediations that lead the infrastructure to determine the superstructure, having the language a central role. The main exponents of the Circle were, Mikhail Bakhtin, Valentin Volóchinov, Pavel Medvedev (FIORIN, 2019, p. 20).

<sup>115</sup> Gueórgui Valentinovitch Plekhánov (1856-1918) was one of the most important Marxist's and Marxism's promoters of the XIX century second half. His work has been fundamental in the dispute against the idealist revisionists and vulgarizers of the dialectic historical materialism which had as main exponent Eduard Bernstein. In the Russian case, the economicism was central in the reductionist argumentation. Due to his work Lenin recognized in him a main reference for those how wanted to study deeply Marx's and Engels dialectic proposition. Although, after the 1905 revolution, Plekhanov kept a distance of the Bolsheviks, engaging in a long polemic with Lenin in several theoretical fronts. One of them was the idea that workers would fail to develop a socialist conscience without external intervention (MAYER, 1997). In the beginning of the 1910's made a reapproximating move to Lenin, once more to engage against the positivist vulgarizers of the dialectic historical material perspective. Nowadays, his propositions are rated as determinist and outdated, albeit his contributions were central in the period and to the development of a sublate (aufheben) theory of the superstructure, especially in the field of the aesthetics. (NASCIMENTO, 2014).

<sup>116</sup> To the author the «social body psychology» represents the conception of world of a determined social group inside the social struggle. In its turn, this conception it is determined in part by the Economic, but also by the social and political regime that organizes it. It will be in the «sociologism» of the analysis and its determinism, that Gramsci will center his critics to Plekhánov, condemning the strong mecanicist dependence that the author presents in between the economic conditions and the artistic creation (NASCIMENTO, 2014, p. 93).

concept is visible in Volosinov work when the author systemizes different models of social communication and its forms of influence over the verbal interaction and the «quotidian genres». From this organization, comes to the surface several forms of social communication: 1) the communication in the production; 2) in the businesses (institutions and social organizations); 3) communication in the daily life; 4) Ideological communication. The strength of Volosinov contribution relies in the fact that accomplishing a dialectical movement indicate that the existing «social body psychology» is founded in a concrete form of interaction, being expressed in the genre differences among the social groups. (GRILLO, 2013, p. 62). That it is to say, the theoretical gaps and weakness of Plekhanov's proposition were important, not only for bringing to the discussion the needed debate around a materialist and historic-dialectical theory, but for creating part of the foundations from which the proposition could depart and deepen the discussion - nowadays most of his ideas and concepts were overtaken or deepened in order to accomplish an actualization of the dialectical process<sup>117</sup>.

The work of Sheila Grillo (2013) it is central for this debate because the author in reflecting on the relation between primary and secondary kinds of genres, presents an important and basilar contribution to the understanding of the flow of ideas in that period and also indicates the objectives that were placed by the «Bakhtin's Circle» along the decades

A importância da relação entre os gêneros primários e os gêneros secundários, enfatizada por Bakhtin no texto dos anos [19]50, deve-se, pois, ao fato de que um dos projetos do círculo foi o de reler a teoria da superestrutura marxista, no diz respeito à mobilidade das ideologias constituídas, operadas pela influência da ideologia do cotidiano ou psicologia social. Bakhtin/Volochinov propõe que as esferas ideológicas (arte, ciência, religião etc.) se formam a partir da ideologia do

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<sup>117</sup> According to Brandist, it has been Bühler who inserted a new sensory stimulus to Volosinov's thought, the notion of a Gestalt field, that is to say, the "meaning in use" of words is derived from their being embedded in a sentence or paragraph, which had later been expanded to insert the social context of the utterance. Both Bühler and Volosinov maintain that is in the active social field that the production and reception of the work are placed, affecting the way in which the interpretation of a particular word will be performed. Is from this point that will be further derived the notion of Chronotope proposed by Bakhtin, that is, a perceptual time-space of the reader and their interactions. Ernst Cassirer, on the other hand, was also incorporate in Volosinov work accepting a broadly neo-Kantian principle of Cassirer's work: language as a specific 'symbolic form', an 'energy of the spirit' that must be strictly distinguished from other related forms". These will act as mediators between people, constituting meanings. It will be then by accepting certain notions of Bühler and Cassirer that Volosinov does a neo-Hegelian rework, that is, he takes up an idealist dialectic, to substantiate the fact that language is in a middleground between what is produced in the mind of the individual and the materiality of the real world (BRANDIST, 2012, p. 45). In our interpretation this movement it will be key to further developments on the dialectical aspect of the meaning production as a material social element.



cotidiano, que, por sua vez, é influenciada pelas ideologias em sentido estrito<sup>118</sup>(GRILLO, 2013, p. 63).

Nevertheless, Volosinov and the proposition of «Bakhtin's Circle» differs from other Marxist authors of the period<sup>119</sup>, precisely because of the notion that the cultural products that result from stated ideological systems, depends on the «quotidian ideology» not only for its genesis, but also to its survival in a determined society. That is to say, a language cultural product, from a specific social group,<sup>120</sup> realizes itself when it organically incorporated in the so-called «quotidian-ideology». At the same time, Grillo (2013, p. 64) calls the attention to the fact that another element of the theoretical context that was considered in the conceptualization of Volosinov, is Simmel's proposition, which consists in the notion of «life flux» as the constant contradiction and interaction of an unlimited continuity with individual limits as a «life philosophy» that added to the «Circle» formulation a non-dogmatic or close idea of theoretical system. In the same breath, the understanding of how to the theoretical proposition of Volosinov of the «enunciate/utterance» and the «discourse» was formed goes through the knowing of the philosophy's historical moment in which it took part. An element which indicates that the relevance to the interactions and dialogical contact was present not only in the theoretical formulation of the author, but also in its intellectual practice.

A confluência entre dialética materialista e filosofia da vida engendra a teorização de Volochinov sobre a importância da ideologia do cotidiano na criação e também no desmantelamento dos sistemas ideológicos constituídos. A ênfase de Bakhtin nos anos 50 sobre o caráter “relativamente estável” dos gêneros do discurso manifesta a tensão entre as forças de estabilização das ideologias e as forças de transformação da vida. Nessa direção, a importância atribuída à relação entre gêneros primários (ideologia do cotidiano) e secundários (ideologia em sentido estrito) é a expressão da opção filosófica bakhtiniana, a partir de algumas influências teóricas de seu tempo<sup>121</sup>. (GRILLO, 2013, p. 65).

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<sup>118</sup> « The importance of the relationship between primary genres and secondary genres, emphasized by Bakhtin in the text of the 1950s, is due to the fact that one of the circle's projects was to re-read the Marxist superstructure theory, with respect to the mobility of constituted ideologies, operated by the influence of the ideology of everyday life or social psychology. Bakhtin/Volochinov propose that ideological spheres (art, science, religion, etc.) are formed out of quotidian ideology, which, in turn, is influenced by ideologies in the strict sense».

<sup>119</sup> Specially G. Plekahnov and N. Bucharin.

<sup>120</sup> Philosophical, Scientific, Artistic, Communicational.

<sup>121</sup>«The confluence of materialist dialectics and philosophy of life engenders Volosinov's theorization of the importance of «everyday ideology» in the creation and also the dismantling of constituted ideological systems. Bakhtin's emphasis in the 1950s on the «relatively stable» character of genres of discourse manifests the tension between the stabilizing forces of ideologies and the transformative forces of life. In this direction, the importance attributed to the relationship between primary genres (everyday life ideology) and secondary genres (ideology in the strict sense) is the expression of Bakhtinian philosophical choice, from some theoretical influences of his time».

At this point, in referring to the creation and decomposition of ideological systems that are already in place as a result of the realization of the «quotidian ideology» in the discourse, is possible to infer a relation with the idea of a tension in between stabilizing forces and the «life transformation» as the dispute for the social Hegemony and political power, being related to the control of the enunciation process. This dispute, however, is executed in a double sense road, in other words, at the same time that the dispute and realizations in between what Volosinov called of «quotidian ideology» (primary genres) and «ideology» (secondary genres), creates space for a destabilization of the dominant forces it can work as a reinforcement of it. Is than this unfolding of the elements that in here we call it subjectivity that gives strength and more possibilities to «Bakhtin's Circle» propositions.

In so, the Dialogism concept emerges as synthesis and overcoming of the theorization on the language philosophy and the genesis of the signification inside the enunciate. In addition to this, represents the intent made by Volosinov and the «Bakhtin's Circle» to organize a Marxist approach to the Language Philosophy debate, that was not a mechanistic or a theoretical vulgarization of the concepts proposed in the materialism interpretation of History. In our reading, «Bakhtin Circle's» work proposes a theoretical synthesis that absorbs the tendencies of the period, refracts it's into a formulation that understands being the historic-materialist dialect the interpretation of the world in which the material elements of the society (as a material expression of the human interaction) are a part and an influence on the subjective and ideological expression of this very same reality. This, in its place, will be expressed throughout actions and power dominances.<sup>122</sup>

Thus, the concept of «Dialogism» is based on theoretical and conceptual elements that seek to dissect how the material conditions of the language operation establish an important foundation reflected on the uses of language, «O dialogismo marca a especificidade do Círculo de Bakhtin na incorporação das diferentes influências teóricas: marxismo, filosofia da vida, formalismo»<sup>123</sup> (GRILLO, 2013, p. 68). From these concepts to Volosinov each historical period and social group will have its discursive forms of ideological communication routine: «Therefore, *classification of the forms of utterance must rely upon classification on the forms*

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<sup>122</sup> Is in this theoretical proposal that we understand the presence of diverse points of convergence in between the works of Bakhtin/Volochinov, Antonio Gramsci and Raymond Williams as Marxists interpreters of the culture that (in different moments, with similar objectives) were aiming to better understand the role of the symbolic, the subjective and how its interactions with the social experience are reflected and refracted in return in the social experience itself. These connections, similarities and differences are discussed by Craig Brandist in «Gramsci, Bakhtin and the Semiotics of Hegemony» *New Left Review*. Nº216. Mar/Apr. 1996. Further on in this chapter his propositions will be retaken and deepened.

<sup>123</sup> «Dialogism marks the specificity of Bakhtin's Circle in the incorporation of different theoretical influences: Marxism, philosophy of life, formalism».

*of verbal communication. The latter are entirely determined by production relations and sociopolitical order».* The author continues:

Every sign, as we know, is a construct between socially organized persons in the process of their interaction. Therefore, *the forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organization of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of their interaction.* When these forms change, so does sign (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 21)

Therefore, different classes can use the same language or symbolic construction and thus multidirectional desires and interests will intersect in every ideological sign. The sign then becomes the space of class struggle. The signs, as «signification», cannot be removed from this dispute, because it is precisely the fact of being where it is that makes it capable of making a living social interpretation, carrying the internal «dialectics of the sign». In this way, it is necessary to historicize an enunciate and its discursive construction in order to stay close to its ontological movement, its participation and uses in the class struggle. And it is precisely the participation of (and inside) the living social dispute that keeps the constant movement of language formation as a process, which reinforces the fact that the sign is not an abstraction but, as we previously said, the real reflected or refracted and, at the same time, part of the real. In the excerpt below, the author points to the difference of interaction with social changes from a class perspective that is dominant:

In the ordinary conditions of life, the contradiction embedded in every ideological sign cannot emerge fully because the ideological sign in an established, dominant ideology is always somewhat reactionary and tries, as it were, to stabilize the preceding factor in the dialectical flux of the social generative process, so accentuating yesterday's truth as to make it appear today's. And that is what is responsible for the refracting and distorting peculiarity of the ideological sign within the dominant ideology (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 24).

In this point can be mapped important points of contacts between Gramsci's conceptualization and categories and the ones that were proposed by the Bakhtin Circle. Brandist (1996, p. 94) demonstrates how both, Gramsci and Bakhtin shared the interest in language and ideology as well as an attempt to create a Marxist theory of the relation between both of them.

Bakhtin and Gramsci added the crucial extra dimension of social diversity. In doing this, however, both rejected the Marxian base and superstructure model in favour of the Hegelian reduction of the social whole to the expressions of a single essence

interpreted, through Vossler (and ultimately von Humboldt), in terms of the *inner form* of language. For Gramsci, a determinate social group, thereby, has a conception of the world implicit in its social practice and which is manifested in the language it uses. In Bakhtin's mature work *dialogism*, the relation between discourses, is taken to be the expression of this single essence, running throughout all social interaction and which the novel models (BRANDIST, 1996, p. 99).

In the same breath Peter Ives (2006, p. 53) not only demonstrates that the «Bakhtin Circle» brings important elements to Gramscian cultural studies especially due to its connections between language, ideology and power, as well as the use of Volosinov's conceptualization of language as the site of class struggle. Having these elements as reference, according to Ives (2006) the connections between the «Circle» contributions and Gramsci can be seen in different levels of their critical thought on the Language Philosophy. Both proposed critics to Ferdinand Saussure and Benedetto Croce that takes the reader to work throughout their proposals to then achieve its overcoming.<sup>124</sup> In addition to it, Gramsci and the «Bakhtin Circle» had as mutual starting point a critic to the «Futurism» that was based in elements of the objectivist positivism and idealism to arrive in the contestation of Neogrammarians and Croce.<sup>125</sup> Is in this path of repropose of a materialistic thought on the Philosophy of Language that can be seen a convergence between the authors and «It is this separation of language from culture, society, and politics that Gramsci (following Ascoli and Bartoli) rejected in the Neogrammarins. What Volosinov provides here is a much more detailed account of the implications of Gramsci's criticisms» (IVES, 2006, p. 63). To Ives, the authors<sup>126</sup> had in the idealism a dialectical refuge to the reductionism and abstractionism that the Philosophy Language and Marxist thought were facing in the period that Gramsci and the «Bakhtin Circle» authors had shared

To avoid such objectivist abstraction, Medvedev, Volosinov, and Gramsci all turn toward idealism as a counterbalance. But they do this while appreciating the importance of denaturalizing the connection between words and their apparent meaning achieved by Formalism, abstract objectivism and positivism (respect-

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p. 60.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. p.61.

<sup>126</sup> The author presents important information and reflections on the historical context that the authors (Gramsci, Volosinov, Medvedev and Bakhtin) lived and how they developed similar works in socio-historical contexts that were at the same time similar and different. The main difference was seen in the fact that to the «Circle» authors in most of the cases notions of unification and organization might had negatives connotations linked with the Stalinism, on the other hand to Gramsci those elements were looked as tools that could help overcoming the oppression. We do not have the appropriate space for this debate in the present work, but the presence of it is worth mentioning (IVES, 2006, p. 57).

ively). These -isms, whether in the realm of linguistics, literary criticism, or art, pose an important question: How is meaning produced? This question, which Croce avoided, obscures the structured and political forces at work in expression. For Gramsci, this question must be asked in order for the answer to lie in praxis. If meaning is not seen as needing to be produced in social, linguistic interaction, or if it is seen as something that is only transported and distributed by language, a philosophy of praxis will never confront the centrality of language for politics, nor will the question of ideology or 'common sense' be approached adequately (IVES, 2006, p. 67).

We can consider then that a newspaper in being a hegemonic private apparatus contributes to this reflection and refraction of the social context reality in which is inserted according to its class interests. Will be than in the interaction and the possibilities that come from it, in relating and promoting changes, additions and transformations in the material discourse building, that the present analysis relies on the conceptualization of the photographic enunciates in the discursive construction of the press. In the present case, during those days that here we call «key events», the position of the daily press in relation to the military dictatorship and in respect to the idea that, the regime was posed as a defense of democracy and of the Brazilian national ideals are (going beyond the democratic-ufanist appearance) in essence, a defense of the material point of view of the ambitions of the dominant bourgeois class at a time when these interests were threatened by João Goulart's reformist proposals. In this sense, we take up again José Luiz Fiorin (1988), who, when analyzing the meaning constructed in João Castello Branco's speeches (the first military president), points out how the complete narrative of the regime was based on the notion that the struggle existing inside society was something implanted from outside to inside:

A “disciplina do trabalho” era necessária para aumentar a taxa de mais-valia, que levaria a uma acumulação maior, que propiciaria o desenvolvimento. Para conseguir a paz social, era preciso desencadear uma repressão muito grande. Para isso, era mister controlar o Aparelho Repressivo do Estado e, por isso, Goulart derrubado. A competência necessária para derrubar Goulart era o poder das armas. Isso, porém, o discurso oculta e substitui por uma hipotética vontade popular<sup>127</sup> (FIORIN, 1988, p.102).

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<sup>127</sup> «The “Labour discipline” was necessary to increase the rate of surplus value, which would lead to greater accumulation, which would propitiate development. In order to achieve social peace, a great deal of repression had to be unleashed. To do this, it was necessary to control the Repressive Apparatus of the State, which is why Goulart was overthrown. The necessary competence to overthrow Goulart was the power of weapons. But the discourse conceals this and replaces it with a hypothetical popular will».

Adding an extra layer to the classists view of the dispute, Brandist (1996, p. 105) indicates how Gramsci and Voloshinov sees in the bourgeoisie and the proletariat a real differentiated and structured discourse exactly due to their positions in the class struggle. From this point the author underlines the importance of Gramsci's concept of «fascino-prestigio» as a central element and tool to better understand the hegemony building in this dispute. According to it,

The proletariat and bourgeoisie have the ability to become hegemonic and generate *prestige* enough to win the leadership of other social groups. Aligned to each of these classes is a group of intellectuals who articulate the most systematic and advanced version of the hegemonic discourse, winning leadership of the class to which they are aligned (BRANDIST, 1996, p.106).

To the present interpretation and analysis, these elements of hegemony formation give an important foundation to the discussion around the journalists, photojournalist and editor's work. That is to say, the Intellectual cooptation, the hegemonic organization of a dominant class passes through the uttering organization in different private apparatus of hegemony.

In this way, the present work intends to verify the journalistic enunciations, and the use that was made of photojournalism, the expansion of the monological and the fixed notions of certain ideological signs that the dominant class attributes to certain concepts, as for example: democracy, freedom, homeland. Once that, among the analyzed periodicals, «Folha de S. Paulo» is owned by a family that at that moment (1964) openly defended the bourgeois interests and «Jornal do Brasil» inserted itself in the capitalist logic and understood, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the need of ideological adequacy to guarantee its profits and its consequent material existence. However, is understood that such movement of monologization did not occur only in the reuse of certain terms, but also in emblematic cases linked to specific individuals or party acronyms. Other strong example it is the use of the word «terrorist» when referring to the assassination of Carlos Marighela, or in the case of other exponents of the armed struggled during the dictatorship. In these cases, the monologization had target the discourse construction of the «war enemy» as an internal enemy and, for this had the death as the only possible end to those individuals. Finally, in the 1980s the monologization process was aiming the transition process from the dictatorship to the bourgeois democracy, reinforcing an idea of national unity and reconciliation.

At this point, we then move on to deal with the importance of the concept of «signification» in the process of meaning construction by seeking to synthesize what is internal and external to the subject which leads us closer to the notion of «intentionality» proposed by

Boni (2000). To Volosinov (1973), the inner experience and its outer expression are results of the same reality, because signification is the expression of the sign with other realities. The material sign may be unique, however, what it signifies is not an independent and isolable reality. With this, the author seeks to demonstrate how the two areas are interconnected, pointing to this dialectical synthesis that happens when a thought leaves the context of consciousness to an expression materialization in the context of ideology.

In the verbal medium, in each utterance, however trivial it may be, this living dialectical synthesis is constantly taking place again and again between the psyche and ideology, between the inner and the outer. In each speech act, subjective experience perishes in the objective fact of the enunciated word-utterance, and the enunciated word is subjectified in the act of responsive understanding in order to generate, sooner or later, a counter statement. Each word, as we know, is a little arena for the clash and criss-crossing of differently oriented social accents. A word in the mouth of a particular individual person is a product of the living interaction of social forces (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 41).

To this debate Ives (2006) adds that

Volosinov combines individualistic subjectivism's emphasis on the internal generation of language with abstract objectivism's focus on the importance of external linguistic structures in that very generation in every utterance [...] Volosinov insists that concepts - indeed experience itself, including such elementary feelings as hunger —are always social, political, and ideological. (2006, p.70)

In so, it will be «By working the two trends in the philosophy of language against each other, Volosinov derives a theory of language that is true to the tenets of historical materialism». (2006, p. 71). Moreover, it will be conjugation of both paths of thought that gives nowadays a clearer notion of the complexity of reading the ideology interpretation inside the Marxist debate around the constitution of language and ideologic signs

Gramsci is well known for insisting that 'ideology' cannot simply be understood as 'false consciousness,' but he never explicitly relates his theory of ideology, common sense, and the role of intellectuals to his writings on grammar and language. [...] That there are 'historically organic ideologies [that] "organise" human masses, and create the terrain on which men [*sic*] move, acquire consciousness of the position, struggle, etc.,' is just a different terminology, but it is also deeply connected to Gramsci's discussions of language as a conception of the world. With Volosinov's more explicit discussion of ideological signs as the constituent elements of language, it is easier to see how Gramsci's theory of language fits very well with his materialist understanding of ideology and with his argument that the *historic bloc* incorporates both

material and ideological forces whose separation is merely of 'didactic value.' This challenges any simple base/superstructure model or reading of Marx (IVES, 2006, p. 72).

What we see, therefore, in this constant movement between interior and exterior in the composition of the ideological sign, is the need for interaction with the material reality, in a way in which the inner world of the individual adapts to the possibilities of expression. Being also able to subjectivize what will be the material response in reality, consolidating the utterance as dialogue. In the case of the analysis presented here, we refer to the following alternatives of interaction that are reflected in the expression of the press, for example: black and white photos, printing conditions of the images, their filing, the journalistic genre and the relationship between verbal and non-verbal texts. The interaction between, at least, these two forms of text allows a certain inner formulation both on the part of the text reporters and editors and on the part of the photographers. Inside the pretended analysis with this work, there will be differences in the material reality in between each one of the key dates that will be under the interpretation scrutiny. This indicates that some enunciations will be under the influence of different possibilities of expression, the censorship and self-censorship the main examples.

A concept that proposes an important addition to this argumentation is the category of «chronotope». Through it, «Bakhtin's Circle» proposes that there are certain verbal forms of representing the social-historic context of the narrative production responsible for the organization of the events in the narration experience and materializes the interaction of the elements that are part of the social-historic context of a determined genre. In this, there is a layering of «chronotypes» related to the daily life and to the ideological systems – this overlap it is, at the same time, a consequence, and a cause of transformation in the reality. Due to the complexification of the classes' society and its differences, a distance between the private elements of life and the ideology is created. The «genres», its reflections, and refractions of the real will accomplish an actualization of the ideology as a materiality expression of a determined historical period. To that the assistance of the «chronotypes» as synthesizers of the different spheres in dispute inside the discourse is central in being based in the society organization materiality (GRILLO, 2008, p. 66). Is mandatory to indicate that Bakhtin applied its conceptualization in his interpretation of Rabelais, although, in the present work, the «chronotope» realizes the organization of a historical fact in a news event as indicated by Mauad<sup>128</sup> (2020). In other words, we propose an expansion of the verbal notion of it, to a

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<sup>128</sup> The concept of Cultural Units proposed by Umberto Eco and used by Mauad (2020) in order to better understand asignification process it is pretty much related to the «Chronotope» concept and its synthesizing characteristic.



complexification due to the pictured discursive layer; representing part of the reorganization of the dominant hegemony in a determined moment that needs to be actualized in its discursive press expression, in our case a verbo-visual expression. The strength of this concept is exactly its non-rigid aspect, that is to say in the same path of Gramsci's conceptualization, allows us to think and try to indicate what and where are the breaches that this social-dominant organization of the ideology expression presents to its interactions. Brandist (1996) connecting Gramsci's and Bakhtin's thoughts exposes how the two shared a similar conceptualization that was based in the historical context and expressed according to it

Political parties, argues Gramsci, in a passage extraordinarily close to Bakhtin's characterization of the novel in the 1934 essay, 'work out the ethics and the politics corresponding to these conceptions and act as it were as their historical "laboratory".' In structuring and elaborating 'implicit' conceptions through the dialectical use of agitation and propaganda, parties are 'the elaborators of new, integral and totalitarian intelligentsias and the crucibles where the unification of theory and practice, understood as a real historical process, takes place'. In Bakhtin's aestheticized version of this coming to self-consciousness the author, in the 'crucible' of the novel, subjects competing ideologies to fictional experiment (in the form of narrative events), simultaneously revealing the ideological structure of those ideologies and their conceptual adequacy. Outside the novel is only an eternally sceptical 'people' and a repressive ruling stratum (BRANDIST, 1996, p. 105).

In the case of the analysis of press enunciates/uttering, the interaction photograph-legend itself is an autonomous form of enunciation and reinforces the importance of the interaction with the written text for every kind of image, both the «documental-objective» and the «expressive-interpretative». Such aspects will modify the «evaluation» and formulation of the subject - journalist or photojournalist - who constructs the enunciation/uttering. This subject, however, through his responsiveness, will also be changing such material reality, especially if we consider that the printed photograph, besides a discursive communicational support, is also the chemical material continuation of a certain event. Following Volosinov's (2018) reasoning, different responsive understandings will generate different alterations of reality and consequently different readings and new responsive reactions. Such notion is potentiated through the medium of photography, given that is composed of open and continuous codes that, as we said, is less or almost not subject to normative coercions. In this sense, Volosinov (1973) is precise when indicating the process of interaction:

But consciousness as organized, material expression (in the ideological material of word, a sign, drawing, colors, musical sound, etc.) – consciousness, so conceived, is an objective fact and a tremendous social force. To be sure, this kind of consciousness is not a supraexistential phenomenon and cannot determine the constitution of existence. It itself is part of existence and one of its forces, and for that reason it possesses efficacy and plays a role in the arena of existence. Consciousness, while still inside a conscious person's head as inner-word embryo of expression, is as yet too tiny a piece of existence, and the scope of its activity is also as yet too small. But once it passes through all the stages of social objectification and enters into the power system of science, art, ethics, or law, it becomes a real force, capable even of exerting in turn in influence on the economic bases of social life. [...] it had already constituted a social event in a small scale and was not an inner act in the part of the individual (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 90).

At this point, we return to the concept of «Dialogism» that points to the interaction between enunciates as the fundamental reality of language. The enunciate/utterance, therefore, however elaborate and finalized it may be, is only one moment of discourse, of communication. We are always producing discourse from what our audience has told us, how we expect it to react and how we socially evaluate to be the best form of responsive interaction, that is, an enunciate is «only a moment in the continuous, all-inclusive, generative process of a given social collective. [...] Verbal communication can never be understood and explained outside of this connection with a concrete situation» (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 95). This concept and its application should be considered when reflecting on the process of enunciative construction of a newspaper.

Throughout the analysis we intend to identify and trace where there were interests to be defended and how these were enunciated to a certain audience in a certain social horizon. Is part of our hypothesis that in the attempt of organizing a hegemonic discourse, the daily press, in making use of possible and necessary discursive interactions with subtitles and complementary texts inside the issues, proposed to construct a sealed and hermetic reality, deprived of transformations; placing categories such as the idea of democracy linked to the interests of the dominant class and only to it, without considering that the essence of the opposition was not between democracy vs. communism but, in this case, the possible opposition to be applied was capitalism vs. communism. Nevertheless, there was some space in this dispute for the hegemony in which other forms of organization of the enunciation had strength to stand in the period – specially throughout the use of the photographs. In our hypothesis, the importance gave to the interests that are enunciate relies exactly in the re-organization of the enunciation and discourse that the daily press had undergone in the period

in order to preserve its own legitimacy in the dispute for the hegemony from the dominant class perspective.

However, we reinforce, that the class interest of the newspapers did not seem to be dedicated to expose the historical contradictions existing in that particular moment, but, modulating their enunciation in a monologic way, to defend a certain dominant social logic. A great example of how the «*Language acquires life and historically evolves precisely here, in concrete verbal communication, and not in the abstract linguistic system of language forms, nor in the individual psyche of speakers*» (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 95). We depart from the understanding that the civil-military coup created a narration that sought to indicate it as an attempt at nationalist democratic victory, not as an authoritarian political response to the risk of changing the material reality of a portion of the population from proposals of social reforms. And that from this framing of the governments discourse we hypophyses and intend to verify if and how the printed mass media was a propagator of this idea in the first years, and later started to detached itself from it, but remaining in the dominant class and conservative field in respect to the form of enunciation of the gaze to the reality.

Our hypothesis relies in the idea that the photograph has been a useful tool for its characteristic of exacerbation of the constitutive elements of the enunciation and synthesis of the constitution of meaning. With this, we arrive at other concepts that will help to understand and complete the process of dialectical synthesis. Is through the «themes» that the sense of totality of an enunciate is expressed. «Only an utterance taken in its full, concrete scope as an historical phenomenon possesses a theme. That is what is meant by the theme of an utterance». (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 100). The historical situation and context generate an enunciation that is defined not only by its linguistics forms, but also by its extra-verbal aspects – in a constant movement forward and backward inside verbo-visual concept. In so, the language might be used to retain and take to the future a determined experience, idea, or form of power, but without the attachment to the materiality of the world is loosen from its historical foundations. In a fundamental relation within the themes, the meaninging as a concept is, therefore, historical, as a potential form of expression and creation of meaning inside of a determine theme – that is to say, a theme need a form of meaninging to express its concreteness at the same time a linguistic expression needs a theme as the founding stone of its social and historical significance.

This is how we believe that should be seen the formulation of the enunciation in a newspaper – as the meaninging expression of a determined historical-based theme that, in its turn, will dialogically be absorbed and comprehended in the public opinion dispute and

formation process as part of the struggle for the consensus and hegemony. From this constant movement, is also necessary to consider that, having the meaning as a potency of possibility of signification within a theme, its material realization from the theme is central to the understanding that comprehending is also dialogic, that is - understanding an enunciation means to be already processing and creating the response that will be given. In the case of a photograph in the newspaper, understanding it may mean to read and understand what is portrayed and, from that, react to the reading of what will come. «*Any true understanding is dialogic in nature. Understanding is to utterance as one line of a dialogue is to the next [...] Meaning is the effect of interaction between speaker listener produced via the material of a particular sound context*» (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 102).

Above we dealt with modulation as an element of the defense of a particular point of view or interest. The choice and order of the significant elements in an enunciate will be determined across the evaluation and «No utterance can be put together without value judgment. Every utterance is above all an *evaluative orientation*. Therefore, each element in a living utterance not only has a meaning but also has a value» (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 105). Therefore, all the elements of an enunciate, and here we add the photographic enunciation, are a modulation of how and for who someone wants to enunciate a certain ideological expression. The social evaluation inside the dialogical interaction is central to understand how the historic theme and its meanings are created inside of a determined social group horizon. And it will be this basis that will make possible the understanding and amplification of a sensitive existence:

New aspects of existence, once they are drawn into the sphere of social interest, coexist peacefully with other elements of existence previously drawn in, but engage them in a struggle, reevaluate them, and bring about a change in their position within the unity of the evaluative purview. This dialectical generative process is reflected in the generation of semantic properties in language. A new significance emanates from an old one, and does so with its help, but this happens so that the new significance can enter into contradiction with the old one and restructure it. (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 106).

From this perspective, the understand and consideration of the enunciation/uttering as a unit of the discursive communication is fundamental. In continuing the reflections proposed in Marxism and Language Philosophy, Mikhail Bakhtin (1986) stands that the «Dialogism» in being a philosophical proposal of understanding the sense, is constructed in the chain of interactions with other statements or enunciations. «Speech is always cast in the form of an

utterance belonging to a particular speaking subject, and outside this form it cannot exist» (BAKHTIN, 1986, p. 71). Besides that, proposes that a formulation might applied in several areas of the human sciences

Everywhere the actual or possible text and its understanding. Research becomes inquiry and conversation, that is, dialogue. We do not address inquiries to nature and she does not answer us. We put questions to ourselves and we organize observation or experiment in such a way as to obtain an answer. When studying man, we search for and find signs everywhere and we try to grasp their meaning. (BAKHTIN, 1986, p. 114).

To the Russian thinker and departing from the «Bakhtin's Circle» reflections, the enunciate is then a totality of senses that is built from the dialogic relations in an original way, not being reducible to logical or mechanical relations, constituting itself as a communication unit. Thus, when dealing with literary works, the author arrives at a concept that can be very useful for us to think about photography within history, the notion of «Superaddressee». For Bakhtin (2016), including the genres within the category of enunciate, because there is a third party in the dialogue, the «Superaddressee», a reader and interpreter of the works that will do so at different moments in history. Paulo Bezerra, one of the most important Bakhtin's translators and scholars, in his postface to the late Portuguese translation of «Genres of Speech», indicates that the temporal distance between the author and its interpreters are:

Qualificados por Bakhtin como *terceiro do diálogo* ou *supradestinatório*, que interpreta dialogicamente a obra numa distância próxima ou através dos séculos. «O fechamento em uma época não permite compreender a futura vida da obra nos séculos subsequentes [...]. As obras dissolvem as fronteiras de sua época, vivem nos séculos, isto é, no *grande tempo*». É nesse *grande tempo* que o supradestinatório a reinterpreta à luz de novas conquistas das ciências humanas (BEZERRA In: BAKHTIN, 2016, p. 162).

And it is exactly in this process of analysis that the photo historian places himself. In an interpretative place of his own, giving a new meaning to that past with which he comes into contact, loading the images with meaning from the present and from the problematic posed (MAUAD, 2005b, p. 144). Historicizing it<sup>129</sup>.

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<sup>129</sup> At this point it is interesting to note the fact that was underlined by Brandist (1996, p.101), in which Bakhtin's proposal of studying the unified language throughout the novel and its relations to poetry it is one of the clearest examples of disguising political questions into cultural one's, an aspect that according to the British scholar it is a reflex of the political and philosophical questions that were in dispute in Bakhtin's Circle working period.

This whole process with the accumulation of layers is how meaning is composed and organized, from this dialectical broadening of the social horizon, in which the new, through what already exists (which in turn is integrated) alters the already existing, at the same time opposing and renewing it. Is a process without stability, especially in signification. In photography, we observe how different techniques and styles have been changing the photographic making throughout history and, above all, how such changes were linked to technological innovations and ways of perception of the material world. In the case of photojournalism, the color advent in photograph and, later, of digital photograph, will bring new material elements of language and social interaction that will affect the way it started to be used in the bourgeois ideological expression through the press. The analysis proposed here seeks the practical application of some concepts, evaluation, signification and social horizon, based in the notion that language and expression compose and are, simultaneously, altered by the material/social reality in which they are inserted.

In so, we highlight the fact that in being fulfilled with enormous communicative and hegemonic potential, as was indicated, the photograph production was restricted to the dominant class until the 1950s. Recalling the attention to the need of understanding the historical social horizon, its context, the circuit of production and its organicness in relation to the political groups that were being portrayed, represented, framed and also those who were producing the enunciation. In his conceptualization of the social and political organization of the disputes of power and influence, Gramsci retains central the relation between the *media* and the political parties as constructors of the symbolical elements of the dispute<sup>130</sup>. From this,

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In addition to it, Ives (2006, p. 74) indicates that in confront with Gramsci's work is exactly because Bakhtin's focus relied in literary works that he has not confronted questions such as the social heterogeneity and power operations that the Sardinian philosopher had raised.

<sup>130</sup> Once again Craig Brandist (1996) reveals how both the authors, each one on its perspective presented similar ways of building and founding a dialogic and dialectic proposal of analysis and organization of the uttering formation in a hegemonic dispute social context. «Thus where Gramsci recast aesthetic activity in terms of the relationship of the political party to the 'common sense' of a nation, Bakhtin posed the relationship of author to the diversity of social discourses. In the Dostoyevsky study the author's own worldview, manifested in his language, is seen as less significant than his 'form-shaping ideology', the way in which other discourses are approached and organized. Bakhtin sees a 'monologic' approach taken by writers who simulate a struggle between discourses but in reality, are only providing the means by which 'his own direct or refracted word might ring out all the more energetically'. This Gramsci sees as constitutive of 'bureaucratic centralism' in which the organization is 'technically a policing organism, and its name of "political party" is simply a metaphor of a mythological character'. In each case here, any apparent dialogue and debate is merely a means for the acceptance of the perspective emanating from the center; the result is known in advance, 'all accents are gathered into a single voice'. In Dostoyevsky's 'polyphonic' novel, however, the authorial design is the 'most extreme activation of varidirectional accents in double voiced discourse' rather than the subordination of these to 'the verbal and semantic dictatorship of a monologic, unified style and unified tone'. For Gramsci, similarly, a party is 'progressive' when it functions according to 'democratic centralism', keeping previously dominant forces 'within the bounds of legality and [raising] the backward masses toward the level of the new legality'. Voices usually

emerges a media theorization of Gramsci's that according to Denunzio (2017) involves and explains its relations and functions in our contemporaneity.

Dire teoria dei *media*, quindi, vuol dire una cosa precisa: definire, attraverso il funzionamento specifico del giornalismo, l'organizzazione generale di una società nella quale la conquista del potere politico si lega a quella di un consenso popolare ottenuto attraverso la costruzione di immagini e di interpretazioni del mondo sociale a cui partecipano attivamente gli apparati dell'informazione. Da ciò deriva una conseguenza fondamentale: il nesso imprescindibile tra partiti e *media* che determina l'inedita collocazione dell'informazione all'interno degli scenari conflittuali delle lotte per il potere<sup>131</sup> (DENUNZIO, 2017, p. 09).

With this, the conceptualization movement returns, at the same time that moves forward, to the point of elucidation and comprehension of the fact that the dialogical interactions of a newspapers (on the inside of it and externally) are the discursive expression of a reality from which the papers cannot be detached, or better yet, do not want to be detached even if relaying in an idea of objectiveness; do not wish to be distanced precisely due to its hegemony constructor and supporter role. From this, in many cases the political actuation of a newspaper is very close to a political party as a private apparatus of hegemony<sup>132</sup>. The information control represents in our age a foundation stone in the balance of the hegemonic dispute for the public opinion and consequently, the consensus and the legitimacy to keep in power and determined forms of exploitation. Gianni Fresu (2020) indicate how Gramsci's theorization retains central the dispute for the public opinion, especially to avoid what the Sardinian philosopher called a hegemony crisis, that is to say, the moment in which social groups to not recognize anymore its own leaderships as the expression of its class interests.

Una delle principali funzioni nell'esercizio del potere consiste proprio nel formare un'opinione pubblica preventivamente a determinate scelte, impopolari, dello Stato, nell'organizzare e centralizzare certi elementi della società civile. La lotta per il

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drowned beneath 'louder', authoritative voices, are raised to an equal level where all compete freely according to their intrinsic merits rather than the authority they wield» (BRANDIST, 1996, p.103).

<sup>131</sup>«To say media theory, therefore, is to say something precise: to define, through the specific functioning of journalism, the general organization of a society in which the conquest of political power is linked to that of a popular consensus obtained through the construction of images and interpretations of the social world in which the information apparatuses actively participate. From this derives a fundamental consequence: the inescapable link between parties and the media that determines the unprecedented position of information within the conflicting scenarios of the struggles for power».

<sup>132</sup> The already presented approximation between Gramsci's and Bakhtin's thoughts regarding the paths of a hegemonic dispute can be retaken in this point by conjugating elements of aesthetical building and political formulation that were present in a photojournalistic work during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

monopolio degli organi dell'opinione pubblica, attraverso il controllo di giornali, partiti e parlamento, è proprio finalizzata ad evitare che si determini una contraddizione e dunque una scissione tra i due livelli. Quando si verifica una simile frattura siamo di fronte a una condizione di "crisi di egemonia"<sup>133</sup>. (FRESU, 2020, p. 299).

At this point, it is mandatory reaffirm that all the political conceptualization and interpretation that Gramsci had developed were intended to explain the historical event of the Italian Fascism, nevertheless the present analysis intends to be part of the Brazilian Gramscian interpretation of its own history; recognizing the strengths of the theoretical elaboration and its necessary connection to the material elements of the reality. Being that said and returning to the idea of dispute and control of the public opinion, the elements seen so far were formulated based in Gramsci's interpretation of this dispute during the moments of deepening of the Fascist regime. However, from this he offers to later analysis important tools to the elucidation of how and what it means the class struggle expressed in the pages of a newspaper.

The press is than a fundamental element of the «Ethical State», that is to say, a political organization of the State in a bourgeoisie form that places itself as an educator institution that will aim the consensus achievement as objective to its hegemony consolidation. In so, the superstructural and cultural elements are central to impose to the subaltern classes the dominant perspective. To Fresu (2019), to accomplish this objective, the State's will be, in general, ethical due to fact that they will propose and organize a cultural, moral and productive elevation of its population according to the dominant class interests in a determined period. In this process we insert the press as a pragmatic tool for an ideological dominance and influence of the public opinion.

Devono essere comprese nel concetto di "Stato etico" anche l'insieme delle iniziative private che formano l'apparato dell'egemonia politica e culturale delle classi dominanti. Gramsci ha indagato in profondità il funzionamento di questi apparati di egemonia, Marx ha il grandissimo merito di aver per primo squarciato il velo su come la borghesia si serve di tutti gli strumenti ideologici (economica, filosofia, politica, ecc. ecc.) per trasfigurare la realtà concreta presentando i propri interessi particolari come universali (FRESU, 2019, p. 342).

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<sup>133</sup> «One of the main functions in the exercise of power is precisely to form public opinion in advance of certain unpopular choices of the state, to organize and centralize certain elements of civil society. The struggle for the monopoly of the organs of public opinion, through the control of newspapers, parties, and parliament, is precisely aimed at preventing a contradiction and therefore a split between the two levels. When such a fracture occurs, we are faced with a condition of a 'crisis of hegemony'».



From this, having in consideration what was presented so far and anticipating some elements of the further pages dedicated to the analysis, is our goal to deepen the unveiling process dedicated to the individualization and understanding of what were the reflections and refractions of the concrete reality that were presented by some Brazilian newspapers as a universal construction and interpretation of the reality based in determined particular interests that were placed as a national ambition in a context of hegemony crisis. The rhetorical and ideological legitimation of the coup and the military regime using the word «Revolution» exemplifies properly the uses of diverse tools by the dominant class as a way to impose a specific consensus to the population.

Aiming to reveal some aspects of the ideological and cultural dominance of the dominant class, being this the most efficient way to the conservation of the material privileges and conditions of social positions, we must underline the centrality of the conscient need to build a critic vision of the world based in it historicization. This process in multiple vectors, unfolds as an answer to problems that are place in the reality, being determined by the History and its determination throughout the productive forces relations. That is to say, the movement to better understand the rhetorical and discursive construction and uses of the mass media during the Brazilian Military Dictatorship is fueled by the nowadays presence of a tangible authoritarianism, discursive intolerance and historical remains that imposes a reality that leads us to this attempt of comprehension of the past as determinants to the materiality of the present. The Brazilian dictatorship case is a great example that the beginning of a critical reflection passes necessarily trough the understanding of its historical determination; this can be applicated to the individuals, institutions and in our view also to the press as formulators of a dominant discourse (FRESU, 2019, p. 387). Finally, Brandist (1996) reinforces the importance of the convergence between Gramsci and the «Bakhtin Circle» thoughts in the reflections on the unfolding's of the dialogism and a Marxist theory of the language. Nevertheless, beyond that the author underscores the fact that the defects and failures that appears along the way must be a point from which to learn and build new paths to the reflections on the formulation and application of dialogic interpretation of the uttering in the reality.

Bakhtin's novelist and Gramsci's 'modern prince' both structure and maximize dialogism so as to intensify representational adequacy; drawing on the valuable observations of the last generations of 'post-Marxists', they both served to enrich historical materialism but to do so they had to completely dismember the methodology of those theories. Today, too,

Marxism cannot advance by simply absorbing the post-structuralist method but can learn from the inadequacies of that method and its valuable observations. To move beyond mere intellectual dissent, however, we still need the 'modern prince'. (BRANDIST, 1996, p. 109).

At this point an extra layer must be added to the line of thought. The photos as a form of expression of a determined press group point of view might be used to declare and publish an information or opinion that would not be able to be placed in the written text of that very same daily edition. In other terms, the material form that a photograph reflects and refracts the interactions between those who were producing the newspapers, the society of which they were part, the censors, and the public reader in many cases could be easily accepted to be published (even if the final socio-political result would be even stronger). In the same breath, understand if there was a linguistic or discursive pattern in these images, how it changes and how they were used in the aforementioned discourse reorganization might give to the present analysis the possibility of comprehension of how an expressive tool that was created as a form of framing and description of the world by a rising bourgeoisie and that after the 1950 saw the dissemination of a use that went beyond the dominant class, was undergoing in that moment and context a new process of signification and assimilation considering new technical and material possibilities as well as social uses (MAUAD, 1996, p. 09).

In the Brazilian case, although, the process and accomplishment of this reorganization of the discourse was not a path without its complications, barriers, or problems. Rather, those were part of the context and generated its influences and refractions on it. As a dual and dialectic process, the military regime created several forms of control and limitations to the press coverage that were commonly used (political persecution, economic pressure, and censorship)<sup>134</sup>. In a context like this the photography presented itself as a strong discourse tool – at first due to its enormous potential of communicating and condensation of information. Besides having played an important role in the modernization of Brazilian newspapers, especially in the case of «Jornal do Brasil» (Munteal and Grandi, 2005, p. 140) the pioneer daily press organ in using and supporting the photo editions. At the time when the censorship became stronger, photographs started to play a fundamental role as an alternative and a certain dose of «resistance», for often being able to show what the written text did not allow (ALVES, 2017, p. 49). Another reason for the prominence of «JB» in relation to the uses and production

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<sup>134</sup> Examples of this process are the: Press Law (Law n. 5.250, from the 09<sup>th</sup> of February 1967), National Security Law (Law Decree n. 314 from the 13<sup>th</sup> of March 1967) and the Censorship Law (Law Decree n. 1.077 from the 26<sup>th</sup> of January, 1970). Created to assure a juridical legitimacy to the regime's repression and political persecution.

of journalistic photographs in the period was related to the fact that, by giving more attention and space to the pictures, the newspaper was able to sold and available images to other Brazilian daily newspapers, among them «Folha de S. Paulo»<sup>135</sup>.

The contribution given by international photo agencies played a central role to the birth of the Brazilian agencies in this period that. What had as a direct consequence influences in the photographic work, in contributing to the consolidation of the image in the printed press and the work of the photo reporter. This fact reinforces the deepening character of the elements of civil society already mentioned, capable of reorganizing the dispute for hegemony throughout the military regime and the increase of repression – this deepening went even trough with the arrival and development of the television, what according to Alves (2017, p 55) had weakened the strength of the photographs in the daily press. Thus, even if the journalistic photography has gone through moments of variation in its valorization throughout the years of the dictatorship,

observar as entranhas do discurso fotográfico presentes nas páginas jornalísticas daquele período permite notar que, mesmo com menos espaço do que o texto, a fotografia foi um elemento de construção e disseminação de significados acerca dos agentes e do momento político vigente (ALVES, 2017 p. 202).<sup>136</sup>

In the attempt to organize the analysis, some interpretative tools of the photographic language, are useful for the comprehension of the paths of construction and dissemination of meanings in the context treated. Since photography is not an open message, the possibility of meaning elements is amplified. With that, interferences are created in the format so the content might induce the reading to a certain interpretation or significant sense. In this way,

Jornais e revistas, ao publicarem fotografias, também podem lançar mão dos elementos de significação para facilitar, aproximar ou induzirem o leitor a determinada leitura. A simples publicação de uma foto com maior ou menor nitidez, por exemplo, pode indiciar a utilização de elementos de significação para induzir o leitor a uma aceitabilidade maior ou menor da ideia expressa pela foto publicada<sup>137</sup> (BONI, 2000, p. 27).

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid. p. 52.

<sup>136</sup> «observing the entrails of the photographic discourse present in the journalistic pages of that period allows us to notice that, even with less space than the text, photography was an element of construction and dissemination of meanings about the agents and the political moment in force».

<sup>137</sup> «Newspapers and magazines, when publishing photographs, can also make use of the elements of meaning to facilitate, approach or induce the reader to a certain reading. The simple publication of a photo with sharpness, for example, may indicate the use of elements of meaning to induce the reader to a greater or lesser acceptability of the idea expressed by the photo published».

Given that Photography doesn't carry with it a specific grid of production and interpretation (like cinema does, for example) a frequent result is the valorization of the flagrant, or the Bresson's «decisive moment», gaining as much relevance as the technical execution of the image. Is also for the absence of a grid and in order to obtain the desired construction of meaning that the interpretation and detailing of what is the photographic language and how is used by the photographer is central<sup>138</sup>. When making use of such tools, a photo reporter creates a discourse in which his intentionality is implicit or explicit. Thus, when receiving a given agenda the photographer will: identify - document - show, that is, build the meaning registering the space/time and translating it to the reader the meaning built (ALVES, 2017, p. 52).

A second strength, placed by the uses of photographs in the daily news and narrative inside of journal, is connected to the fact that the pictures present not only elements of description of what is been related in the written text, but also indicates the interpretation and social uses that a determined press organ is giving to the events published. In other words, understanding the process of transformation of a social and historical event into a news information printed in a newspaper is fundamental to fulfill the interpretation of the images throughout its historicization analysis (MAUAD, 2020). In so, it must be pointed out that the historical interest dedicated to the photographs is not related to the authenticity of those. «A imagem não mente jamais, o discurso dos homens sobre ela ou por seu intermédio é que pode ser mentiroso»<sup>139</sup> (MENESES, 2002, p. 142). Other aspects that help to elaborate the signification sense of the images in History, for example, the destinies of the different subjects in the many stages of an image social circuit; a person who was pictured have a continuation of life completely diverse to the images that are result of the scene<sup>140</sup>. This fact is a good material example of the notion of the historicization of the sense of signification, thus the different trajectories are the result of determined forms of diffusion, reception and meaning of the sensibility connected to a photography as a way of visual communication. Therefore, a photograph is more than an emitter of signification and sense. A picture has also a material relation with its reader, with other objects and throughout time. For example, inside the history

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<sup>138</sup> To the present analysis the main photographic language tools that will be interpreted are framing, perspective; focus; depth of Field; angle; movement; texture; contrasts; tones and shape. Were central in the analysis organization and modulation the works of: Paulo Boni. *O discurso fotográfico: a intencionalidade de comunicação no fotojornalismo*. (2000), Augusto Pieroni. *Leggere la fotografia*. (2006) and Claudio Marra. *Che cos'è la fotografia*. (2017).

<sup>139</sup> «The image never lies; it is the discourse of men on it or through it that can be a lie».

<sup>140</sup> The author gives the example of the famous image of the three marines raising the US flag on the battlefield at Iwo Jima and how that image was eternalized through a monument in Washington while the referents lived ordinary lives in the following years (MENESES, 2002, p. 143).

and development of the uses that the photos had in the press, the printed images of the I World War inside illustrated magazines around the world had affected the patterns of sensibility and the relation in between a photography its public and the ideas of violence and death<sup>141</sup>.

Correia (2016) reflects on how the photography had in its first decades a strong relation with the death and its readings<sup>142</sup>. This gaze gives to the present analysis, on a first approach, two perspectives of how the photography can deal with the death in the narrative perspective. On the one hand the photographer death's perspective (related to the fact that the machine takes apart a great portion of the human element of the production process) and also the observer's death, because of the fact that an image can work as a memory of a past situation, and as a reminder that life is a journey with an end: «Se a fotografia é um souvenir da vida, ela é inevitavelmente um lembrete da morte»<sup>143</sup> (CORREIA, 2016, p. 210). Beyond these elements, is important to emphasis the relation between the photograph and the death due to the uses that the element of death had, not only during the Brazilian Military Dictatorship as a repressive instrument, but especially if we go deeper in the process of reflecting about the narrative perspective dedicate to the «possibility of death» as a consequence of the political discordance with the regime. And is at this very point that some of the events that we analyze have a direct connection to the reflections related to the death of political opponents of the regime and the making, uses and narratives of its photography's.

The assassination of three different individuals representants of diverse forms of opposition to the regime, indicates the existence of a variation in the form of press coverage to the «Death» as a news fact. On March 28th, 1968, the student Edson Luís was shoot and killed inside the university's canteen during the police repression to a student's protest in the city center of Rio de Janeiro. A little bit then a year late, on the 4th november 1969, Carlos Marighela was victim of an ambush organized by the «Operação Bandeirantes» and was shoot dead in a residential street of a São Paulo's rich neighborhood. Finally, on the 25th of October 1975, the journalist and editor of «TV Cultura», Vladimir Herzog was convocated to give testimony in the headquarters of «DEOPS» in São Paulo – in the occasion he has been tortured and killed by the police officers that in the following days and months sustained the version

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<sup>141</sup> The element of determined social interactions transformations throughout the photographs had been discussed in the article published in Fernandes, T. (2022). *Revista da Semana: 1918, epidemia e representações fotográficas. América Crítica*, 6(1), 15-35.

<sup>142</sup> In Correia, M. L. (2016). *No negativo: morte e fotografia*. In M. L. Martins; M. L. Correia; P. Bernardo Vaz & Elton Antunes (Eds.), *Figurações da morte nos mídia e na cultura: entre o estranho e o familiar* (pp. 207-226). Braga: CECS, the author deals with photographic uses and post-mortem portraits, the portrait of the absent, as well as spiritist photography seeking to map how the technical photographic image served playful and often humorous social interests.

<sup>143</sup> «If a photograph is a souvenir of life, it is inevitably a reminder of death».

that Herzog had killed himself. Precisely because of the image's produced after the killings and how the photos were used by the press and by the regime to create and sustain different versions of the cases, opinions, and reactions to them all these three cases are emblematic<sup>144</sup>.

Our proposal of detailing and deepening these cases is based on a series of concepts and ideas that try to interpret the presence and constructions of the press narratives about the death. First, is fundamental to remark that the press organs in the recent decades are under a change of «ethos» that brings the newspapers to a new configuration more intended to carry a «sensation» rather than a «message». This fact it is more frequent in the so-called «popular publications», nevertheless the present analysis intends to indicate how this element is also present in the period studied; especially in the cases indicated there is a straight connection with the event of the death and the paradigm of word vs. image exacerbation.

Com uma densidade acrescida, os média contemporâneos abandonam progressivamente as suas funções de portadores de mensagens, e de veículos de significados, sendo tendencialmente pensados por nós em termos das suas estéticas (barroca, trágica e grotesca), dos seus efeitos sensoriais e do seu impacto psíquico (da efervescência e da alucinação ao tédio e à melancolia)<sup>145</sup> (CORREIA & MARTINS, 2016, p. 7).

This idea is a founding stone to our comprehension of the organization rhythm of the news event in the press publication, in other words, we are adding a layer that understands the inclusion of the sensations in the decision-making process of editing a daily publication. Considering that the presence of the death in a press publication is an updating and remembrance in the daily life of the death existence. Over the centuries humanity has distanced the event of the death from our daily routine. This updating through the press creates two immediate consequences: in first place generates a break in the superficiality of the routine – the material and the news routine – and in second place, from this and due to the news value elements<sup>146</sup>, responsible for making a journal publish a death event, brings to us some sort of serious reflection dedicated to an important asset (PORTARI, 2016, p. 95).

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<sup>144</sup> Inside the further analysis will be deepen and considered the concepts of a «dramatize narrative» related to construction of a news script when of the death of a famous person; and the notion of a «image's asepsis» reinforcing the idea that in the previous decades the printed press was less preoccupied with the shocking presence of a dead body image in its pages. (PORTARI, 2016, p. 100).

<sup>145</sup> «With increased density, contemporary media are progressively abandoning their functions as message carriers and vehicles of meaning and tend to be thought of by us in terms of their aesthetics (baroque, tragic and grotesque), their sensory effects and their psychological impact (from effervescence and hallucination to boredom and melancholy) ».

<sup>146</sup> Reflecting on the differences that exists in the news productions and valuing in the *Reference* and *Popular* press, the author lists what are the «News Value» to a Reference Newspaper. This small list is useful, allowing

In the sense of a reflection generated by a photography of a dead in the press there are two elements of the body in the press that we consider to be important tools to interpret the cases mentioned and to understand the realities of the world from a perspective that departs from the body perspective. In first place, the notion of a «a-subjected body»<sup>147</sup>, that is to say, the central element to the body characterization in an image is the result of the tensions between classes and between an institutional and a civil power. Most frequently the police repression is the main element of tension – in our case this must be expanded to the repression organized by the three Brazilian Armed Forces. Nevertheless, are the bodies that resist, confront, and disturb the image's reader. «O assujeitamento, então, é exibido pela maneira mais exemplar do exercício de poder em que o espaço de atuação e manifestação expressiva do outro é inibido e restringido pela pura prática da repressão»<sup>148</sup> (BIONDI, 2016, p. 234).

The second notion helps us to better understand the first. The «slaughtered body» proposes thinking the death's image in a double sense, the material and symbolic. In this sense, the dead body have a constant interaction and relation with the context in which it is inserted. The double representation of a dead body expression, a first one in which the death is naturalized in the subject, in other words, there is no need of justification to the dead, this was the political and social aspect intended to be given to that body. On the other hand, there is the representation of the «War enemy» as a justification to a killing in which the body must be defeated. «Ambos, contudo, mantém a morte do sujeito na classificação da necessidade, ou seja, aqueles que se destinam à morte e aqueles que precisam morrer»<sup>149</sup> (BIONDI, 2016, p. 238). These two forms of gaze to the image's death in the press present themselves as a useful tool in the interpretation of the press coverage in the cases mentioned above, but also in other events in which the photography's were used to reinforce the regime's discourse of an internal enemy or the existence of groups of citizens that have their death as the unique perspective.

Expanding from the image's death perspective. Due to its characteristics, the photography can, at the same time, create a synthesis of real and unreal, being capable of

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us to relate the reflection of the death in the press to other arguments and concepts. They are: If the individuals involved are important; if it has an impact on the nation; It involves many people; It generates important outcomes; Is related to public policy; It can be made public with exclusivity (PORTARI, 2016, p. 94).

<sup>147</sup> A major translation problem was faced in this case due to the fact that the expression «corpo assujeitado» comprehends two different significations: An individual that, in being without subject - as subjectivity - is not subjected to someone else control or domination, nevertheless, comprehends a position in which the body is at least twice under oppression. A position that led it to an a-subjected position.

<sup>148</sup> «A-subjection then, is displayed by the most exemplary way of exercising power in which the other's space for acting and expressing himself is inhibited and restricted by the pure practice of repression».

<sup>149</sup> «Both, however, maintain the subject's death in the classification of need, i.e., those who are destined to die and those who need to die».

chocking throughout a mix of amazement and utilitarianism. Is also pointed out the need to comprehend the historical analysis of the photograph as a part of a wider context of relations and interactions with other media supports, but also with other disciplines in the humanistic field. Besides that, taking in consideration a constant dialogue that the photography proposes with other areas, but also with other forms of representation and perception of the reality indicates the importance of considering

Se esta condição de mediação tecnológica tem uma das suas primeiras expressões no bombardeamento sensorial e psíquico que caracterizariam a vivência dos transeuntes das cidades modernas no início do século XX, [...] ela hoje dificilmente pode ser repensada sem ter em consideração a mais recente experiência tecnológica e cultural dos ecrãs, dos computadores, das redes sociais, da imagem produzida numericamente e das suas 'euforias, alucinações, enfim, anestesiamentos', para retomar os termos de Moisés de Lemos Martins <sup>150</sup>(2011, p. 74) (CORREIA, 2021, p. 13)

In this aspect, is of great use some methodological assets that the Semiotics propose. Thinking about the uses that the social semiotic might have inside the language, Martins (2017) stands that a determined truth is performed in the discourse with the objective of exercising power. His theoretical and methodological proposal is wide and multidisciplinary enough that allow us to insert it on the reflection here proposed. In the attempt to understand the reality of the discourse as the result of the production, transmission, and reception of knowledge the Portuguese scholar proposes the convergence of Semiotics, Linguistics, and Language Philosophy. In doing so adds more fuel to the concepts of social circuit and sense construction, in which the subject/author/reader is at the same time, the bearer and renewer of determined social tradition, being responsible for remarking the social context in which he is inserted (MARTINS, 2017, p. 19). In this key, the photography in being a form of language, might be comprehended as the carrier of an enunciation intention with the goal of exercising different forms of power: symbolic, economic, social, political. And to this, the concept of interaction is central

Na verdade, o ato semântico só é completo no discurso, isto é no *processo intersubjetivo*, ou por outra, na *interlocução*,

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<sup>150</sup> «If this condition of technological mediation has one of its first expressions in the sensorial and psychic bombardment that would characterize the experience of passers-by in modern cities at the beginning of the twentieth century, [...] it can hardly be rethought today without taking into consideration the most recent technological and cultural experience of the screens, the computers, the social networks, the numerically produced image and its 'euphoria, hallucinations, in short, anesthesia', to retake the terms of Moisés de Lemos Martins (2011, p. 74)»



lá onde se encontram enunciadores numa relação binária, ‘pelos quais, entre os quais e para os quais os signos significam alguma coisa’ (Ibid.: 182). Não é o *ego*, nem a díade formada por mim e por *ti* que significam; é antes a relação entre eles que me engendra a mim e a ti’ (Jacques, 1985: 505) (MARTINS, 2017, p. 45)<sup>151</sup>.

The dialogical function of the sense formulation presents itself as a plural framework in an opposition to the objective structures of the signification. In other words, the sense pragmatic choices are not isolatable; in the case of the photography, is palpable the way in which the formal choices made during the creation process of an image are surrounded by several photographer’s decisions embedded in a determined social context (MARTINS, 2017, p. 82). This interaction is just the continuation of the multiple layers of life in contact inside a social horizon, becoming a central element in what is being expressed. In the case of the present analysis a central question raises, how the use of the photography as a tool dedicated to the sense production and reinforcement of a determined discourse helps also to emphasis a specific sphere of power?

Is then, with the goal of deepening the understanding of the historicization process that the historic-semiotic proposal, calls the attention to the need of the comprehension of the «image social circuit». Is throughout the understanding of the picture production, circulation and ways of reading it that is possible to figure a photograph as the result of a social work dedicated to the creation of a determined sense. A message that flows in time with several meaning functions that will change according to the social interaction context; in this sense, the semiotic proposal of analysis aims a total comprehension of the sense constructed and not a fragmented one. Inside the relations of the photograph social circuit are inserted the interactions between the author, text, and reader (MAUAD, 1996, p. 7).

This historical-semiotic methodological approach, understand the photography as the result of a social work of meaning and sense production that can create new social behaviors or control the already existing ones. Besides that, agreeing with Meneses (2002), the images study is the analysis of its historicity, making essential a corpus definition as a stage to the understanding of a determined social representation. In brief, a series of images represents with bigger depth the senses and information; giving more elements to the comprehension of the

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<sup>151</sup> « In fact, the semantic act is only complete in discourse, that is, in the intersubjective process, or, alternatively, in interlocution, in which enunciators meet in a binary relation, 'by whom, among whom and for whom signs mean something' (Ibid.: 182). (Ibid.: 182). It is not the ego, nor the dyad formed by me, and you that signifies; it is rather the relation between them that engenders me and you' (Jacques, 1985: 505) ».

historical characteristics that are not necessarily present in the images. However, as stands Mauad (2005), this is not an automatic process. To perceive the social being and its actions inside a picture is something that comes throughout the gaze training taking in account the esthetic choices, the formal decisions and the group of choices made by the photographer.

In so, the historical-semiotic proposal stands that there is, in one hand, a syntagmatic relation, in which the meanings are organized based in certain rules of the photo language (underlining once more the importance of the photographic language) and, on the other hand, a paradigmatic one, considering that the representations are the result of the possible choices that are socially determined (MAUAD, 2005b, p.139).<sup>152</sup> The concept of Cultural Unities is presented and organized in spatial categories having in consideration that the concept of space is central in a photographic message due to the fact that in a single image there are several spaces. The categories are the photographic, the geographical, the objects, the figuring, and the experiences spaces<sup>153</sup>, working as tools capable of formalizing the transdisciplinary dialogues (MAUAD, 2005b, p. 146). More important than knowing what a picture is expressing it is identifying for what reason and what is the sense built around that image – trying to understand in a iconological key what the historicity of that photo is. The use of photographs for the understanding of the past is to seek to understand the choices that were made in its composition and its subsequent meanings.

In this logic, is added another layer of interpretation through the relation between the visual dimension of the spaces of a certain society and the strategies of production of meaning carried by photographs in the press, in other words, the ways in which the material events of history are transformed into news and narration using the agglutinating potential of photography. Is in this movement that the «modern news event» is created, loaded with

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<sup>152</sup> At this point the author deepens the previous indicated reference to Umberto Eco's proposal, in which the «Cultural Units» are the semantic units inserted in a system that carries along the enunciation process the signification of a determined sign. In Eco's conceptualization, the language is considerate a social phenomenon, in so the Cultural Units fulfil the function of holder of several and an overall signification to a determined community as being a perceptible object in an abstract form that it is a cultural convention. In: Umberto Eco, *Le forme del contenuto*. Milano, Bompiani. 1971. p. 32, 33.

<sup>153</sup> *Photographic Space* - spatial cut made in the image, its composition, technical resources, elements of the history of photography and the expression plan (framing, light, angle). Seeks to describe the photographic language.

*Geographic Space* - refers to the physical space cut by the photograph, this is not homogeneous and generally marked by oppositions: countryside/city, internal/external, public/private.

*Object Space* - understanding and interpretation of the logic existing in the representation of objects, being these: interior, exterior and personal.

*Figuring Space* - category dedicated to the subjects that compose the image, people, animals, their hierarchies, differences, attributes.

*Space of Experience* - deals with the space of the synthesis of the photographic movement, either the movement for the creation of the cutout, or the movement that was cut out (MAUAD, 2005, p. 150).

narrative visuality, clippings of the instantaneous and reorganizations of itself (MAUAD, 2020, p. 5). Is fundamental to take in consideration the cultural and visual aspects of the journalistic production, aiming to help to interpret the way in which the historical events were reflected and refracted. Observing how these were transformed into news, based in the possibilities and intentions of organization of the society visual dimension brought by photography.

The visual, instantaneous characteristics of photographs make them bearers of an enormous potential of reorganization and synthesis of social events in a printed visual discourse, in turn, mediated by various perspectives (of the producers of the newspapers, their owners, class elements and the historical context) in this sense, the process of selection and organization of the news event in the pages of a periodical is aligned with the notion of «effect of creation of the real» operated in the journalistic discursive production, and in the present case potentiated by photography. «A imprensa se funda sobre a noção de representação do real e mobiliza formas capazes de evidenciar a transparência da imprensa em relação ao real por ela mostrado. Esses recursos mobilizados, ao mesmo tempo que dão a ver o real, declaram ‘o real é o que eu mostro’»<sup>154</sup> (GRILLO, 2004, p. 64).

Is in Mauad's (2020, p. 28) vein that the attention must be pointed to the construction of the «news fact» in the different events during the military regime - thus creating a range of rhythms of transformation of historical facts into news according to the intentions of discursive reorganization of itself within the course of history. The journalistic photography potentializes the possibilities that a story or news/article (as a form of enunciate) carries to agglutinate events, facts and social processes in a set of scenes captured and narrated in the newspapers presenting internal interaction elements, beyond the photographer's intentionality at the moment of the image production. Inside this movement of thinking the press discourse as a part of the construction of a determined reality, Vítor de Sousa (2017) recalls the attention to this fact of the construction of its «own truth» by the media organs. According to the author is important to emphasize the just positioning of what are the elements of selection and creation of a «news fact» and how these are inserted in the labour logic of the journalism and as well in its institutional constraints that will be part of the interaction and decision-making process that accomplishes the transformation of an event into a news fact.

O acontecimento mediático assenta no cruzamento e relação do campo jornalístico com os diferentes campos sociais e assenta

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<sup>154</sup> «The press is based on the notion of representation of the real and mobilizes forms capable of evidencing the transparency of the press in relation to the real it shows. These mobilized resources, at the same time that show the real, declare 'the real is what I show'».

num esquema de perceção, o *habitus* jornalístico, que prioriza o factor tempo que, sendo escasso, necessita de ser controlado. [...] Como se viu, nem todos os acontecimentos desembocam em notícia, o que decorre da necessidade em seleccionar aqueles que são mais importantes e se inscrevem num padrão que tem que ver com as funções do jornalismo e se tipificam em critérios de noticiabilidade (*newsmaking*). É através deles que é distinguido o que é notícia do que não é notícia variando de média para média, mediante, entre outros factores, a linha editorial seguida e o público-alvo (*gatekeeping*) [...]. Para além dos critérios de noticiabilidade, há balizas de produção utilizadas pelos jornalistas, que medeiam o processo com o público, e que afinam ainda mais o conceito do que há-de ou não ser notícia, transmitindo assim uma porção ainda mais pequena da realidade construída<sup>155</sup> (SOUSA, 2017, p. 31).

With this interpretation movement and view over the perspectives that the pictures and its layers might unfold in the press enunciation, we start than to combine elements of the philosophical proposals previous indicated along the stratifications and methodological steps of Iconographic and Iconological Analysis interpretation (MULLER, 2011, p. 283). In so, from the three steps<sup>156</sup> interpretation organization and as an attempt to give a systematization to the proposed interpretation, the selected events and the layers of analysis presented so far, were developed or refined in some charts<sup>157</sup> that aim to organize the analysis of the corpus and its reading. Each one of the following charts are a demonstration of how our interpretation and subjective reformulation of the Iconographic and Iconological method approach realizes itself, both in the steps differentiation but also in the process completing.

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<sup>155</sup> «The media event is based on the crossing and relation of the journalistic field with the different social fields and is based on a scheme of perception, the journalistic habitus, which prioritizes the time factor that, being scarce, needs to be controlled. [As we have seen, not all events result in news, which derives from the need to select those that are more important and are inscribed in a pattern that has to do with the functions of journalism and are typified in criteria of notability (*newsmaking*). It is through them that what is news is distinguished from what is not news, varying from medium to medium, according to, among other factors, the editorial line followed and the target audience (*gatekeeping*) [...]. Beyond the criteria of newsworthiness, there are production goals used by journalists, which mediate the process with the public, and which further narrow the concept of what should or should not be news, thus transmitting an even smaller portion of the constructed reality».

<sup>156</sup> On this we rely on Muller (2011, p. 290) and its indication on how the Warburg-Panofsky method presents an analysis scheme base in three different moments of observation, organization and reflection. A «Pre-iconographical description», the «Iconographical analysis» and finally the «Iconological interpretation» The first two one's centered in the decomposition of the images, presenting its visual and material elements, as well as its relations with the context that enable the possibility of a categorization that in its turn it will facilitate the interpretation. In its turn the last step of analysis can be synthesized as the relations within the social-political and cultural context in which a determined visual production it is inserted.

<sup>157</sup> In the last pages of this chapter are presented three examples of the charts used in the analysis. The power of this sequence of charts and attempts to organize a grid of analysis lies precisely in the interactions, relations and overlaps that are possible between the three different gazes to the pictures and to the newspaper's pages. A fourth chart has been added and was dedicated to the translation of the main title and auxiliary titles of the newspapers.

In a movement that departs from the sequence of days related to a major event there is a first chart dedicated to the «Event coverage». Following the process of deepening the analysis, were built charts dedicated to the «Interactions - texts and images»<sup>158</sup>, and finally, a third chart was dedicated to the «Social Circuit of the Image» and aimed to present the elements and relations of each of the following spaces of the picture and the way in which they are used to construct a news fact and its forms of reorganization of the reality. We must underline the fact that the element of the experience space was not inserted in the chart, due to the fact that a small text fits better the purpose of the category. It is necessary here to underline the fact that we comprehend the present analysis as an example of a «Iconological Context Analysis» (MULLER, 2011, p. 292), because the interpretation proposed cuts through the types of visual contexts that might emerge from the analysis, the form, the production context and its reception. The definition of the journalistic context of production synthetically frames the challenges and tiers of interpretation that are present in a press photo analysis.

The journalistic production context is also a team context characterized by a high degree of labor division. Press photographers, press agencies, cartoonists, editors, writers, publishers, and readers play a role in the selection and production process of visual journalistic products. For press photographers, the major question will be which photo sells to the newspaper or newsmagazine? They do also have their competing colleagues and their respective visual styles in mind, when shooting on location, but the major goal is to sell the image. Of course, journalistic routines, expertise as well as journalistic ethics, also play a role in the journalistic production context (MULLER, 2011, p. 292).

Closing this chapter and the theoretical-methodological framework that has been discussed so far, is worth resuming some concepts and goals that the present analysis aims. With the objective of dissecting the discursive movement that emerges from the material aspects of the Brazilian military dictatorship history, is proposed a strong historicized interpretation of the pictures based in the understanding of the interactions of a determined Historic power bloc, its organization and the unfolding of the «private apparatus of hegemony» towards an updating of the social hegemony inside of a changing social horizon. In so, shows as a feasible path the comprehension of the dialogical interactions elements (verbo-visual) that based the photographic and uttering building and resulted in a discursive creation of a notion of the reality. This reality in was translated and could be seen in the diverse changing modern

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<sup>158</sup> The elements of this stage of the interpretation are related to the conceptualization proposed by Mikhail Bakhtin Valentin Volosinov and Sheila Grillo.

news events along the decades. Finally, the following analysis organization that had as cornerstones the principles of a «photo social circuit» analysis showed itself to accomplish a central role in keeping together the historical materiality of the events and the conceptual abstraction of the philosophical approach and narrative concepts.

*Event coverage*<sup>159</sup>

<b>Case / Data</b>		<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>Analysed period</b>		
<i>JORNAL DO BRASIL</i>		
N° of front pages		
N° of headlines		
N° front page photos		
Main headlines		
N° of internal pages		
N° of internal photos		
Main internal tittles		
<i>FOLHA DE S. PAULO</i>		
N° of front pages		
N° of headlines		
N° front page photos		
Main headlines		
N° of internal pages		
N° of internal photos		
Main internal tittles		

*Translation chart*

<b>Main headlines Translation</b>	
«Folha de S. Paulo»	
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b>	
«Folha de S. Paulo»	

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<sup>159</sup> The following tables were used during the analysis process to give a better organization and fluidity to it, although only the ones named «Event coverage» and «Translation table» appear in the sections of the next chapter.

*Interactions - texts and images*

<b>Issue Name/Date</b>	<b>Jornal do Brasil – 31/03/1964</b>
Front page headline	
Basic text – Front page	
Auxiliary titles	
Headings and indications	
Number of photographs - Frontpage	
Headings inside	
Auxiliary titles	
Basic text inside	
No. of photographs - inside	

*Image social circuit*

<b><i>Photographic space - Language</i></b>	
Support <sup>160</sup> (relation with the page)	
Size <sup>161</sup>	
Format	
Planes	
Angle	
Movement/Focus	
Texture	
Tone/Contrast	
Other	
<b><i>Geographic Space</i></b>	
Base Description: External x Internal	
Location	
Related Meaning	
Other	
<b><i>Objects Space</i></b>	
Basic Description: External x Internal x Personal	
Clothing	
Related meaning	
Other	
<b><i>Space of the Figuration</i></b>	
Basic Description: Groups portrayed	
Choice of the subject	
Related meaning	
Others	

<sup>160</sup> These are defined in three types of bases of relation: Photo with title, text and caption; Photo with title and caption; Single photo with title only.

<sup>161</sup> The sizes are divided in the following possibilities: ½ page, ¼ of the page, 1/6 of the page; 1/8 of the page.

### Chapter 3 – The photograph taken inside the newspapers

First of moving on to the substance of the indicated analysis, this chapter proposes a path that merges the historical development of the photograph and part of the press in Brazil. In this sense, the historicization process takes the trail inside economic, political, and social arraignments of the still consolidating Brazilian bourgeoisie in between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as well as its further unfolding's. To this detailing were added biographical information related some of the most important Brazilian photographers its connections with the press and society transformations. Must be said that the following pages gave preference to the information related to the newspapers that are central to the present analysis, «Folha de S. Paulo» and «Jornal do Brasil» and had as criteria to the selection of the photographer's names, their connection not only with the press, but mainly with determined elements of the photograph's history changes along the decades.

#### *The new world creates a new perspective*

The history of Brazilian photography begins simultaneously with other places of the world, especially some of the main European centers. Has been Hercule Florence<sup>162</sup>, in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the responsible for the first development of printing the light in paper in South America.<sup>163</sup> The isolated discovery of photography occurred in 1831, when Florence throughout the use of silver nitrate was able to register the light in a set of labels for pharmaceutical bottles. Some years later, the «Jornal do Comércio»<sup>164</sup> published an article indicating the creation of the chemical method capable of fixing the light in paper and the creation of a totally inimitable paper.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Antoine Hercule Romuald Florence, was a French drawer born in 1804, in 1824, traveled to Brazil as member of an Expedition dedicated to register the intern of the country. In that occasion he had worked with Aimé-Adrian Tauney and Johan Moritz Rugendas. After the end of the expedition, he continued to live in Brazil, in Campinas at the interior of the Estado of São Paulo where he started to be dedicated to a series of scientific experiments regarding different aspects of printing in paper. Florence lived in Brazil until his death in 1879. More information available in: Rafael de Bivar Marquese. *Exílio escravista: Hercule Florence e as fronteiras do açúcar e do café no Oeste paulista (1830-1879)*. An. mus. paul. [online]. 2016, vol. 24, n. 2, pp. 11-51. ISSN 1982-0267. Available in: [https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0101-47142016000200011&script=sci\\_abstract&lng=pt](https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0101-47142016000200011&script=sci_abstract&lng=pt). Last access in: 25/05/2021.

<sup>163</sup> Boris Kossoy. *Hercule Florence. A descoberta isolada da fotografia no Brasil*. (3ed). São Paulo, Edusp, 2006.

<sup>164</sup> Available in: [http://memoria.bn.br/docreader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568\\_03&pagfis=150](http://memoria.bn.br/docreader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568_03&pagfis=150). Last access in: 25/05/2021.

<sup>165</sup> In this case, the announcement was made at the newspaper «O Despertador». Available in: <http://memoria.bn.br/docreader/DocReader.aspx?bib=706701&pagfis=1979> Last access in: 25/05/2021.



During his life Florence was also engaged with coffee production, a position that gave him new and important social connections - and the material conditions to dedicate himself and his life into his image's studies. In this sense, his work must also be inserted in a context where science, as a way of categorization, ordering and documentation of the world gained a new sense of value. As proposes Rouillé (2009), the documental character of photography, in its first decades, shows the born of this new tool as the image of the fast-growing industrial capitalist society. The case of Florence is a great example of the process of discovering and documenting the world inside of the parameters of the bourgeois society. In being him a European that arrived in Brazil as draftsman and decades later died as one of the creators of the photography, synthetizing in him the new material and socio-economic bases of the world.

### *The photography between the Pictorialism and a documentary intention*

In the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, technical advances gave to the photography new possibilities. It was still a very specific work and extremely technical, although it was a little bit less clumsy, the exposition time was shorter, and the quality of the images obtained were also better (GILARDI, 2000). One of the new technics was the panoramic picture, in Brazil Marc Ferrez<sup>166</sup> is considered the main name and gave to this technique a new perspective and importance. His work started at first with the Brazilian Imperial Navy, later migrated to panoramic capturing of the world, but specially the Brazilian cities. Ferrez photos are a good example of the Brazilian's photography insertion in the logic of organizing, capturing, and controlling of the world.

He proposes a perspective that is very much connected with the Renaissance parameters and esthetical interpretation of the world, carrying strong Pictorial aspects. His pictures became famous by the fact that there were taken from high places and in a long distance, being capable of framing the whole city controlling the nature around it, that has been restricted to the horizontal axis of the frame. With this proposal, Ferrez was able to create images that kept the details, problems, and persons of the city away from the photo, keeping also away the colonial aspects of Rio de Janeiro – a city that at that time was only starting a modernization process. On the other hand, the vertical axis was dedicated to put in order the different urban icons,

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<sup>166</sup> Marc Ferrez was born in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1843 and, after the tragic death of his parents, moved to Paris where he had an artistic education with the family of the sculptor Joseph Eugene Dubois. In the early 1860s, Ferrez returned to Rio de Janeiro where he immediately began working as a photographer and also opened the *Casa Marc Ferrez&Cia*.

establishing a hierarchy (MAUAD, 2008). Ferrez was also dedicated to register some of the accomplishments of the Brazilian State in different parts of the country.<sup>167</sup> This other range of images puts him inside a group of photographers that had a more modern documental intention in its works. Ferrez, as Maxime Du Camp, Francis Frith, John Thomson, Charles Marville, Thomas Annan and Roger Fenton proposed the documentation of the changing world.<sup>168</sup>

With the objective of understanding what was the press context during the photography development in Brazil, is necessary to relate its steps with the socio-political uses of the press after the creation of the Brazilian Republic in 1889. On that occasion were born two different groups in the press; on the one hand «business» publications connected with a new industrial sector of the society and related to the bourgeoisie patterns of socialization. Small and handicraft newspapers were replaced by newborn communication enterprises. The press modernization was pretty much linked with a similar updating and transforming process which most of the main Brazilians cities were undergoing. An immediate consequence was a drastic reduction in the number of publications and newspapers; the small ones were absorbed by what was being consolidated as the new hegemonic press. In the five decades between 1880 and 1930, was seen in the main cities a concentration of this new bourgeoisie press, especially São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Its growth was decisive to the insertion of a new behavior in the press, the building of the notions of neutrality and impartiality «Com o novo tipo de imprensa, os jornais apresentavam-se como órgãos imparciais, cujo objetivo era informar a população»<sup>169</sup> (SANTOS OLIVEIRA, 2011, p. 138). In this sense, is central to take in consideration the role that the photograph had as a veridiction element, according to Rouillé (2007, p. 60), is in this movement that the pictures acquire a documental characteristic, especially in face of the paintings and illustrations that were still frequently used in the press. Due to some characteristics, the photograph fits the mechanism that sustained a new kind of truth, scientific, objective, and precise. They were a) the capability of rationalize and refine a Eurocentric compositional organization of the world, b) the renewal of the true, due to the material traces, in other words, the capture of the real in physic and chemical way, c) the photography is a synthesis of the industrial paradigm, the machine in excellence (ROUILLÉ, 2007, p. 64). It was then, in this period, that were born some press organs such as «O Estado de S. Paulo»

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<sup>167</sup> Marc Ferrez. *Território e Imagem*. Org. Sergio Burgi, Tadeu Chiarelli, Christina Barboza, Francisco Foot Hardman, Mariana Newlands, Ileana Padilla Ceron . Ed. Instituto Moreira Salles, Rio de Janeiro. 2019.

<sup>168</sup> Walter Guadanini. *Una storia della fotografia del XX e del XXI secolo*, Zanichelli, Bologna 2010.

<sup>169</sup> «With the new type of press, the newspapers presented themselves as impartial organs, whose objective was to inform the population».

(1875), «Jornal do Brasil» (1891), «Revista da Semana» (1900), «O Careta» (1908), «Jornal do Comércio» (1919) «Folha de S. Paulo» (1921).

The second group of publications was a proletarian press. In this case, a fast growth was seen after 1847 with the first periodical being edited in the city of Recife, «Até o final do século já haviam sido editados setenta títulos, sendo cinqüenta e dois no eixo Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo e dezoito no restante do país»<sup>170</sup>. With a major foreign influence, especially Italians, a great number of publications were created in between the decades of 1880 and 1920. The different immigrants' groups have carried throughout these new titles influences of social political movements that in the occasion were gaining strength in Europe such as the anarchism, socialism, and communism.<sup>171</sup> Most of these working-class newspapers are available in the archive of the Brazilian National Hemerotheque.<sup>172</sup>

At the turn of the centuries, the Brazilian press was inserted in the already mentioned context of search for objectivism and a supposedly scientific truth. Inside of this moment the photojournalism tried to reach a supposedly efficiency excellence in the information transmission. In so, stands out the «Jornal do Brasil» inside a process of modernization of the press. The newspaper «contava com o melhor equipamento gráfico da época, com uma tiragem diária extremamente significativa, oficinas de fotografia e galvanoplastia, além de, com a instalação da luz elétrica em suas oficinas em 1903»<sup>173</sup> (MUNTEAL, 2005, p. 16). These elements reinforce the bourgeoisie characteristics of this new phase of the Brazilian press. Despite the technical limitations, in the following years the pictures became part of some weekly magazine issues. Rouillé (2007, p. 126) recalls the attention to the fact that was only with the advent of the typography and rotogravure that the photography was in fact absorbed by the daily press.

In the year of 1900 the first Brazilian press publication that had adopt photographs was the «Revista da Semana» (MAUAD, 2005b). Albeit, in this moment the use of pictures did not achieve the public mass, it has been a first movement that helped other periodicals to adopt the new tool and deepen the narrative and expression possibilities (KOSSOY, 2014, p. 90).

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<sup>170</sup> «By the end of the century seventy titles had been published, fifty-two of them in the Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo axis and eighteen in the rest of the country».

<sup>171</sup> According to the «Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE)», between the decades 1870 and 1920 Brazil received approximately 3.3 million immigrants, of these, 42% - 1.4 million were born in Italy. BRAZILIAN INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND STATISTICS. *Brasil: 500 anos de povoamento*. Rio de Janeiro, 2000. Available at: <https://brasil500anos.ibge.gov.br/territorio-brasileiro-e-povoamento/italianos.html>. Last access on: 30/04/2021.

<sup>172</sup> Available in: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br> Access in: 30/04/2021.

<sup>173</sup> «had the best printing equipment of the time, with an extremely significant daily circulation, photography and electroplating workshops, as well as, with the installation of electric light in its workshops in 1903».

Some decades later, the also weekly «Revista O Cruzeiro» first published in 1928, presented a great advance in terms of photo-language when, for the first time in the Brazilian press was dedicated to build a documental narrative throughout the images (BONI, 2000, p. 223).

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the main Brazilian cities the illustrated magazines played then a central role in this context of building a social cohesion inside the rising bourgeoisie. To Mauad (2005b) what was seeing during these decades was the consolidation of new habits and ideals that were imported from the main centers of the world (MAUAD, 2005b, p. 157). The magazines were responsible for the diffusion of these new form sociability. In this regard is necessary to underline the fact that the creation of a determined city's image (taking the Rio de Janeiro as an example) might silence other possibilities. In other words, in the case of the illustrated magazines of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the preference was for an image capable of absorb and recreate the social and economic elements related to the European and north American centers, reinforcing cosmopolite connections with those. In so, the «zona sul»<sup>174</sup> and the «foreigner» are the preferable spaces to highlight the cosmopolitanism in the city. Mauad proposes a synthesis of this relation throughout an analyzes in which the author indicate a comparative binomial: the magazine «O Cruzeiro» was responsible of representing the idea of Rio de Janeiro vs. The World, creating several forms of comparison in between the city and other cosmopolite centers of the world, added to the businesses nature of the publication connected to the news agencies around the globe. On the other hand, the magazine «O Careta» represented the Rio de Janeiro = The World, in other words the magazine had the proposal of publicizing the approximations of the city and the new habits carried to the daily life (MAUAD, 2005b p. 160). Both publications had the predilections in emphasize a lifestyle characterized by the consume, appearance and the search for social distinction.

Besides that, the individuals portraited were organized inside of a social hierarchy and a thematization based in genres distinctions. In one side the masculine spaces were pictured as the sphere in which the great decisions were made, places of intelligence and strength. Meanwhile, on the other side the feminine space was framed as the one dedicated to the frivolities, delicatessen and fashion; this logic is inverted solely when there is a change in the social framing and the lower classes are captured in the images. Throughout the work of Mauad, it can be seen that was created a new dimensioning of some social spaces in order to attend the demands of a determined social group. Reinforcing the use of the photographs as a

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<sup>174</sup> The geographical south zone of Rio de Janeiro has been developed during the 20<sup>th</sup> century to be the place of the richer and most prestigious neighborhoods in town.

new technical image dedicated to a class cohesion and to the promotion of its parameters to the entire city attending a new cosmopolite pattern (MAUAD, 2005b, p. 172). It is important to consider how the pictures and the photographers have the role of social mediators and creators of new realities from the imagetic narration proposed throughout the interactions with the world, «O fotojornalista não apenas reporta a notícia, como também a cria: as (foto) notícias são um artefato construído por força de mecanismos pessoais, sociais (incluindo econômicos), ideológicos, históricos, culturais e tecnológicos»<sup>175</sup> (MAUAD, 2005, p. 59). In the following pages will be possible to see some examples of how this mediation had occurred in the work of determined Brazilian photographers in this context. In addition to it, the analysis proposed in the present work intends to demonstrate how the mediation and the creation of determined notions of reality were built in daily newspapers and in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### *The XX century –The photo documentation*

With the arrival of a new century, the Brazilian Photography saw new photographers, but also important political and social transformations that carried out different perspectives of interpretation and registration of the world. In 1889, was founded the Brazilian Republic, giving a bigger thrust to a modernization process, especially in Rio de Janeiro<sup>176</sup>, country's capital, as well as in other important cities, such as São Paulo that was growing extremely fast.

Augusto Malta<sup>177</sup> became famous for his work as the official photographer of Rio's municipality, in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century he was dedicated to register the urban reforms carried out by the mayor Pereira Passos, inspired in the Parisian urbanism project proposed by Haussmann, and inserted in a bigger process of modernization that the country was going through. The photographer had the goal of creating a sort of re-education of the citizenship habits,

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<sup>175</sup> «The photojournalist not only reports the news, but also creates them: the (photo) news is an artifact constructed by force of personal, social (including economic), ideological, historical, cultural and technological mechanisms».

<sup>176</sup> The following works present deeper information on the modernization process in Rio de Janeiro: Gislaine Martins Leite. *Entre missão e desilusão: modernização e urbanização do Rio de Janeiro no início do século XX através da literatura de Lima Barreto*. MONÇÕES UFMS/CPCX - V. 3, N. 5 – ISSN 2358-6524, Campo Grande, 2016, pp. 149 – 168. Available in: <https://periodicos.ufms.br/index.php/moncx/article/view/5029/3741> Access in: 28/06/2021. Natalia Topini Lucas. *O Porto do Rio de Janeiro: reflexões sobre sua modernização e seu impacto social frente suas comunidades circunvizinhas*. Revista Espaço Acadêmico, n° 130, Rio de Janeiro, Ano XI – ISSN 1519-6186, 2012. Available in: <https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/EspacoAcademico/article/view/13902> Access in: 28/06/2021. Matheus Areias da Silva. *A eletrificação e a modernização do território do Rio de Janeiro, Espaço e Economia* [Online], 20 | 2020. Available in: <http://journals.openedition.org/espacoeconomia/17457>. Access in: 28/06/2021.

<sup>177</sup> He is considered to be the first Brazilian photojournalist, carrying with him a journalistic view of the events. Malta gave a greater political and social significance to the documentary photography. Oswaldo Munteal & Larissa Grandi. *A imprensa na história do Brasil: fotojornalismo no século XX*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. PUC-Rio: Desiderata, 2005, p. 199.

indicating what was supposed to change, to be adopted as a modern habit and what was supposed to be no longer an urban activity. Malta gave great attention to the new avenues, squares, and other urban equipment's, as well as the new buses and trams. His pictures were also used to determine how much would be paid for the buildings expropriations that were made.

Born in Mata Grande a small city in the province of Alagoas in 1864, Malta began a military career in Recife in 1888, then moved to Rio de Janeiro where he actively lived through the Proclamation of the Republic in 1889. In his first years in the country's capital has worked as a book salesman, had a shop, and sold fine fabrics; this last occupation allowed him to get to know the city, as he made deliveries by bicycle. In 1900 he exchanged his bicycle for a camera and started taking pictures of his family and of the city. During the urban reforms of Pereira Passos in 1903, Malta, has been taken by his friend Antônio Alves da Silva Júnior (a City Hall supplier) to photograph some works. Was then that the mayor, enthusiastic with the idea, create for him the position of documentary photographer of the city hall. The aim was to register the transformation of the Brazilian capital which was going from a colonial city to a metropolis. From 1905, Malta joined the Carthophile Society, dedicated to postcards, very popular after the urban reform. The photographer brought a spontaneous, direct, and journalistic look to his photographs. Dedicating himself to different themes, many of his photographs were published in illustrated magazines, such as «Revista da Semana» and «Fon-Fon»<sup>178</sup>, somehow, he was the main responsible of the born of illustrate reportages in the Brazilian magazines.

If on one side his proximity to the city's mayor gave to him a network of contacts that had guaranteed to Malta several other work opportunities inside the Rio's elite and also working for the Electricity company «Light» and the Insurance Agency «Sul America»; on the other side, he also documented the demolition on an entire neighborhood as was the case of Morro do Castelo<sup>179</sup>, and other interventions in what were the transforming city's habits, such as the a picture of street vendor being busted by the police. In other words, a poor, heterogeny and on the wrong hand angle of the town. Malta's intention was celebrating the diversity of the city, giving faces to the main problems and virtues of the city. But all of this had been possible because the photography had gained in agility, Malta was able to register the acceleration of the time, the new movements of the city.

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<sup>178</sup> <http://portalaugustomalta.rio.rj.gov.br/blog-post/augusto-malta-dono-da-memoria-fotografica-do-rio>

<sup>179</sup> In the first years of the 1920s, an entire neighborhood and a hill was removed by the municipality from the city center of Rio de Janeiro, forcing thousands of low-class citizens to find a new place to live in the marginalized areas of the city (SOUZA, 2008, p. 11).

Malta ao preambular pelas ruas da antiga Capital Federal materializou suas imagens sobre aqueles que o olha via, ao projetar suas fantasias, críticas e esperanças, além é claro de suas incumbências, escreveu um rico e valioso documento ao mesmo tempo pessoal e público sobre a cidade do Rio de Janeiro<sup>180</sup> (SOUZA, 2008, p. 87).

Souza (2008, p. 10) agrees that the work of Malta is capable of represent and expose a specific point of view and view of the world that had the objective of picturing Rio de Janeiro's «belle époque». Not only in the new urban aspects, but in its modern forms of socialization, habits, and people. Technically, Malta learned a lot from Marc Ferrez, his teacher in his first years of work, however, both had different styles that can be seen also due to the major differences in the objects of picture along the decades. Souza (2008) synthetizes what was the practical meanings of all these modernity in the daily life of the city

O Rio de Janeiro assistiu ao fluxo de correntes migratórias nacionais e estrangeiras formentarem o rápido crescimento da sua população. Os novos tempos trouxeram consigo a *electricidade*, o automóvel e o *telefone*, os tecidos finos, os *boulevards*, o calçamento das ruas e os palacetes, o aeroplano o *poudre de riz*, o *theatro* e o *cinematographo*, a propagação de práticas desportivas, o surgimento do mercado fonográfico e a popularização da fotografia entre outras novidades. Eram definitivamente tempos modernos<sup>181</sup> (SOUZA, 2008, p. 53).

In this sense, the photograph as a publicity asset was another modern icon that was imported to Brazil's new social reorganization. Its uses in the illustrated magazines were fundamental also to the delimitation of a new fashion and uses of the town spaces<sup>182</sup>; especially if we consider that the city was the main entrance hall to the country, not only for the entry of new concepts, habits, products, and ideas, but it was also the symbol of Brazil that was being projected to the rest of the country and to the world. In the same breath, the photographs were central to legitimate a discourse that exposed the modern as positive in order to achieve the

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<sup>180</sup> «When Malta wandered through the streets of the former Federal Capital, he materialized his images of those who looked at him, projecting his fantasies, criticisms and hopes, besides his duties, of course, he wrote a rich and valuable document on the city of Rio de Janeiro, both personal and public».

<sup>181</sup> «Rio de Janeiro saw the flow of national and foreign migratory currents foster the rapid growth of its population. The new times brought with them electricity, the automobile and the telephone, fine fabrics, boulevards, cobbled streets and palatial houses, the airplane and the *poudre de riz*, the theatre and the cinema, the spread of sports, the emergence of the phonographic market and the popularization of photography, among other novelties. These were definitely modern times».

<sup>182</sup> New laws were created to impose the need of using costume when in determined places of the city. In a clear attempt to create a hierarchy in the use of the town by its own population and at the same the action gave a boost in the consume of fashion.

demands of the rising bourgeoisie (SOUZA, 2008, p. 69). Malta had the ability of beyond the representations of the new dominant class, be capable of registering the multiplicity of the life and the people of Rio de Janeiro in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Four hundred kilometers southeast, Vincenzo Pastore<sup>183</sup>, was also registering the people inside of a changing city. But in his case the scenario was São Paulo, a city that in the early 1900s was the main destination of most European immigrants.<sup>184</sup> Part of his work was dedicated to the several experiences that the city's streets propose, in a perspective of creating a direct way of picturing daily life. In his work in the streets of São Paulo, due to the use of smaller and lighter machines he gained in agility and the possibility of trying new angles, and techniques, but specially a closer relation with the object. The use of a tripod was no more mandatory allowing the photograph to arrive to new objects. Besides that, new emulsion alternatives and the printing in laboratory with the use of artificial light helped in the building of this new photo language of which Pastore has been a major exponent in Brazil.<sup>185</sup>

As a photographer on the streets, Pastore captured a raw São Paulo, picturing a plural and popular city, beyond the «belle époque» of the early 20th century. In his images the narrative is focused on social themes combined with refined technical skills. The framing proposed by him corroborates with a history of the underneath: in which his main object were street vendors, washerwomen, and shoeshine boys. Pastore proposed images that subverted the aesthetics of the postcards in fashion at the time. The photographer anticipated a kind of neo-realist aesthetic as his attention was dedicated to the daily events, to the difficult life of those

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<sup>183</sup> Born in Casamassima (Italy) in 1865, Pastore emigrated to Brazil arriving in São Paulo, in 1894. A period when the country was dealing with the social problems inherited from the colonial and imperial past and at the same time, a new social element became part of the Brazilian society, the immigrants, among them Pastore himself. Five years after his arrival in São Paulo (after coming back to Italy and getting married with Elvira Leopardi Pastore) Vincenzo returned with his family to Brazil and started working as a photographer in the studio they owned in the city center and with a fundamental participation of his spouse. The photographer was part of a large group of professionals of the period who sought out the expanding cities to work as portraitists. In 1914, he returned to Bari, where he also had a studio, «Ai Due Mondi», representing the two different aspects of his life as an immigrant. Although due to the First World War and its consequences he and his family were forced to close the studio and return to Brazil. Pastore lived in São Paulo until his death in 1918. Fabiana Beltramim. *Entre o estúdio e a rua: a trajetória de Vincenzo Pastore, fotógrafo do cotidiano*. São Paulo, 2015. Tese de Doutorado em História Social. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo. or. *Between the studio and the street: The trajectory of Vincenzo Pastore, Quotidian Photographer*. São Paulo, 2015. Ph.D thesis in Social History. Faculty of Philosophy, Languages and Human Sciences, University of São Paulo.

<sup>184</sup> Some decades before, another Italian photographer, Camillo Vedani, arrived in Brazil. In 1853 established himself in Rio de Janeiro, but worked around the country in the following decades, his main work was dedicated to the documentation of the railroad construction «Madeira-Mamoré» in the interior of Amazon during the 1880s. Available in: <https://brasilianafotografica.bn.gov.br/?p=5382> Access in: 25/09/2021.

<sup>185</sup> Beltramim (2015, p. 170) highlight the fact that in his work in studio dedicated to the portraits, Pastore was engaged in creation new forms of *flou* in a clear approximation with the *Pictorialism* and the notion of the photography as a form of art and expression. In a constant interaction between different ways of photographing, the goal of Pastore was show to his clients that he could execute the most updated techniques and create others.



trying to survive in a changing society - his images captured the difficulties of everyday life in the world of the free people of the Brazilian Republic after the slavery abolition. He thus highlighted the social problems and inequality of a city that was beginning to develop in a rapid pace. Outside the portrait studio (his real source of income) Pastore pictures registered the different urban jobs, those that were done outdoors. They are, therefore, a kind of portrait of the urban humanity of a new São Paulo that was born in those years. At the same time, his work was not tied and subordinated to governmental orders or requests, nor was it linked to institutions eager to expose progress and development (BELTRAMIN, 2015, p. 186-188)

While Augusto Malta's work was mostly dedicated to an institutional circuit and to the celebration of the urban-social transformations of the country's capital, Vincenzo Pastore celebrated the city that was being transformed and that at the same time demonstrated an extreme capacity for resilience. Pastore's São Paulo and «Paulistanos»<sup>186</sup> were being thrust into the great metropolis that was being formed, more than celebrating the new city, what the photographer sought in his work on the streets was to capture the disputes and permanencies of spaces and relationships that were changing as the daily life accelerated. According to Beltramim (2015, p. 195) the duality that can be seen in the images made by Pastore, in which the urban experiences are multiple and diversified are a reflex of his own life as an immigrant in a city that was at the same time running into progress but was still marked by its colonialist past.

São Paulo cresceu assim: frente a um mercado formal que constituía paulatinamente com o desenvolvimento industrial marcado por períodos de avanço e retrocesso. As atividades de ganho nos espaços públicos foi a garantia de sobrevivência de um vasto contingente populacional, não incorporado aos setores formais de trabalho<sup>187</sup> (BELTRAMIM, 2015, p. 196).

Throughout his life as a photographer, Pastore had an important relationship with Italy and the Italian government. In 1905 and 1906, his work was acknowledged in different ways, especially the photographs of the «Bororo» original population sent to the Italian government and to the Vatican. In 1911, he won the bronze medal at the «International Exhibition of Industry and Labour» in Turin. Years later, in 1916 was published in the newspaper «O Estado de Sao Paulo» a communication from Lord Giannetto Cavasola, Minister of Agriculture of Italy,

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<sup>186</sup> Gentilic to those that are born in the city of São Paulo.

<sup>187</sup> « São Paulo grew up like this: facing a formal market that was gradually constituted by industrial development marked by periods of advance and retreat. The earning activities in public spaces was the guarantee of survival of a vast population group, not incorporated into the formal labor sectors».

in which the mayor of Bari stated that Pastore had been recognized as Duke of Genoa, Prince Regent and Knight of the Order of the Crown of Italy. This publication highlighted the Italian government's recognition of Pastore's work as a photographer, especially in relation to the Italian-Brazilian photographic exhibition organized in Bari in 1914 (BELTRAMIN, 2015, p. 152). Reinforcing once again one of the main roles of photography at that moment, the ordering of the world and the new worlds there were unfolding with the acceleration of connections, production, and circulation (ROUILLÉ, 2009, p. 49). These events are central to the understanding of the relations in between the two countries in which the photographer lived and the two worlds that Pastore was able to synthesis in himself.<sup>188</sup>

The pictures of Pastore<sup>189</sup> are part of the trajectory and development of photography in Brazilian history, they gave the possibility to comprehend how it was a tool for the expansion of a model of sociability, but also the result of this process, giving space for a more cosmopolitan relationship between cities that were growing at a great pace and their inhabitants. On the other hand, the photographs allowed the register of some aspects of the societies that were undesired by the dominant classes of the period. At last, is important to mention that even if Pastore's pictures were not present in the newspapers, some illustrated magazines published his photos, such as «A cigarra»<sup>190</sup> and «A vida moderna» (BELTRAMIM, 2015, p. 164).

At the interior of the Estado of Minas Gerais, Francisco or Chichico Alkmin inserts himself in this moment where the photography and its uses were dedicated to register the different aspects of the Brazilian modernization. Chichico, instead was not in a major city, but in Diamantina, a small town that had its moment of fame at the top of the mining years during the 18th century. Was there that in 1912, at the age of 26 years old, he created his first photographic studio and fixed himself in the town. His choice of sedentarization was a different of most photographers in Minas Gerais at time, many of them preferred to have a work-life based in trips and journeys around the cities (SANTOS, 2015, p. 45)

The choice for Diamantina gave to him the possibility of creating his own studio. But were the travels around the state and the country that has putted him in contact with the

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<sup>188</sup> The work of Beltramim (2015) explores the several points of contact and interaction that Pastore – Brazil – Italy had during his years of work and how was reflected in his pictures. An interesting aspect of Pastore work is the fact that his pictures remained hidden in a cigar box until the end of the 20th century, when his grandson, Flávio Varani, donated the negatives to the «Instituto Moreira Salles» in 1997.

<sup>189</sup> A good synthesizing sample is presented by the Instituto Moreira Salles in the book: Vincenzo Pastore. *Na Rua*. Instituto Moreira Salles. São Paulo, 2009, p. 100.

<sup>190</sup> Hemeroteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional.

Available at: <http://200.144.6.120/uploads/acervo/periodicos/revistas/CI19160339.pdf> . Access in: 25/05/2021

photography. In the family farm during the 1890's and the first years of the 20th century, Chichico (still a teenager) helped in several activities, among them horseback journeys to trade cattle. Probably was during one of these trips and wanderings around the country that Chichico got acquainted with photography between 1900 and 1902. According to Santos (2015, p. 44) in those years were fundamental the teaching he has received from other photographers such as the priest Manuel Gonzales and the Passig brothers (Francisco and João), two photographers from São Paulo that used to travel to the Minas Gerais countryside. However, most of the photo technique Chichico has learnt by himself and from several photo magazines and manuals

Da mesma maneira que ocorria com tantos outros fotógrafos, ele se guiou pelos manuais, sendo que dois deles foram encontrados em sua documentação pessoal, guardada pelo seu neto Paulo Francisco Flecha Alkmim: o "Manual Prático de Photographia" de Alberto da Veiga (1910) e o Tratado Prático de Photographia de Raymundo Pinto (1904). Esses manuais demonstravam o passo a passo para a realização de uma boa fotografia, bem como explicavam a técnica fotográfica (SANTOS, 2015, p. 50).<sup>191</sup>

From 1907, photography became the profession he has chosen, and Chichico was the first one establishing a photo studio in Diamantina. From 1920 he started to work in a new studio, the place where he also builds a new house for his family. According to Borges (2006), the photographer was also a great reader of the Brazilian Illustrated magazines such as «O Careta», «A Noite Ilustrada» e «Ilustração», this habit in addition to the self-learning and a great technique Chichico consolidated his know-how related to his photo camera an *Fole* 13x18cm that carried glass negatives emulsified with silver nitrate. His equipment is an interesting point in his biography. Even with new technologies developments in the 1920's and 1930's, as the Ermanox and Lennox cameras, he remained loyal to his old photo camera.

Chichico made several pictures of the Diamantina bourgeoisie, among them many portraits. Although his work also went towards the poor and working class of the region, creating through his photos a panorama of social, racial, and cultural formation not only of Minas Gerais, but of Brazil. Chichico's images also registered the urban changes emphasizing

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<sup>191</sup> «In the same way that used to happen with many photographers of that period he guided himself from the manuals. Two of them were found in his personal documentation, kept by his grandson Paulo Francisco Flecha Alkmim: the "Manual Prático de Photographia" by Alberto da Veiga (1910) and the Tratado Prático de Photographia by Raymundo Pinto (1904). These manuals demonstrated the step-by-step for the realization of a good photograph, as well as explained the photographic technique».

a mixture of modernization and tradition in the habits and new structures<sup>192</sup>. He photographed everyday events: weddings, parties, funerals, street scenes. It is important to emphasize that the photographer was not dedicated to the creation of post-cards (in trend in the first decades of the 20th century) however he was still known in the region for his work in studio and also in the streets of Diamantina. Until the 1950s Chichico had photographed Diamantina and its people. Even after he stopped photographing, he continued to take care of his collection kept at home until his death in 1978 at the age of 92 years old<sup>193</sup>. Yet Chichico's main contribution to the Brazilian photography history was the way that his pictures were capable of creating an archive of people's vestments, a visual materialization of the so-called Brazilian elegance

A obra de Chichico cobre um conjunto diverso de atividades, idades, e as três categorias de vestuário estabelecidas pelo *International Council of Museums (ICOM)*: as indumentárias militar, eclesiástica e civil. Dos anos 1910 até meados da década de 1950, por meio dos retratos de Chichico temos acesso às modas feminina e masculina, aos trajes infantis, às fantasias de carnaval, à indumentária eclesiástica, feminina e masculina, aos uniformes escolares, à indumentária militar, ao traje mortuário dos anjinhos, e às roupas usadas em cerimônias religiosas, como os casamentos, as procissões, as primeiras- comunhões (CASARIN, 2017)<sup>194</sup>

There are two other aspects of Chichico's biography that are valuable to the historical route that this work proposes. In first place, it is important to mention that as Santos (2015, p.58) indicated the photography was the main income of Chichico and his family during all his life,

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<sup>192</sup> The work of Santos is dedicated to comprehend the how Chichico come to know the city of Diamantina and its specifics due to his work with the photography and how the pictures created by him are part of the patrimonial memory of the city in a way that relates modernity and tradition. Dayse Lucide Silva Santos. *Cidades de vidro: a fotografia de Chichico Alkmim e o registro da tradição e da mudança em Diamantina: 1900 a 1940*. Tese (Doutorado) em História Social. Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas. Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. or. *Glass cities: the photography of Chichico Alkmim and the register of tradition and change in Diamantina: 1900 to 1940*. Ph.D thesis in Social History. Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences. Federal University of Minas Gerais. 2015.

<sup>193</sup> Available at: <https://ims.com.br/2017/06/01/sobre-chichico-alkmim/> Two years after his death the «Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais», hosted the first exhibition of his photos and in the 1990s his archives were handed over to the Documentation Centre of the same University. During the following decades, two books were published, and several exhibitions were held. Finally in 2015, his collection was deposited on loan at the archive of the Instituto Moreira Salles. The collection contains approximately 10,000 images.

<sup>194</sup> « Chichico's work covers a diverse range of activities, ages, and the three categories of clothing established by the International Council of Museums (ICOM): military, ecclesiastical, and civilian dress. From the 1910s to the mid-1950s, through Chichico's portraits we have access to women's and men's fashions, children's costumes, carnival costumes, ecclesiastical, women's and men's clothing, school uniforms, military clothing, the mortuary costume of the 'little angels', and the clothes worn in religious ceremonies, such as weddings, processions, and first communions». This argument it is further developed by Carolina Casarin. Available at: <https://ims.com.br/por-dentro-acervos/elegancia-brasileira/>. Last access: 24/05/2021

although not the only one; on some occasions he used the small travels dedicated to the photography's also to sell jewelry. Finally, his work influenced other photographers, such as Assis Horta<sup>195</sup>, who was responsible for making an important registration of the working class during the Getúlio Vargas government, especially after the creation of the «Carteira de Trabalho»<sup>196</sup> which obliged all workers to have at least one photograph.

### *The press adopts the photography*

It has been in a context between some Pictorial aspects but also with the desire of documenting the world, that the photography began to be part of different press publications at the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In a moment in which the Brazilian press start to feel the effects of being under the control of some big journalist enterprises, press history and photography history starts to have a very close relation. Until the 1920s, was the Illustrated Magazines that had the main technical possibilities of printing images in its editions, as were the cases of: «Revista da Semana», «O Careta», «O Malho» and from 1928, also «O Cruzeiro». At first, the magazines, printed once a week, proposed a mixture of images. Photos and illustrations had approximately the same space in the editions. Was only with the first edition of «O Cruzeiro» that the Brazilian readers saw a major advance in the photographic language. For the first time was seen the building of a documentary narrative with the pictures (BONI, 2000, p. 223). Even if the «Jornal do Brasil»<sup>197</sup> had already started to use and print some photos at its editions in the first decade of the 1900s, Rouillé (2007, p. 126) emphasizes the fact that only the technological development of typography gave the possibility of including photos to in the daily press. As an example, during this period, the Brazilian public did not have immediate access to the huge volume of images produced during World War I (1914-1918). Only the insertion of rotogravure years<sup>198</sup> later helped to end the delay of a few years in the massive publication of images.

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<sup>195</sup> Assis Horta was born in Diamantina (1918), met Chichico Alkmim and was photographed several times by the first photographer of the city. During the 1950s Horta established a new studio in town named Photo Assis. He lived in Belo Horizonte in the moment of his death in 2018. Further information of the life and work of Horta are available in: <https://revistazum.com.br/revista-zum-7/o-clique-unico-de-assis-horta/> Access in: 25/09/2021.

<sup>196</sup> «Employment Card».

<sup>197</sup> In 1903 the newspaper had already the best graphic equipment in the country and also electric light installed in its workshop, expanding the daily circulation. Oswaldo Munteal & Larissa Grandi. *A imprensa na história do Brasil: fotojornalismo no século XX*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. PUC-Rio: Desiderata, 2005, p. 199.

<sup>198</sup> Some works point out the simultaneous insertion of the rotogravure technique in the newspaper «O Estado de S. Paulo» and the magazine «O Cruzeiro» in 1928. Although was invented by Karl Klic in 1860, the technology arrived in Brazil decades later, allowing printing to be made in a faster way, double-sided and with greater

Regarding both the newspapers that this work proposes to analyze. Exactly thirty years passed since the born of «Jornal do Brasil» in 1891 and the publication of the first issue of «Folha de S. Paulo» in 1921, when it was printed under its first title: «Folha da Noite». In an in-depth work dedicated to the Brazilian press, Nelson Werneck Sodré (1966) details the connections in between the political and social changes alongside the country's history and how this has generated consequences to the press. In this sense, in 1889, the born of the Brazilian Republic has been crucial event to the surge of new press titles and new capitalistic relations in the press organization.<sup>199</sup> Was not an immediate transformation in the development of the press, even if at first the Republican newspapers had gained more strength, on the other side, the monarchists ones were more combative. Has been in this context that, «JB» was born as a supporter of the Monarchy, and at the same time with a strong economic base and novelties in the making process (more correspondents) and also in its distribution through wagons (CHAMMAS, 2012, p. 23 and SODRÉ, 1966, p. 294).

The first years were marked by a constant instability, specially politically and ideologically. Trying to be in the balance of its different collaborators that vary from monarchists or republican positions, the newspaper suffered also with pressions from the government. In so, in 1893 assumed a republican position, but as an opposition to Floriano Peixoto; a year later was bought by «Mendes&Cia» - a company that was the ex-owner of the «Diário do Comércio». Returning to circulate on the anniversary of the Republic, on November 15<sup>th</sup>. Has been also in this year that a new printing press based in the new technology of zincography— imported from Italy – gave to the daily paper a bigger circulation – however, «JB», was still far from the main publications in town at that time (SODRÉ, 1966, p. 304).

Still in the 1800s a new element has been inserted. 1898, the first cartoons were published, first in a weekly basis and then daily. During the first decade of the new century, a new head office was built, what had generated also new financial problems and the need of mortgaging the paper. Was then, in 1918<sup>200</sup>, that Ernesto Pereira de Carneiro bought the

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definition. Giving a new range of uses for photography. To further information on this subject we suggest: Telma Campanha de Carvalho Madio. *A fotografia na imprensa diária paulistana nas primeiras décadas do século XX: O Estado de S. Paulo*. História, São Paulo, v. 26, n. 2, 2007, p. 61-91. And Leoní Serpa. *A contribuição de O Cruzeiro para com o jornalismo brasileiro (1928-1945)*. Intercom, V Congresso Nacional de História da Mídia, São Paulo, 2007.

<sup>199</sup> The author also points out the fact that the foundation of the newspaper «A Província de S. Paulo» - later «O Estado de S. Paulo» in 1875, was already a demonstration of pre-industrial press due to fact that the press organ was created thanks to the organization of a group of economic partners in a slow developing São Paulo. (SODRE, 1966, p. 259).

<sup>200</sup> At this point we propose a short digression, the extraordinary social phenomenon that took place in the end of 1918 in Rio de Janeiro, generated a substantial mediatic reaction indicating elements of how part of the Brazilian society represented itself inside the press and the social distinctions present within the society. The Spanish Flu

newspaper and aiming to restore its financial health, transforming it into an advertisement/classifieds paper. Carneiro, was also the owner of other important businesses in the country such as a naval shipyard and the «Cruzeiro do Sul Aviação», and in the year of 1935, also the «Rádio Jornal do Brasil» (CHAMMAS, 2012, p. 24). However, at this point we must return to 1921, when «Folha de S. Paulo» was created; at that time «JB» was an important example of the new press businesses model in Rio de Janeiro, although the most popular paper in town was «Correio da Manhã».

On February 19<sup>th</sup> of 1921 was published the first issue of the «Folha da Noite» the younger sibling of «Folha de S. Paulo». The new paper was funded by a group composed of journalists that used to work for the «O Estado de S. Paulo». At first, the already existing paper would print and distribute the new title in the city of São Paulo<sup>201</sup>; the plan was that in a few weeks the gains with the sale of the issue would be enough to pay its costs (ALMEIDA, 2008, p.28). Once more, the element of the economic organization of the newborn press organ is central. According to Sodré (1966, p. 409), at this moment of the Brazilian history, was not possible anymore that press initiatives could be born as individual enterprises, must surge always as capitalistic companies, even if precarious and unstable. This element opens an interesting debate that emerged in the period; could be a newspaper and the information merchandisable? According to the historiography it was then present inside the paper the attempt to camouflage the «idea of profit», in a logic that still saw and tried to preserve the press as a mission rather than a product (ALMEIDA, 2008, p. 30).

This principle and rhetorical attempt of «Folha da Noite» had contributed to an initial period in which an ideological undefinition of the paper has been seen – was still not clear if would be a closer connection with the oligarchical political power or the nascent working industrial class in the city of São Paulo, especially after a change of posture at the end of the 1920s (CAPELATO, 1981, p. 29).<sup>202</sup> Mauricio Puls (2001) defends that the newspaper was

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epidemic became an event of special interest to better understand the press relations, its attitudes and narratives uses in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. By analyzing the uses of photographs inside that press organ some notions emerged, such as the identification of the poverty and richness's naturalization. That is to say, the naturalization of the historical process, in a context of growing photography importance for the structuration of the news patterns. The production of Ana Maria Mauad (2020) on the subject is a reference. With the proposal of analyze and interpret the epidemic representations inside the illustrated magazine «Revista da Semana» the present author elaborated an article that has worked as a theoretical and methodological exercise, allowing the balancing and regulation on tools and approaches that were being proposed in use. Fernandes, T. (2022). Revista da Semana: 1918, epidemia e representações fotográficas. *América Crítica*, 6(1), 15-35. Available in: <https://ojs.unica.it/index.php/cisap/article/view/5298> Access in: 10/10/2022.

<sup>201</sup> Until 1924, «Folha da Tarde» has been printed by «O Estado de S. Paulo».

<sup>202</sup> Folha's ideological instability was, in that period, represented by its defense of a social reformism through the support of a social agenda connected to the guarantee of basic civil rights such as education, habitation and better

created to be dedicated to the urban working class that, when returning home, would search for the news in a context in which even the radio was not strong enough.<sup>203</sup> In addition, states that a goal of «Folha» in its first years was to monitor and denounce the public administrations, a characteristic that helped to keep an initial distance from the main political parties.

However, a few years later, some changes in the history of the press organ had started. In 1924 the paper has been banned for some months due to critics made to the state governor of São Paulo, Carlos de Campos; in 1925 was created a morning edition, named «Folha da Manhã» and, in the last years of the decade the balance in between the working class and the dominant class was showing itself closer to the elite's interests. Was then that in 1930 when Vargas's political group arrived in power, «Folha» suffered an attack and its head-office was destroyed (ALMEIDA, 2008, p. 32). The newspaper only resumes its circulation in January of the following year after has being sold to a coffee entrepreneur, Octaviano Alves de Lima.<sup>204</sup> The sum of both factors, Vargas in the presidency and an oligarch coffee grower as the new owner gave to both «Folhas» a new positioning.

*«Estado Novo» a whole new dimension to the uses of images*

In 1937, after been in power for seven years, Getúlio Vargas established the «Estado Novo» (1937-1945) in a moment of the Brazilian history in which new social layers became part of the political disputes. A new urban proletarian class started to claim for more space in politics, a cause of that, also the press faced a new challenge in absorbing and interpreting these social requests. After the popularization of the Leica and Ermanox portable cameras, the photographers gained much more agility not only in the production but also printing images. In this way, still in the 1920s, journalism and photojournalism began to complexify the narration and creation of a notion of the reality (GRILLO, 2004). These two main elements combined gave to photo in press a more important role.

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working conditions, nevertheless, this position has showed along the years to be a concern aiming to amid the social tensions than an explicit support to the working class. Capelato (1981, p. 33) indicates how this posture led the newspaper to an ambiguous positioning in respect of the Italian Fascism, that sometimes was presented as an example of social organization and in other occasions was criticized by its authoritarianism and violence. Lacking a conjecture analysis in which the rise of Italian Fascism was interpreted as a reorganization of the dominant classes allied with the small bourgeoisie.

<sup>203</sup> On the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the newspaper a special series of texts and reportages were published by the journal. Mauricio Puls wrote a small contribution dedicated to the first decades of «Folha». Under the title: «Getulistas destroem máquinas da Folha» *Folha de S. Paulo*, São Paulo, fev. 2001. Available in: [https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/80anos/tempos\\_cruciais-01.shtml](https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/80anos/tempos_cruciais-01.shtml) Access in: 05/05/2022.

<sup>204</sup> Mauricio Puls. Op.cit.



Nevertheless, the Vargas regime, made different efforts to control the journalistic production, deepening the DIP<sup>205</sup> and its actions. Another action directly regarded a fundamental material aspect, the paper. The supply of paper to newspapers was subsidized by the federal government, thus, a very effective form of control of information by the government was the strangulation of the periodicals through the supply or not of paper. In general, the photojournalism of the period stood out, on the one hand presenting shocking images, in a movement still very linked to the fascination of irrefutable realism of photography. Images of corpses, accidents and other strong scenes were frequent. On the other hand, photography had not completely detached from illustration and some examples of «photo sculptures», aimed at a memorialist use of the image, help to understand the phenomenon of production and adjustment of images (MUNTEAL, 2005, p. 69).

Hildegard Rosenthal, for example, sought her professional insertion in the São Paulo capital during the «Estado Novo» (1937-1945). In that moment, the news agency «Press Information», gave her first job and put her inside the photojournalistic production of the period. In addition, his images also moved towards the registration of the growth of the city of São Paulo that was becoming a metropolis. In this sense, her photos also met one the desires of Vargas regime, highlighting the national urban modernization, especially due to its emphasis given to the human element in the streets of São Paulo (KOSSOY, 2014b, p. 101). The life and professional trajectory of Rosenthal constitutes an excellent example of technological, social and discursive advances.<sup>206</sup>

The 1940s saw a new milestone in the uses of photographs in the press, as well as in the recognition of the photographer's work. Copyright and credits in the images became more common, giving to the photojournalist a professional appreciation. This fact helped to give greater importance to this press worker, and, at the same time, was responsible of bringing changes to the production process of photojournalistic images. In 1940, the magazine «O Cruzeiro», reformulated all its editorial production and started to use as standard of journalism

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<sup>205</sup> The DIP - Department of Press and Propaganda was created in 1939, its main attributions were to create, organize and coordinate all propaganda of the national government both internally and externally, also organized tourism services, in addition to regulating the censorship of cultural activities and the press. These elements are further developed in José Inácio de Melo Souza. *A ação e o imaginário de uma ditadura. Controle, Coerção e Propaganda Política nos mídias durante o Estado Novo*. Dissertação (Mestrado em Comunicação) – Escola de Comunicação e Artes, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 1990, p. 199-208.

<sup>206</sup> In the same period the work of Thomas Farkas is central to understand the changes in the Brazilian photography. His aesthetic proposal points out to a kind of neo-surrealism, working with Ballet Companies, football matches, landscapes, especially scenes of everyday urban life in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro he also moves into a human photography, being closer to a documentary and journalistic photography. One of his most important work is the documentation of the construction of Brasília.

what was done by other magazines around the world, especially «Life Magazine» (USA). Jean Manzon and David Nasser formed the first duo of Brazilian photojournalism giving a greater importance to the narrative throughout images. By building parallel narratives and establishing new points of contact between the written text and images, the ideological character, and the possible uses of photography in the press were expanded; such movement forced other magazines to adapt to the transformations, such as «Fon-Fon», «Careta» and «Revista da Semana» (MAUAD, 2005b, p. 57).

The 1950s brought a great leap in quality and production for journalism in Brazil. The case of Samuel Wainer's<sup>207</sup> newspaper «Última Hora», which was a daily supporter of the Vargas government is a great example. This newspaper revolutionized the journalistic practice by bringing to the daily editions the photo reportage, which until then only existed in weekly magazines. Such action was one of the bases for a new relationship of the press with its readers once the intention was to make them believe that such newspaper was carrying the truth and the reality itself. For this goal, photograph fulfills a key role as an authenticity certificate, it would be a «registration of the world as it effectively would be» (MUNTEAL, 2005, p. 91).

In general, the popularization of photographs in newspapers between the 1940s and 1960s helped a large part of the Brazilian population to come into contact in a very accelerated way with the real; even if this is a real produced and mediated through a printed publication. «A imprensa se funda sobre a noção de representação do real e mobiliza formas capazes de evidenciar a transparência da imprensa em relação ao real por ela mostrado. Esses recursos mobilizados, ao mesmo tempo que dão a ver o real, declaram “o real é o que eu mostro”» (GRILLO, 2004, p. 63).<sup>208</sup>

It is in this period then that the «lead»<sup>209</sup> gains strength. Consequently, different newspapers went through editorial changes and modernizations. As was the case of «Jornal do Brasil», which from 1957, began to bring photographs on its cover until then dedicated only to classified advertisements. In addition, the newspaper «O Globo», was in 1955, the first to publish on its

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<sup>207</sup> Thiago Fidelis in *Samuel Wainer: entre Diretrizes e Última Hora*. Em tempo de Histórias, (PPGHIS/UnB) No. 33, Brasília, Ago – Dez 2018, p. 275 – 294., details the trajectory of Samuel Wainer, journalist who during the Estado Novo (1937-1945), controlled the magazine *Diretrizes* that opposed the government of Getúlio Vargas. However, in 1949 after interviewing Vargas and the disclosure of his candidacy for the post of president of the Republic in 1950, Wainer founded a new newspaper, «Última Hora», this was then one of the pillars of support and sustenance of the new electoral campaign varguista, as well as, of his new government.

<sup>208</sup> «The press is founded on the notion of representation of the real and mobilizes forms capable of evidencing the transparency of the press in relation to the real it shows. These mobilized resources, at the same time that they show the real, declare “the real is what I show”».

<sup>209</sup> Journalistic text composition technic that puts in evidence at the first paragraph the main information about that subject that is being narrated, usually this format tries to respond to a few simple and objective questions: Who? Where? When? How? Why? It is used as a way of legitimating the search for neutrality and objectivity.

front page a photograph transmitted via radio, a system known as speedphotos. In the 1950s, «O Cruzeiro» witnessed its heyday. Photographer and pictures had the main role in driving the narrative, establishing a sort of preponderance of photography over text. Due to new printing material possibilities the images gained a central role in the narrative movement, as a central narration aspect of the history (MUNTEAL, 2005, p. 94).

The «Jornal do Brasil» during those decades has had in it strong economic and industrial funding the guarantee of the newspaper longevity during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>. According to the publication of the «JB» for the occasion of its 100 years, the first phase of its history, or its first sixty years of existence were called as the «extended origin»<sup>210</sup> (MATHEUS&BARBOSA, 2008, pp. 113,114). After the death of Pereira Carneiro in 1954, a major reform was putted in place, aiming to give once more to «JB» protagonism in the Brazilian press. From 1956 on, Odylo Costa Filho become the editor in chief of the paper, the new editor was one of the funders of «UDN» and was the Press Secretary of Café Filho's government right after Vargas's suicide, an element of his biography that had caused problems during Juscelino Kubitschek's term in the years to come. According to Chammas (2012, p. 24), the choice made by the widow of Pereira Carneiro and his son-in-law, of naming Odylo Costa Filho for the post was a demonstration of the conservativeness of the newspaper and its necessity to be somehow stay politically connected to thenational government. Has been then, during the second half of 1950s that «JB» presented itself as the one of the first papers to adopt the idea and concept of communicating an information with impartiality, in an objective and as a faithful representation of the world. These changes and transformation in the form of construction and expression of the discourse that were ported to the «JB» are a good example of the materialization of a major change in what was the social meaning and function of a press organ in Brazil in between the two centuries and carried along the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Sodré summarizes clearly

A passagem do século, assim, assinala, no Brasil, a transição da pequena à grande imprensa. Os pequenos jornais, de estrutura simples, as folhas tipo gráficas, cedem lugar às empresas jornalísticas, com estrutura específica, dotadas de equipamento gráfico necessário ao exercício de sua função. Se é assim afetado o plano da produção, o da circulação também o é, alterando-se as relações do jornal com o anunciante, com a política, com os leitores. Essa transição começara antes do fim do século,

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<sup>210</sup> Sodré (1966, p. 313) indicates that in 1900 was installed the first photograph and electroplating workshop in the paper and on April's 2<sup>nd</sup> the «JB» debuted its afternoon edition. That reached the print run of fifty thousand issues a day, more than what was printed by «La Prensa» of Buenos Aires, so far, the biggest newspaper in South America.

naturalmente, quando se esboçara, mas fica bem marcada quando se abre a nova centuria. Está naturalmente ligada às transformações do país, em seu conjunto, e, nele, a ascensão burguesa, ao avanço das relações capitalistas: a transformação na imprensa é um dos aspectos desse avanço; o jornal será, daí por diante, empresa capitalista, de maior ou menor porte. O jornal como empreendimento individual, como aventura isolada, desaparece, nas grandes cidades<sup>211</sup>. (SODRÉ, 1966, p. 315).

In the case of the «FSP» during the 1930s and 1940s the newspaper became a defensor of the Paulista's coffee bourgeoisie interests giving more attention to topics related to the agricultural cycle; along the decade the print run went from fifteen thousand copies a day to eighty thousand copies. On this new relation, Paul Singer reflecting on the economic elements that precede the military coup underline the relevance of the coffee production and its structural role in the country's economic balance

A economia brasileira da época ainda era quase colonial, no sentido de depender da exportação de um produto tropical. O café representava, em 1964 e nos anos precedentes, cerca de 70% ou 80% de toda a receita de exportação. Quando o preço do café caía, o Brasil entrava em crise; quando o preço do café subia, havia euforia não apenas no setor cafeeiro, mas, através, da expropriação cambial, também no setor industrial. As divisas proporcionadas pela cafeicultura permitiam importar meios de produção<sup>212</sup> (SINGER, 2014, p. 22).

Has been this maintained relation during those years that has contributed «Folha» as a capitalistic company to (even facing the opposition of Vargas's Estado Novo) consolidated itself as important media group in the state of São Paulo. Nevertheless, before the end of Vargas's Estado Novo in 1945, the newspaper has been sold again. The new owners José

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<sup>211</sup> «The turn of the century thus marks, in Brazil, the transition from the small to the big press. The small newspapers, of simple structure, the graphic type sheets, give way to newspaper companies, with specific structure, endowed with graphic equipment necessary to the exercise of their function. If the production plan is thus affected, the circulation plan is also affected, changing the relations of the newspaper with the advertiser, with politics, with readers. This transition had begun before the end of the century, naturally, when it was being outlined, but it is well marked when the new century opens. It is naturally linked to the transformations of the country as a whole and, within it, the bourgeois ascension, to the advance of capitalist relations: the transformation in the press is one of the aspects of this advance; the newspaper will henceforth be a capitalist enterprise, of greater or lesser size. The newspaper as an individual enterprise, as an isolated venture, disappears in the big cities».

<sup>212</sup> «The Brazilian economy of the time was still almost colonial, in the sense that it depended on the export of a tropical product. In 1964 and the preceding years, coffee accounted for 70% or 80% of all export revenues. When the price of coffee fell, Brazil went into crisis; when the price of coffee rose, there was euphoria not only in the coffee sector, but, through currency expropriation, also in the industrial sector. The foreign exchange generated by coffee production allowed the importation of the means of production».

Nabantino Ramos, Clóvis Queiroga e Alcides Meirelles, gave in this new phase, a developmentalism perspective «o jornal manteve a defesa da livre iniciativa, mas enfatizando a necessidade de adotar políticas sociais».<sup>213</sup> In 1949, a new rotatory Gross printer was installed, in 1953 a new head-quarter was inaugurated, and the positioning of the newspaper reflected then the interests of an expanded national elite (agrarian and industrial) and not only the coffee producers from São Paulo. In brief, assumed a position «desenvolvimentista, favorável à construção da nova capital e ao ingresso do capital estrangeiro, mas contrária ao comunismo e ao populismo (nas figuras de Vargas, Adhemar, Jânio e Jango)».<sup>214</sup> Another major change in this moment of the newspaper history has been the organization of the first internal regiment in which was emphasized the need of a strict separation between information and opinion. «A notícia direta, pouco adjetivada, seria uma característica deixada por Ramos. Na visão do empresário, a falsa profundidade excluía a objetividade que deveria marcar a atividade jornalística»<sup>215</sup> (ALMEIDA, 2008, p. 34).

At this point is possible to see in a clearer form the historical moment in which the trajectory of both newspapers that are under analysis in the present work come together. The 1950s has been the moment in which the major newspapers were consolidated as mediatic companies and started to introduce new technical changes but also in the editorials, and graphic contents. In so, the objectiveness became also part of this new moment of the Brazilian Press, influenced mainly by the USA's newspapers in opposition to the major influence that existed so far, closely related to Europe, especially France (ABREU, 2008, p. 142). In «Folhas's» case, following the new paradigms of the Brazilian press, were created more sections in the paper, dedicated to sports, science, religious topics and especially photos. That had its use related to the composition of daily news and international newscast (ALMEIDA, 2008, p. 36). According to its print run and political influence, «JB» has seen in the 1960s its most prestigious decade. Not in coincidence, this has also been the decade in which «Folha de S. Paulo» passed through changes that gave a major impulse to the newspaper.

### *1960s and 1970s two decades; the golden years and the decadence*

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<sup>213</sup> «the newspaper maintained its defense of free enterprise, but emphasized the need to adopt social policies» Mauricio Puls. Op. cit.

<sup>214</sup> «developmentism, in favor of the construction of the new capital and the entry of foreign capital, but opposed to communism and populism (in the figures of Vargas, Adhemar, Jânio and Jango) » Mauricio Puls. Op.cit.

<sup>215</sup> «The direct news, with few adjectives, would be a characteristic left by Ramos. In the vision of the entrepreneur, the false depth excluded the objectivity that should mark the journalistic activity».

Regarding the historical development and socio-political insertion of both newspapers in the Brazilian society, is important to underscore some elements that concerned both the press organs during the 1960s. Has been during this decade that the country started to see a concrete consolidation of a Cultural Industry inside its society, especially because of Brazil's insertion in monopolist stage of the Capitalism development. And the accumulation process has also been seen among the press organs, at that time, already media conglomerates (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 103).

The first day of the 1960s brought a crucial change in the history of «Folha». From January 1<sup>st</sup> of 1960 there was only «Folha de S. Paulo». The morning, afternoon and night titles became three different editions of the same newspaper issue of the day. Although, took some more years to a new transformation and the triggering of a new growing phase to the paper that, in the beginning of the decade, had its circulation still limited to the São Paulo city area. In 1962, a new group of investors bought the title. Octávio Frias de Oliveira e Carlos Caldeira Filho two important names of São Paulo business elite became the new owners. According to Almeida (2008, p. 38) both were already partners in the construction of São Paulo's bus terminal in 1960; this fact showed to be crucial to the expansion strategy of the new administration, alongside the acquisition of an own fleet of vehicles to make the newspaper distribution. «Folha's» editions were daily delivered to the buses drivers that leave the city's terminal every morning heading to the state of São Paulo interior, what allowed the arrival of the newspaper to different and new readers. To this, is added, at this time, further steps of a process that concentrated other newspapers or press companies that were in financial difficulties, such as «Última Hora»; «Notícias Populares».<sup>216</sup>

The changes that occurred in the first years of the 1960s, reinforces the presence of business and economic elements that Sodré (1966) has underline its existence already in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and that was responsible for the genesis of a press fully connected and dependent of huge corporative groups. Once more is needed to recall the attention to the fact that the development of a capitalistic and corporative press is the consequence and effect of the deepening of the capitalistic relations in the country. If Brazil started the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a dependent capitalistic nation, during the years between 1930-1964 was seen a Statal effort to the develop a national industry and capital; in brief, the State has been taken to create the social conditions to the development not only the needed infrastructure, but also a national production

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<sup>216</sup> According to Gisela Taschner (1992, p. 145) in no more than three years the new «FSP» owners had at its disposal two printing plants and three newspapers.

in diverse sectors aiming to replace most of what was imported. (IANNI. 2014, p. 168). This movement has been responsible for the consolidation of an industrial bourgeoisie that started to divide the political influence and power with the agrarian one. The economic and political influence substitution has been demonstrated in the work of Campos (2018, p.08), dedicated to the understating of the relation between the construction contractors' companies and the press (according to the author this relation has been intensified at JK's term due to the construction of Brasília). Nevertheless, alongside the years that precede the military coup of 1964 and also during the military dictatorship the general practice in the country showed to be the replacement of an economic-political influence of the coffee oligarchs in the funding of the press to the influence of the large building contractors.

However, even with major changes and a fast growing in the years that precede the military coup, the narrative created by the own «FSP» when celebrating its 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary explores the still existing side of a small and regional newspaper. In one of the texts dedicated to the Special «Tempos Cruciais»<sup>217</sup>, the one that targeted the relations between the paper and the military government, Mario Magalhães in defending the positioning of «FSP» in favor of Goulart's depositions states: «A Folha era ainda um diário pequeno [...] A preocupação essencial dos seus donos, Octavio Frias de Oliveira e Carlos Caldeira Filho, era com a saúde financeira do jornal que haviam comprado em 1962».<sup>218</sup> According to the same author, was in the year before the military coup that the new administration of the paper saw major advances, selling more than sixty million copies and achieving economic stability.

Although, curiously, after the military coup an ideological preoccupation emerged, and was also signposted in the narrative created by the «FSP» eighty years later. The same narrative movement that stated the fact that in the beginning of the 1960s there was not an ideological definition inside the newspaper editorial. The «paulista» newspaper has become extremely dedicated to the agenda of the democracy return. Reinforcing, almost contradictorily, the need for respect to the Constitution and the realization of new elections in 1965 organized and guaranteed by the National Congress and the Armed Forces; the two institutions that together have removed João Goulart from the Presidency. Without coincidence, the «JB» adopted the same posture in the immediately post-coup demanding for new elections and trusting in the

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<sup>217</sup> «Cruciais times».

<sup>218</sup> « Folha was still a small daily [...] The essential concern of its owners, Octavio Frias de Oliveira and Carlos Caldeira Filho, was with the financial health of the newspaper they had bought in 1962». The text compose a special series of texts and reflections organized by the newspapers about its history as part of the 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the daily. The text entitled: «Militares ameaçam suspender circulação» signed by Mario Magalhães it is available in: [https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/80anos/tempos\\_cruciais-02.shtml](https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/80anos/tempos_cruciais-02.shtml) Access in: 23/06/2022.

respect of the Constitution. In so, the two newspapers, «JB» a nationwide publication that in the 1960s was at its peak of influence; and the «FSP» a fast-growing important newspaper from the main industrial city of the country shared not only its businesses characteristics, but similar ideas when the country was entering in a phase of democracy suspension. As will be exposed further on, the social and economic restriction that followed the arrival of the militaries in power has been related not only to political interests but was strongly connected to economical and material determinations.

The new power pact generated by the military coup in 1964 has also reorganized some social alliances between the militaries, the bourgeoisie and a growing medium class as the present work is trying to demonstrate along the different approaches do the historical period. Taschner (1992, p. 105) demonstrates how during the 1960s, after a first recessive period between 1962-67, from 1968 on the country's industrialization has retaken breath and the Cultural Industry has undergone a moment of sustained growth under an authoritarian regime that stimulated a State Monopolist Capitalism and had in the censorship the clearest aspect of the regime's «political culture» (COUTINHO, 2011, p. 62). This stage of the capitalism has also been the moment in which those who intended to have a newspaper were demanded a high level of investment and deepened the complexity of the news production in both senses, in the capital need (fix and movable), and technically (SODRÉ, 1966, p. 451).

In this sense, the country saw the growth of two main elements to the consolidation of a newspaper and a media conglomerate. The first one, has been a bigger number of readers in the society, even if not as expected by the militaries, the illiteracy index has been reduced during the first decade of the military regime due to a bigger access to the basic education. Besides that, the newspapers were each day more dependable on the publicity to maintain its finances in order; in this logic the State has strategically been the greatest announcer in most of the country's main newspaper.

O Estado foi fundamental, como vimos, para o desenvolvimento dessa indústria, mesmo que não estivesse voltado apenas ou primordialmente para ela, inúmeras medidas que dele dependeram e das quais foi beneficiária. Gastou pesadamente em publicidade, gerando diretamente receitas para as agências e os mídia. Investiu em telecomunicações, ampliando a infraestrutura e propiciando novas possibilidades de desenvolvimento à indústria eletrônica e à televisão. Cuidou da área de educação, o que de alguma maneira beneficiou editoras e o mercado da indústria cultural como um todo, inclusive o de leitores. Forneceu



subsídios para a renovação e ampliação de equipamentos das empresas <sup>219</sup>(TASCHNER, 1992, 115).

Sodré (1966, p. 462) underscores that at the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were three the main forms a newspaper had to obtain economic resources: 1) the asking for funding to particular individuals, loans in public and stataal banks, or publicity. In addition to these elements, the author also highlights that the media conglomerates were defending not their interests exactly, but those connected to the monopolist capital block (during the military dictatorship this group also included the State) that throughout the Publicity Agencies were capable of pressing the newspapers to publish according to their interests, in that period, international companies interest that arrived through this path to the Brazilian public.<sup>220</sup>

Nevertheless, the authoritarianism, repression and censorship were at the same time in action, especially since the «AI-2». Alongside the years the restrictions to the press liberty were growing on each day and after the «AI-5» the presence of a censor in the newsrooms and previous censorship became common, creating a scenario in which many times the press organs had to choose between more editorial political liberty and autonomy, or more economic development financed by the State publicity. A relation that boosted the self-censorship. That being said and having in consideration the different economic and political interests indicated so far in the present analysis, Sodré (1966, p. 468) organizes a fundamental synthesis of the relation between the bourgeoisie press and the concept of «press liberty» and «censorship» in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this case a long citation it is worth it because from the «AI-5» on, the self-censorship was expanded to the political elements of the country's daily life.

O esforço das campanhas pela “liberdade de imprensa” que, periodicamente, surgem, e não apenas nos jornais e revistas — uma curiosidade: aparecem numerosas organizações e forças estranhas à imprensa nessas campanhas — visa sempre, e tão somente, a exclusão do poder governamental, a interferência do poder público. O obstáculo à liberdade de imprensa é nessas campanhas, o Estado, particularmente através da censura. Trata-se, evidentemente, de concepção liberal, peculiar à fase ascensional da burguesia. Em tal fase, as limitações à imprensa só podiam partir dos detentores do poder; o capitalismo de

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<sup>219</sup> «The State was fundamental, as we have seen, for the development of this industry, even if it was not aimed solely or primarily at it, numerous measures that depended on it and of which it was a beneficiary. It spent heavily on advertising, generating direct revenue for agencies and the media. It invested in telecommunications, expanding the infrastructure and providing new development possibilities for the electronic industry and television. It took care of the area of education, which somehow benefited publishers and the cultural industry market as a whole, including readers. It provided subsidies for the renovation and expansion of equipment for companies».

<sup>220</sup> Nelson Werneck Sodré (1966, p. 465) presents details of the company's names and publicity investment size that this international groups made in the Brazilian market during the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s.

concorrência estava interessado em que a imprensa fôsse livre, não se visse limitada pela violência ou pela censura da autoridade pública, mas nisso esgotava o seu conceito de liberdade de imprensa. Tudo mudou, entretanto, com o capitalismo monopolista, com o imperialismo: a luta contra a censura e tôdas as formas de cerceamento impostas pela autoridade passou a ser aspecto parcial da luta pela liberdade de imprensa e, algumas vezes, aspecto menor. A transformação da imprensa em negócio de grandes proporções, em emprêsa, e, paralelamente, o desenvolvimento, complexidade e encarecimento de suas técnicas, demandando grandes investimentos e acompanhando o desenvolvimento qualitativo e quantitativo do público, mostra como a proteção contra a censura perdeu o interesse antigo, embora não tenha êste desaparecido; as grandes empresas jornalísticas, no essencial, se auto-censuram. Isso conduz à transformação dialética, finalmente: de instrumento de esclarecimento, a imprensa capitalista se transformou em instrumento de alienação, fugindo inteiramente aos seus fins originários <sup>221</sup>

In these senses, the «FSP» growth case is very emblematic. In respect to the economic and physical growth of «Grupo Folha», the 1960s were crucial. According to Taschner (1994, p. 125) already in the early 1960s bigger profits were registered and an increase in the net assets of the conglomerate were seen. In October of 1964 the «Companhia Litographica Ypiranga», a graphic plant, was bought by the «FSP» group and in the following year the concentration process continued with the acquisition of other two newspapers the São Paulo's version of the «Última Hora» and the «Notícias Populares»<sup>222</sup>. Both new acquisitions had undergone a similar financial process, a start with some economic losses and a quick recovery in the following years, to Taschner (1992, p. 139) this has been possible also because an accounting

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<sup>221</sup> «The effort of the campaigns for "press freedom" that periodically arise, and not only in newspapers and magazines - but a curiosity also: numerous organizations and forces external to the press appear in these campaigns - always and only aims at the exclusion of governmental power, the interference of public power. The obstacle to freedom of the press in these campaigns is the State, particularly through censorship. It is, evidently, a liberal conception, peculiar to the ascendant phase of the bourgeoisie. In such phase, limitations to the press could only come from those in power; the competition capitalism was interested in the press being free, not being limited by violence or censorship of the public authority, but it exhausted in that its concept of freedom of the press. Everything changed, however, with monopolist capitalism, with imperialism: the fight against censorship and all forms of curtailment imposed by the authority became a partial aspect of the fight for freedom of the press and, sometimes, a minor aspect. The transformation of the press into a business of great proportions, into a company and, at the same time, the development, complexity and improvement of its techniques, demanding large investments and accompanying the qualitative and quantitative development of the public, shows how the protection against censorship has lost its former interest, although it has not disappeared; the big newspaper companies, in essence, censor themselves. This leads finally to a dialectical transformation: from an instrument of enlightenment, the capitalist press has been transformed into an instrument of alienation, entirely departing from its original purposes».

<sup>222</sup> The «NP» was born as an ultra-conservative newspaper with the goal of promoting the military coup ideology in the beginning of the decade, after the consolidation of the militaries in power the newspaper lost its *raison d'être* and get into a financial crisis, being transformed into a popular and sensationalist newspaper. When the «Grupo Folha» bought it, was done with the intention of keeping under the conglomerate control this specific share of the press market.

manipulation was made in between all the companies inside the group. In brief, in a few years, the new owners of the «FSP» could organize a block of capital that reunited three newspapers and two graphic plants<sup>223</sup>, consolidating a new scale in what signified being the proprietary and producers of a newspaper in Brazil. (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 146). In addition to this, in September of 1968 the «Grupo Folha» has also assumed the control of the «Fundação Cásper Libero» a São Paulo's press organ from the beginning of the 1900s, responsible for two different newspapers in town, that were facing economic and administrative difficulties. The result of the great control over the «paulista» press was an official protest of the Journalist's Union indicating the problems related to the work conditions with such concentration tax.<sup>224</sup>

Is possible to say that in the second half of the 1960s the «Grupo Folha» was consolidated as a media conglomerate and could organize the news production considering what were the pragmatic need and economic demands of the group as well as the diversification to attend several market shares. One of the main changes in the decade has been the change to the offset printing system in 1967. This new technology not only added more quality to the editions, but also transformed some work relations due to the fact the old linotypes required a more specialized workforce, that in its turn was much more organized and a point of the production that the newspaper's owners had less control. In so, the new offset<sup>225</sup> was much simpler to operate, allowing the «FSP» to dismiss all the graphic linotypes operators and hire a new group of workers that would be trained by the newspapers itself with lower salaries and with an easier replacement, ensuring the control of the employees by the leading group of the newspaper (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 171).

Another element that must be underscored to understand the press coverage, specially the «FSP» one in the last years of the 1960s, has been the fact that also in 1967 was created the «Agência Folha» a News Agency of the group, that should be responsible to rationalize the news production cost of the media conglomerate, exactly because at that time, with the concertation of several newspapers the organizing of an Agency would allow the reduction of the employees and the maximization of the profits. Once more the Journalists Union protested

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<sup>223</sup> Folha da Manhã, Cia Paulista (Última Hora), Notícias Populares; Impres and Lithographica Ypiranga.

<sup>224</sup> Sodré (1966, p. 474) points out that how the big increase in the paper price between 1943 and 1963 of almost 3000% has been one of the major reasons to the concentration of press organs in conglomerates, once that became an enterprise even more costly to produce a newspaper. In 1963, were presented two projects that aimed to end with the paper monopoly production in Brazil, the first one previewed fiscal incentive to new paper producers and the second one, proposed a page limit to the newspapers, none of them was approved.

<sup>225</sup> Is important to underscore the fact that, according to Mota and Capelato (1981, p. 201) the total cost of this first new set of printers bought by the «FSP» was entirely paid using a loan made through the «Banco de Investimento Fiducial do Comércio e da Indústria» and has been paid in sixty months.

the operational centralization and asked for a Parliamentary Investigation of it. A small extract of a story published in the «Jornal da Tarde» illustrates this maximization process «No grupo *Folha, Notícias Populares e Última Hora* tem sido comum o uso, pelos três jornais, de notícias ou fotografias de um só profissional<sup>226</sup>». (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 163). Besides that, the referred centralization has showed to be useful also to organize and keep on a low profile the selfcensorship inside the conglomerate «Assim, a maior parte dos jornalistas não chegava nem mesmo a tomar conhecimento de certos assuntos, pois as notícias eram cortadas antes de chegarem às redações»<sup>227</sup>. Sodré (1966, p. 477) indicates how the existence of International News Agencies, such as «Associated Press» and «United Press International» were in the Brazilian context of the 1960s a form of control of the national press, as well as the result of the monopolist capitalist development in the period that had this as a global example of the concentration process that the «Grupo Folha» was undergoing.

A final aspect regarding the «FSP» in the period that must be highlighted is how this economic consolidation indicated so far had reflexes in the political positioning of the newspaper. Inside the conglomerate, the «FSP» had as characteristic a highly politicized aspect, at the same time in the second half of the decade there were still economic debts with the government. According to Taschner resulting in a double change of attitude in those years

Do ponto de vista da orientação política, apoiou o Golpe de 1964, como quase toda a grande imprensa. Deu cobertura às manifestações estudantis de 1968, apoiando-as discretamente enquanto não surgiu a luta armada. Seus editoriais, no entanto, eram extremamente “inócuos e anódinos” e foram suspensos com a escalada da censura. O jornal fez autocensura, mantendo-se em *low profile* durante todo o período do “milagre” [econômico]. Vimos também que, em função de suas dívidas, a empresa estava atrelada ao governo nesse período<sup>228</sup> (1992, p. 186).

The scenario will start to change at the second half of the 1970s when the «FSP» saw the opportunity to a reorientation of its editorial line in a moment of incertitude of the regime.

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<sup>226</sup> «In the *Folha, Notícias Populares* and *Última Hora* groups it has been common for the three newspapers to use news or photographs by a single professional».

<sup>227</sup> «Thus, most journalists did not even get to know about certain subjects, because the news was cut before it reached the newsroom» (TASCHNER, 1994, p. 162).

<sup>228</sup> «From the point of view of political orientation, it supported the coup of 1964, like almost all the major press. It gave coverage to the student demonstrations of 1968, supporting them discreetly as long as the armed struggle did not break out. Its editorials, however, were extremely "innocuous and anodyne" and were suspended with the escalation of censorship. The newspaper did self-censorship, keeping a low profile throughout the period of the [economic] "miracle". We have also seen that, due to its debts, the company was tied to the government in this period».

In the same period the «Jornal do Brasil» had undergone a major editorial reform that had started in the late 1950s (SODRÉ, 1966, p. 453) and that in the early 1960s had as the main symbol the arrival of Alberto Dines<sup>229</sup> as the chief-editor in 1961. More than a supporter of the military intervention in 1964, the newspaper showed to be a great endorser of the General Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco<sup>230</sup>, the first military «president»; especially in the economic field. In the political aspects, even if the newspaper demonstrated some reservations to political cassations that were made, the press organ had supported the 1967's new Constitution as well as the extension of Castelo Branco's term until 1967 instead of new elections in 1965 that has been announced in the moment of the coup and used as justification by the «JB» to endorse the militaries in power as needed to restore the order. In so the Rio's newspaper presented a clear position against General Costa e Silva's «candidature» to the presidency, to the «JB» the general was not skillful enough to deal with the different military's sector and do not allow a stricter regime. Has been in this key of interpretation and positioning that the newspaper, especially after the «AI-5» centered its critics against Costa e Silva's term, but without criticizing the military regime and now, open dictatorship<sup>231</sup>. As a liberal press organ representant, «JB's» posture in respect to the economic developmentism project has showed to be of support, especially the financial policy proposed by the Minister of Finance, Antônio Delfim Netto.

Finally, even if the «JB» was until that day one of the main supporters of the military regime, the newspaper preserved some space to critics, especially in the opinion's columns. This, fact in its turn created an immediate problem to the press organ after the promulgation of

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<sup>229</sup> Born in Rio de Janeiro in 1932 Alberto Dines has been one of the most important journalists of Brazil's history, he has worked in more than ten different press organs, was a teacher at the Pontificia Universidade Católica, Unicamp and at the Columbia University. In 1993 won the litteraty Jabuti award and is the author of fifteen books. After the AI-5 on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of December 1968, he was arrested and prosecuted. Worked in the «JB» between the years of 1962 and 1973, returning to it in 1998. In the last decades of his life Dines dedicated himself to the online portal «Observatório da Imprensa» dedicated to a daily analysis of the press. For further information about Alberto Dines we suggest <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/dines-alberto> and <https://www.observatoriodaimprensa.com.br/observatorio-da-imprensa-na-tv/a-morte-de-alberto-dines-foi-overdose/>

<sup>230</sup> Still during Castelo Branco's term, the «JB» took part on a national dispute between newspapers. Due to the existing prohibition of international direct financing of press organs in Brazil, a quarrel as created around the «Organizações Globo». In 1965, the owners of the «O Globo» newspaper in Rio de Janeiro had connections with the north-american Time-Life Group which made important investments in the «carioca» conglomerate. Besides that also the «Grupo Folha» was involved in it, being accused of also receiving international investments. In so, during 1965 and 1966 a «Parliamentary Inquiry Commission» was installed to investigate these cases, meanwhile a narrative dispute around the subject was placed in the editorial space of the main national newspapers, especially «JB», «O Globo», «Correio da Manhã» and «Folha de S. Paulo». (SODRÉ, 1966, p. 509).

<sup>231</sup> Marieta de Moraes Ferreira and Sérgio Montalvão, *Jornal do Brasil*, «Verbete dicionário político CPDOC-FGV». Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-tematico/jornal-do-brasil> Access in: 14/06/2022.

the «AI-5». In the same night of it, censors were already present in «JB's» newsroom and this fact unfolded into one of the most famous first pages of the dictatorship<sup>232</sup>. The «JB's» edition of 14/12/1968 became famous and a symbol of the «press resistance» to the military's authoritarianism; these elements will be detailed in the following pages. Although, is mandatory to underscore that this edition of the newspaper has been retaken by the press organ itself years after as one of the main demonstrations of this democratic will of «JB». (CHAMMAS, 2012, p. 26).

This period of Brazilian photography also puts us before some photographers who are still working and producing new images. Evandro Teixeira is one example of it. Born in 1935 in Irajuba, a small town in the interior of Bahia, he photographed the country especially in the second half of the twentieth century. In 1958, started his career as a photographer at the small Salvador newspaper «O Diário de Notícias»; after moving to Rio de Janeiro, worked at «Jornal do Brasil» (1963) during forty-seven of his almost seventy years of activity. He is known for registering the military coup in 1964 from inside the «Forte de Copacabana», as well as several other fundamental events in Brazil's recent history. Outside the country has covered the coup that removed Salvador Allende from the presidency in Chile and different editions of the Olympic Games and World Cup. He is a photographer absolutely connected to the daily press; however, his work also moves away from the themes of the daily life<sup>233</sup>. The Evandro's project dedicated the community of Canudos<sup>234</sup> is an evidence of this other branch of his work. Is interesting to highlight some opinions regarding Evandro Teixeira's career. In first place, Paulo Herkenhoff, curator, and director of the «Museu de Arte do Rio – MAR» stated that: «Teixeira creates original images that indicate his ability to analyze the moment of the shot, the look that justifies and creates another moment of the events still in progress».<sup>235</sup> In this same sense, the

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<sup>232</sup> F. Altman, *13 de dezembro, 1968 – O dia do AI-5*, cit. Online.

<sup>233</sup> Paulo Boni's work *A fotografia a serviço da luta contra a ditadura militar no Brasil. Entrevista Evandro Teixeira*. *Discursos fotográficos*, Londrina, v.8, n.12, jan./jun. 2012 p.217-252, presents an important contribution to the understanding of Teixeira's career and trajectory inside the Brazilian photojournalist and the changing aspects of the press.

<sup>234</sup> The Community of Canudos was created by the religious leader Antonio Conselheiro in the interior of the state of Bahia in the decade of 1890. At that time Brazil was beginning to organize the newborn republic and the event of a community outside the rule of the State was not accepted by the government, unfolding a war in the years of 1896 and 1897. Euclides da Cunha sent as reporter of «O Estado de S. Paulo» describes the community, the scenario and the war in the famous book «Os Sertões». Recently the work of Lidiane Santos de Lima Pinheiro. *A construção do acontecimento histórico: O discurso do Jornal O Estado de S. Paulo sobre a Guerra de Canudos e sobre as comemorações do seu centenário*. Tese (doutorado) - Universidade Federal da Bahia, Faculdade de Comunicação, Salvador, 2012 is dedicated to the analysis of the journalistic discourse related to the War of Canudos as a way of building the historical fact.

<sup>235</sup> Available at: <http://museudeartedorio.org.br/programacao/evandro-teixeira-a-constituicao-do-mundo/> Access on: 27/05/2021.

photograph coordinator of the «Instituto Moreira Salles» declared in an interview that «He is not a photojournalist of only emblematic images, but one who proposes narrative constructions. He understood his political moment».<sup>236</sup>

Another photographer work that must be highlighted is that of Flávio Damm, the Brazilian photojournalist worked at «Revista do Globo», «O Cruzeiro» and was also the creator of «Agência Jornalística Image Ltda». In his trajectory as photographer, in 1948 when he was only nineteen years old, one of his most famous series was taken at Getúlio Vargas' farm after his deposition and later published in «Revista do Globo» giving him major recognition, as also showing how some political discursive choices were made. These two examples help on emphasizing the importance that the photojournalist obtained throughout the decades: being a mediator between the History process and the narrative production (MAUAD, 2005). From the 1960s onwards, with the surge of new technologies (especially in typography) the Brazilian press experienced a new phase in its mass media, with the appearance of new publications such as, «Revista Realidade» (1966), «Veja» (1968), «Jornal da Tarde» (1966). In this period, must be highlighted the already mentioned editorial reformulation that «Jornal do Brasil» went through under the command of Alberto Dines, he was responsible for the unprecedented creation of a photography department within the newspaper.

After the 1964 Civil-Military Coup and the consolidation of the military in power; the bourgeois liberal mass press that at the beginning, and in most cases, supported the coup and the regime, start to feel the effects of the authoritarianism. That led some newspapers to change its posture and narrative of the regime actions, putting the press itself as in a position of heroic resistance (NAPOLITANO, 2017, p. 349). This new attitude gave space to other forms of resistance to the oppressive actions of the regime that were intended to affect the press; one of these alternatives was the use of pictures to express, or at least expose, what the censorship to the texts did not allow (CHAMMAS, 2012). One of the aspects that will be analyzed in the following chapter is the role and the weight of the photojournalistic discourse, as well as the work of photographers in the construction of this narrative of resistance by the represents of the bourgeois-liberal press.

In the 1970s, also in Brazil the printed press began to have the stronger competition of the television. The introduction of colors in television broadcasts had changed the form of relationship of the public (now telespectator) with the information and the production of

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<sup>236</sup> Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2020/07/foto-de-evandro-teixeira-na-sexta-feira-sangrenta-virou-simbolo-da-repressao-militar.shtml> Access on: 27/05/2021.

meaning. But, as we pointed out, with the tightening of repression and censorship, especially after «AI-5», the photojournalism regained breath and importance in printed publications. The narrative featuring images was able to expose and tell certain facts in a way that the written text could not. The photo reporters were, during the 1970s, a discursive vent for the large press vehicles that began to suffer with censorship (ALVES, 2017, p. 50). Was in this decade that «Veja» magazine was consolidated on the national scene, but on the other hand, the magazines «O Cruzeiro» and «Realidade» saw their last years. «Folha de S. Paulo» instead, under the leadership of Claudio Abramo, went through an important editorial reform, giving to the publication national relevance. The Rio de Janeiro publication, «O Globo», was a pioneer in the adoption of new technologies such as the electronic flash and Unifax machines that received photographs via radio or telephone from anywhere in the world (MUNTEAL, 2005, p. 137).

Is necessary to point out the proximity of «Organizações Globo» with the high ranks of the military regime and the influence that this fact had on the growth of the relevance of the media group in Brazil throughout the authoritarian regime. Napolitano (2017), by comparing the editorial positions of different Brazilian daily newspapers, demonstrates the declared governmentalism adopted by «O Globo» before the overthrow of João Goulart in 1964 and throughout the military government. Two other technical assets introduced during the 1970s are central to understand the protagonism of «O Globo» and «Folha de S. Paulo» in Brazilian society. They also help to understand the difficulties in preserving certain archives, especially the pictures from the 1940s-1960s:

Em 1979, *O Globo* publicou a primeira telephoto a cores transmitida no Brasil. A imagem era de um jogo no Recife em que o Santa Cruz empatou em 0 a 0 com o Flamengo [...] A *Folha* abandonava a composição a chumbo e passava a adotar o sistema eletrônico de fotocomposição, pioneiro no país, começando a trabalhar com a rotativa mais avançada da época e a segunda maior do mundo. No início de 1974, todo o jornal passou a ser feito em máquinas de fotocomposição (MUNTEAL, 2005, p. 141)<sup>237</sup>.

In parallel to the mainstream press, was seen in Brazil during this period, a double movement. On one hand, new photo agencies emerged, placing themselves as an independent alternative to some photographers (ALVES, 2017, p. 58). In addition, we must also highlight

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<sup>237</sup> «In 1979, «O Globo» published the first color telephoto broadcast in Brazil. The image of a match in Recife in which Santa Cruz drew 0-0 with Flamengo. «Folha» abandoned the lead composition and started to adopt the electronic photocomposition system, pioneer in the country, starting to work with the most advanced rotary of the time and the second largest in the world. In early 1974, all the newspaper began to be made on photocomposition machines».



the importance of alternative publications. An alternative newspaper of great prominence was «O Pasquim»<sup>238</sup> existing between 1969 and 1991 being the only periodical of the so-called alternative press to get through the different moments of censorship during the military regime. Created on 26 June 1969, after «AI-5», brought together different journalists and cartoonists in a set of analysis and satirical readings of the regime (BUZALAF, 2009).

If during most part of the 1960s the justificative for the «FSP» support to the military's coup and the strengthening of the regime has been the fact that the newspaper was still a regional daily and did not have a financial stability, by the end of the decade the things had changed, at least economically. The newspaper was benefited by the increasing investments in Advertising between 1968 and 1974 (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 109), especially the one made by the Government, as well as the possibility of having credit that had allowed a technological advance; in so the «FSP» profits were constantly growing indicating an unprecedented moment of stability that had permitted a long term planification inside the company.<sup>239</sup> In addition to this and because of it, changes were made in the working process by the newspaper's owners

A partir da recuperação financeira, far-se-á o salto tecnológico, que em larga medida emancipará o jornal das crises sucessivas com a esfera do trabalho. O sistema *offset* (só introduzido, contemporaneamente, pelo Correio Brasiliense, de Brasília) acabaria com a subordinação da empresa à força inequívoca dos gráficos. A 15 de janeiro de 1974, a “Folha” desativa em definitivo a composição a quente, diminuía, concentrava e racionalizava a mão-de-obra especializada, emancipando-se de toda uma tradição de reivindicação política e salarial dos gráficos...<sup>240</sup> (MOTA & CAPELATO, 1980 p. 207)

Taschner (1992, p. 171) points out how this element has been central in the construction of a more efficient control in the news production process, each day more and more connected to an idea of production rationalization and total control of board of directors in the process.

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<sup>238</sup> The newspaper published over 22 years, 1072 editions - between, 1969 and 1975, suffered direct censorship by the Brazilian civil-military regime. Bruno Brasil (2012), highlights cultural, textual and rhetorical elements of the publication that strongly marked its territorialization in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>239</sup> Taschner (1992, p. 181) exposes in detail the profit rate growth data of all the newspapers and graphics that composed the «Grupo Folha» in the beginning of the 1970s.

<sup>240</sup> «After the financial recovery, the technological leap would be made, which would largely emancipate the newspaper from the successive crises with the labour sphere. The offset system (only introduced at the same time by the Correio Brasiliense in Brasilia) would end the subordination of the company to the unequivocal power of the printers. On January 15th, 1974, Folha definitively deactivated the hot-set composition, reducing, concentrating, and rationalizing the specialized workforce, emancipating itself from a whole tradition of political and wage re-vindication of the graphic designers...».

Although these transformations, during Médici's term (1969-1974), the «FSP» went through a long period of acriticality, without the publication of an Editorial nor columnists proposing a strong Politics debate being made in its pages.<sup>241</sup> To Mota & Capelato (1980, 2017) that was result of the self-censorship process that the newspaper was undergoing even if the economical aspect that was once used as justificative was in that moment solved with the consolidation of a stronger and bigger capital block (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 146), our interpretation to this attitude during these years is that the newspaper direction was still trying to understand what would be the possibilities and the atmosphere in the public sphere in the direction to a new editorial conduct regarding the national politics without putting in risk the financial gains that the company had achieved in the precedent years, at that same time that did not insufflate a too critical opposition to the regime.

In so, has been the certainty of the start of a less authoritarian period, that in the beginning of 1974 has been initialized an editorial re-orientation process in the «FSP»<sup>242</sup>. In so, a Publishing Reform was made (TASCHNER, 1992, p.186), Claudio Abramo has been the Editor-in-Chief responsible for the return of the Editorials to the pages of the newspaper, as well as the creation of the sections «Brasília», «Rio de Janeiro», «São Paulo». Alberto Dines was the responsible for the section «Jornal dos Jornais»<sup>243</sup> in which a journalist critical analysis was proposed every Sunday. In June of 1976 the debate section «Tendências e Debates»<sup>244</sup> was created, in its different opinions and points of view were published side by side. With these changes, the first two pages of the newspaper consolidated a new editorial attitude, with a much broader space for opinions and the participation of the Civil Society (MATOS, 2008, p.61).

In this new logic, in the 1974 the «FSP» decided not to use anymore the word «Revolution» to designate the militaries action in 1964, although the word chosen has been «Movement»; no mention to a «Coup» was in place during that period, nevertheless a distancing position in respect to the regime started to be expressed in the editorials. From 1974 until 1977 the «FSP» had undergone a process of «critical fermentation» which did not occur smoothly, diverse were the cases of requests of explanations made by the militaries or journalists' prisons (MOTA & CAPELATO, 1980, p. 221 and 233).

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<sup>241</sup> This information is present in the text «Militares ameaçam suspender circulação - Military threatens to suspend circulation» signed by Mário Magalhães that was inside the special brochure that the «FSP» had published in the occasion of its 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary in 2001.

Available in: [https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/80anos/tempos\\_cruciais-02.shtml](https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/80anos/tempos_cruciais-02.shtml) Access in: 14/09/2022.

<sup>242</sup> According to Magalhães (2001) was after a meeting with the General Golbery de Couto e Silva that Octávio Frias alongside the heads of the Editorial Staff (Cláudio Abramo, Boris Casoy and Ruy Lopes) that the board decided to explore in its most the political opening possibilities.

<sup>243</sup> «Newspapers' Newspaper».

<sup>244</sup> «Tendencies and Debates».

The most complex and problematic case has been the «Diaféria episode» on September 15<sup>th</sup> of 1977, the chronist Lourenço Diaféria, according to the National Security Law, has been arrested by the militaries because of a column he has written with strong critics to the militaries, specially to «Duque de Caxias» a historical figure of the Brazilian Army. The unsatisfaction military's accumulation reached a peak, to make things worse, in the following day, the «FSP» published a blank column in the space where should be printed Diaféria's text. This has triggered the military's rage that in the figure of the General Hugo Abreu, called the «FSP» owner Octávio Frias threatening the suspension of the newspaper for one month.<sup>245</sup> The consequences of the episode were the removal of Cláudio Abramo from the Editor-in-Chief position, replaced by Boris Casoy, the cancelling of Alberto Dines column, the official distancing of Octávio Frias from the newspaper presidency and the suspension of the editorials. This situation lasts for at least one year. In 1978, the Editorial board published an important document in which the «FSP» assumed a capitalistic position in that moment of the Brazilian history after presenting a quick historical panorama and restored a critical position towards the regime, putting itself as the expression of the new opposition civil society that was rising after the exhaustion of the so-called modernization nation project that the Military's proposed to the country after 1964, in so to the «FSP» the military's regime has become obsolete because it was not attending the middle class interests.

É o que o ocorre hoje.

2. – Pontos indicativos – A partir dessas rápidas considerações históricas, propomos os seguintes pontos como formalização da tendência editorial da “Folha”.

(1) Melhor condições de vida – saúde, educação, trabalho, alimentação e habitação – para a maioria da população, a partir de:

(2) organização de um regime democrático, que assegure a estrita observação dos direitos do homem e do cidadão e que atenda aos interesses da maioria da população, por meio da participação política de todos os setores da sociedade e de todas as tendências de opinião;

(3) liberdade de informação, compreendida como direito de todos terem acesso ao conhecimento dos fatos e das ideias;

(4) fortalecimento dos organismos da sociedade civil;

(5) distribuição mais equitativa da renda nacional, prioritariamente por via tributária;

(6) apoio à livre iniciativa econômica; prioridade do capital nacional (privado ou estatal) sobre o capital estrangeiro;

(7) submissão de toda a economia ao interesse social, por meio da fiscalização por parte do Estado democrático; e

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<sup>245</sup> Further details of the case are presented by Mota & Capelato (1980, p. 235).

(8) preservação da identidade cultural brasileira. (MOTA & CAPELATO, 1980, p. 239)<sup>246</sup>.

Has been than in this context, that the newspaper proposed a careful coverage to new political developments in the Brazilian society such as the rising of the Union's in São Paulo, the Amnesty agenda, different cases of repression. In 1979, the newspaper has also undergone a journalists strike among its employees.

The «JB» in its case had suffered an almost opposite process during the 1970s, even if the period had started with a major explicit cooperation with President Médici's term and the economic policies proposed by the Minister, Delfim Neto, along the years of the «Miracle», some of its columns proposed open critics to the dictatorship. Furthermore, in 1973 the newspaper moved its installations to a new building, gathering there all the Group's companies in a new headquarters that would allow the existence of a TV Channel in the premises, what was part of the expansion plan at that time. In a few years, the costs of the new headquarters building would have an important influence in the financial crisis that the company went through<sup>247</sup>.

In addition to this context, President Geisel's term in by marking the beginning of the opening process, generate several conflicts between the «JB» and the military cupula. On the 09<sup>th</sup> of September of 1976, the Head of the Military Cabinet, General Hugo Abreu delivered to Geisel a report called «Medidas contra o Jornal do Brasil»<sup>248</sup> in which the General was proposing diverse actions that should be taken against the newspaper that in Abreu's opinion and report «Considero hoje, o JB um inimigo. Gostaria de poder considerá-lo como amigo»<sup>249</sup> this position was indicated in the report's section that detailed the meeting with Nascimento Brito, «JB's» director. The meeting report brings to the surface important elements, such as the fact that Abreu had communicate to the director, the government unsatisfaction with the gaze that newspaper was proposing. In the occasion the «JB» was accused of being subversive

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<sup>246</sup> «This is the case today. 2. - Indicative points - From these brief historical considerations, we propose the following points as formalization of the editorial tendency of "Folha". (1) Better living conditions - health, education, work, food and housing - for the majority of the population, starting with (2) organization of a democratic regime, which ensures strict observance of the rights of man and citizen, and which serves the interests of the majority of the population, through the political participation of all sectors of society and of all trends of opinion; (3) freedom of information, understood as the right of everyone to have access to knowledge of facts and ideas; (4) strengthening of civil society organizations; (5) more equitable distribution of national income, primarily through taxation; (6) support for free economic initiative; priority for national capital (private or state) over foreign capital; (7) submission of the entire economy to the social interest, by means of inspection by the democratic State; and (8) preservation of the Brazilian cultural identity».

<sup>247</sup> Biblioteca Nacional Digital do Brasil. *Jornal do Brasil*. Bruno Brasil (2015). Available in: <https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/artigos/jornal-do-brasil/> Access in: 14/09/2022.

<sup>248</sup> «Measures against Jornal do Brasil».

<sup>249</sup> «I consider JB an enemy today. I wish I could consider him as a friend».

and responsible for publishing false information. Moreover, the General pointed out the critics to the cartoonist Ziraldo and the lack of consideration that the «JB» was delivering towards the government and underlined the financing exemption that has been given to the purchase of a new graphic set. On the other hand, Brito argued defending the editorial posture as well as indirectly indicating that the concurrent newspaper «O Globo» was receiving a different financial treatment by the government. The same dossier proposed that the following measures could be implemented in order to suffocate the anti-government actions of the «JB»: Official credit suspension; official advertisement suspension; immediate payment of the debts with the government; pressure against the main advertisers in the newspaper; fiscal investigation.<sup>250</sup>

These actions were not putted in practice, although the «JB» has ended the 1970s with significant economic difficulties and without the approval for the creation of a TV Network. Still with these difficulties, in 1976 has been launched the successful magazine «Revista de Domingo». In the last year of the decade, the newspaper witnesses a bit fresh air the beginning of President Figueiredo term and placed itself as a supporter of the Amnesty Law project. Is important to mention at this point, that the second half of the 1970, in a coincidence with the first government moves towards a political opening, showed to be the period in which the two newspapers that are being here analyzed changed their status position inside the Brazilian press. If so far, the «JB» has been the wider and more relevant one, after 1974, the «FSP» started to occupy this position, first in being economically healthier, and lately in using this conquered stability as an important tool to its ideological and enunciative repositioning in a key moment of the country's history. On the other hand, the «JB» seemed to, in the end of the 1970s, be paying the price of being until a few years, one of the most important newspapers of the country during the most authoritarian and repressive years of the dictatorship. In brief, the material differences that the newspapers presented in the years that precede the Amnesty Law civil mobilization started to reflect in the coverage that each of the newspapers could deliver.

#### *After the 1980s – The color's arrival and a new field*

During the 1980s in a context of pluralization of the political actors and widening of their influences inside the Civil Society is important to underscore some changes and

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<sup>250</sup> These documents emerged as the result of Elio's Gapari work, the Historian have access to a group of dossiers regarding the military governments and produced a series of book dedicated to the Brazilian Dictatorship. Some of them are available in: <https://arquivosdaditadura.com.br/documento/galeria/jornal-brasil-mira-regime#pagina-6> Access in: 16/09/2022.

historical marks that were seen in both newspapers' trajectories. These will be better comprehended along the analysis in the following pages in the extent to which the political events are profoundly connected to those transformations in the news production of the two daily papers and their materials aspects as communication companies. In addition to it the last decade of the military regime witnessed new reforms and transformations in the press. Cultural sections gained space and many newspapers began to organize journalism manuals.

In 1981, «FSP» published an internal document that will be further deepened, setting editorial goals with emphasis on the search for «correct information, competent interpretations of the information and plurality of opinions on the facts». Two years later became was also the first completely computerized newspaper in South America; in 1984 was created the «Datafolha»<sup>251</sup>. A few months later, a new editorial document «A Folha depois da campanha Diretas Já»<sup>252</sup> was published as a result of the prominence obtained by the newspaper during the campaign for the direct elections of that year. Is worth to mention that in this document the newspaper's rejection to the indirect election of Tancredo Neves was explicit. Still in 1984 was published the first «Editorial Manual» of the newspaper (MUNTEAL, 2005, p. 162). This moment is highlighted by Grillo (2004) presenting important considerations regarding the moment of creation of the different Editorial Manuals in some Brazilian newspapers and how they indicated the search for objectivity (GRILLO, 2004, p. 77). Technological transformations also occurred at the Rio de Janeiro newspapers «O Globo» and «O Dia». While the first had, in 1985, its newsroom computerized, replacing the typewriter by computers and the daily introduction of the use of color in printouts, the newspaper «O Dia» proposed itself a major graphic and editorial renewal throughout the decade, culminating with an «Prêmio Esso» in 1988. At the same time, «Jornal do Brasil» still enjoyed great prestige and relevance on the national scene,

*O Jornal do Brasil* obteve um prêmio Esso com o desmonte do relatório das investigações do inquérito sobre o caso do Riocentro, e teve importância fundamental na denúncia da tentativa de fraude eletrônica, pela Proconsult, nas eleições estaduais do Rio de Janeiro em 1982, que visava a beneficiar a

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<sup>251</sup> Created in 1983, «Datafolha» emerged as the research and information technology department of the «Grupo Folha da Manhã». Over the decades, its attributions have grown and today it is one of the main opinion research institutes in Brazil. Another institute of great national relevance is «Ibope», linked to the «Organizações Globo». Available at: <https://datafolha.folha.uol.com.br/sobre/historia/index.shtml> Access on: 08/04/2021.

<sup>252</sup> «The Folha after the Diretas Já campaign».

candidatura de Moreira Franco e impedir a vitória de Leonel Brizola (MUNTEAL, 2005, p. 163).<sup>253</sup>

The newspaper's communication group carried out an attempt towards a TV network. However, at the beginning of the decade, still under the military regime the General Otávio Medeiros then head of the National Intelligence Service, as we saw organized a campaign against the newspaper, who pointed «JB» as an enemy of the Figueiredo government. Moreover, the newspaper, like «FSP», was actively engaged in the movement for direct elections (MUNTEAL, 2005, p. 163). This editorial action will be detailed further on when we analyze the photo coverage of the «*Diretas Já*» campaign. In 1989, «Jornal do Brasil» was also a great supporter of the then-candidate to the presidency, Fernando Collor de Mello<sup>254</sup>, due to its identification with the liberal economic ideals, reinforcing and resuming its editorial principles that decades earlier had placed the newspaper alongside elements of Brazilian society that were actively involved in the military coup. And later, opportunely placing itself as one of the groups that resisted the civil-military regime (NAPOLITANO, 2017, p. 363).

Being that said, in the case of the «FSP» considering that since the editorial reform of 1974 the newspapers assumed a more open confrontation attitude regarding the military dictatorship, alongside the years the image of an «official» press organ started to change and had in the «Diretas Já» support campaign its peak. Is important to mention that this possibility was a result of the economic autonomy that the «FSP» obtained after being bought by Frias and Cardoso, added to a boost gave to a corporative systematization of the news production logic. Were these elements that gradually transformed the newspaper relevance in the national scenario, placing itself as a nationwide liberal democrat daily paper. In the same breath, with the «Folha da Tarde» (a secondary title of the conglomerate that from 1969 on kept a conservative editorial tone) the balance between critics and support to the militaries was maintained in the «Grupo Folha» Titles.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> «Jornal do Brasil» obtained an Esso Award with the dismantling of the investigation report on the Riocentro case and played a key role in denouncing the attempted electronic fraud, by Proconsult, in the 1982 Rio de Janeiro state elections, which aimed to benefit Moreira Franco's candidacy and avoid Leonel Brizola's victory.

<sup>254</sup> Fernando Collor de Mello, is the political heir of a traditional family from Alagoas, his father and grandfather occupied important public positions in the first half of the 20th century. In the 1970s he started his political career and in 1979 he was elected mayor of Maceio – AL. In 1983 he reached the position of federal deputy (AL), four years later, was elected governor also in Alagoas and in 1990 he was elected President of the Republic, representing the interests of the traditional Brazilian political oligarchy, as well as, the demands of neo-liberal groups. However, years later he suffered an impeachment and since 2007 has held the position of Federal Senator (AL). Available at: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdac/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/collor-fernando> Access on: 08/04/2021.

<sup>255</sup> Taschner (1992, p. 188-190) exemplifies the differences in the articles and stories between the two newspapers during the «Diretas Já» campaign.

According to Matos (2008, p. 63), in the beginning of the 1980s the board of directors and the head editors of the «FSP» saw an opportunity to consolidate this detachment movement from the image of «official» newspaper and gave more space to a more militant and combative actuation of its journalists. In addition to this, the newspaper support to the «Diretas Já» from its beginning placed the press organ as a mobilizer of other diaries in the country (MATOS, 2008, p. 84). Although, at this point is fundamental to underscore that, the «FSP» was supporting a specific democracy project, a liberal, capitalist and bourgeoisie democracy. A position that still during the dictatorship, and especially in the 1990s had limited the plurality of voices that were included in the newspaper. The same decade has been the moment that after been used to a routine of self-censorship during the precedent years the «FSP» consolidated itself inside of a north American journalism news production model in which the publicity played a central role in the material financing of the newspaper and lead the press conglomerate to other practical changes aiming more control of the news production process (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 175).

In 1981, after the growing of the «Agência Folha», as the productions rationalization apparatus of the conglomerate, became subordinated to the newsroom of the «Folha de S. Paulo» now even more consolidate as the main title of the group (TASCHNER, 1992 p. 165). In the following two years the complete computerization of its installations gave to the «FSP» more agility in the news production, reducing in forty minutes the time between the articles finalization and the impression start, these changes generated a new context in which the journalists lost their elite's status inside the newsroom. (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 173). Also, in 1983 has been created the «Data Folha» a research and statistics institute, responsible for doing opining polls used by the conglomerate, but also market surveys that helped the organization of the different titles in the market shares.<sup>256</sup> According to Matos (2008, p. 60) since the beginning of the decade, the newspaper saw the increasing of its circulation, arriving in 120 thousand daily copies in 1984 and 200 thousand in 1987. An important asset to this growing in the sales has been the transformation of the delivery drivers of the company into sellers that would receive a commission of their newspaper sales.

During that period the «JB» suffered an inverse process, frictions with Geisel in the mid-1970s generated a strong economic boycott, in addition to the refusal of radio and television concessions by the military government in the second half of the decade, which

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<sup>256</sup> Taschner (1992, p. 181) indicate exposes how this information was useful to the board of directors in determining the new aims and public target of the recent bought newspapers.



hindered the stability of the newspaper and its transformation into a multimedia conglomerate.<sup>257</sup> At the end of 1978, after getting into a conflict with the censors, Alberto Dines was removed from the direction of the «JB's» newsroom (MATOS, 2008, p. 62).

In the occasion of the Rio Centro bombing<sup>258</sup> in 1981, were «JB» journalists the responsible for dismount the official version of the event that accused left-wing extra parliamentary groups of planning and executing the attack. The articles published in the carioca's newspaper exposed that the bombing was planned and executed by the Armed Forces Secret Service, as a strategy to maintain the tension and the vigilance state in the country. For this series of articles and stories the «JB» received the «Prêmio Esso» of Journalism, the most prestigious journalistic award in Brazil until today. In the following year, once again «JB» journalists were responsible for denouncing the elections fraud in the pools for the State governor in Rio de Janeiro.

Although, even considering these main key events, in general, the «JB» lost importance and influence in the 1970s and 1980s, especially to «O Globo» and the two big newspapers of São Paulo due to the transformation of the political, economic, and cultural relevance of the city of São Paulo for the country in the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (CHAMMAS, 2012, p. 24). A reflex of this process is the fact that the total informatization of the newspaper was completed only in 1986, almost five years after the «FSP». According to Matos (2008, p. 83) regarding the «Diretas Já» the «JB» proposed a cautious and «official» coverage at the beginning, only after 16/02/1984 did change its stance. Agreeing with the idea has been the posture of the «FSP» that boosted the adherence of other mass media newspapers to this approach of the events. In the following pages other specific elements of both newspapers will be deepen as inasmuch as the articles and photographs under analyses demand so.

In an overall, the newspaper historical transformation in the years of 1984 and 1985 can be inserted in a context in which the owners and most of the editors-in-chief were submitted to a logic of dependence connected to the censorship and economic support (especially the «JB»)

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<sup>257</sup> The text present dedicated to the «JB» in the official website of the Brazilian «Biblioteca/Hemeroteca Nacional» is extremely based on information related to the historical transformation of the newspaper along the decades. Available in: <https://bndigital.bn.gov/artigos/jornal-do-brasil/> Access in: 10/09/2022.

<sup>258</sup> In the night of April 30<sup>th</sup> 1981a bomb exploded inside of a car in the parking of the Rio Centro Convention Center. In the occasion the Army Sergeant Guilherme Pereira do Rosário was killed, and the Army Captain Wilson Dias Machado was seriously wounded, both were DOI-CODI I Army agents. With the objective of imputing the crime to left-wing groups, inflating a tension and fear strategy, the plan of the militarys was to detonate the bomb inside of the Convention Center that was holding the May 1<sup>st</sup> celebrations of that year with more than twenty thousand people present. By mistake the bomb exploded when they were still inside their car. Available in: <http://memorialdademocracia.com.br/card/bomba-no-riocentro-implode-terror-militar> and <https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/audios/2021/04/ha-40-anos-atentado-do-riocentro-marcou-abertura-politica> Access in: 10/09/2022.

with the government in which was left little space for a stronger opposition editorial proposal. In addition to it, were not made alliances between the major mass media operators in the country. Instead of organizing a press block against the militaries and its press control policies, the different organs had a mutual aggression attitude, added by several layers of political division, commercial competition and personal aspects that prevented a unitary approach to the problems that the press in general was undergoing (ABREU, 2008, p. 05).

As a way of minimizing these pressions, as has been previously presented a bigger space for opinion articles has been given inside the newspapers, especially because the regime tried to balance the ongoing censorship with a narrative in which the militaries were trying to protect the democracy in the country. At the same time, more space to different opinions in the press pages also generated a dispute between the journalists and the newspapers owners, that in many cases had differences in facing the contextual issues, adding a new layer to the press enunciation on the period. Another element that constantly become part of the press narrative in the 1980s was the economic agenda. In general, the criticism of the economic aspects of the military government presented by the newspapers led to a bigger participation of business and industrial groups in the opposition that was being reorganized. During the first half of the decade, has been in constant growth the group of economic agents that no longer looked favorably on the national project based on the state controlling the bases of the economy, as had been proposed by the military from the 1970s on (ABREU, 2008, p. 11).

A few remaining aspects related to «FSP» case in the period between the «Diretas Já» movement and the elections of 1985 must be pointed out. Soon after the defeat of the «Diretas Já», the «Folha Project» was set in motion, deepening the newspaper's understanding of the news as a commodity for consumption<sup>259</sup>, as had happened with some newspapers in the Mediterranean such as «O Público» in Portugal, «El País» in Spain, and «La Repubblica» in Italy. The idea was reforming the opinionated practice that was implemented in 1974 with Cláudio Abramo. «Entre os principais objetivos estavam a criação de uma forma de jornalismo “crítica, apartidária e plural”»<sup>260</sup> (Matos, 2008, p. 85). In an attempt to get a distance from a notion of party politics, the production of short articles was prioritized, also trying to get away from the authorial style of the coverage of the «Diretas Já».

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<sup>259</sup> Taschner (1992, p. 103) along the chapter «The basis of the Cultural Industry» develop an important discussion on this topic debating the reasons and how the journalistic production might be understood in a commodity production logic.

<sup>260</sup> «Among the main objectives were the creation of a "critical, non-partisan and plural" form of journalism».

Finally, Taschner (1992, p. 168) indicates other two important additions to transformations that the «FSP» has undergone in the first years of the 1980s, the creation of a «Production Secretary» dedicated to report, organize, indicate, and avoid errors, misjudgments or waste products was another form of deepening the controlling of the news production. This long process of dynamization and rationalization of the news production resulted in the creation of the already mentioned «Manual de Redação da Folha»<sup>261</sup>, dedicated to the systematization of how an article or story should be written inside the parameters determined by the conglomerate, resulting in a codified and bureaucratic work process, that is to say, a mechanism to increase control over the work process. Along the decades the Manual received updates and still being used nowadays (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 167).

According to Matos (2008, p. 91) «A *Folha* também reforçou a adoção dos valores do jornalismo profissional liberal anglo-americano, como uma forma de o jornal minimizar seu caráter militante e as atitudes partidárias que haviam se tornado quase normas na redação»<sup>262</sup>. To the author the movement of the newspaper towards a less editorialized production was an adaptation to a next national and international context putting the newspaper in a position in which the profits would exist being balanced with the multiple publics that emerged from the end of the dictatorship (MATOS, 2008, p. 94). Is to what has been called adaptation that our interpretation retains it has actually been a narrative reorganization with the aim of giving a new face and nuances to the economic interest in a commercial and liberal logic that were guiding the newspaper's editorial lines since its economic consolidation in the end of the 1960s. In so, our interpretation is closer to that proposed by Taschner (1992) in which considering that in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would be not possible to maintain operative a mass newspaper without organizing around it a complete press company that would absorb some concurrent and smaller titles.

Is important to underline that Taschner (1992) and Matos (2008) propose different interpretations to the changes in the «FSP» on the period, while the first work has been dedicated to an economic and materialist comprehension of how the «Grupo Folha» had become one of the largest press conglomerates in the country focusing on the economic balances and work organization, the work of Matos (2008) in a liberal approach had it focus in the changes in the journalistic practice that were connected with the changing political context

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<sup>261</sup> «Folha's Writing Manual».

<sup>262</sup> «Folha also reinforced the adoption of Anglo-American liberal professional journalism values, as a way for the newspaper to minimize its militant character and the partisan attitudes that had become almost norms in the newsroom».

of the country. Still in the second case beyond the methodological differences there is also a chronological one, considering that the work has been completed more than fifteen years later than the first. These elements might help the reader to better understand the reasons to differences in the interpretation of facts that in many cases are the same.

In this way, we complete a brief panorama of what has been the Brazilian Photography, the Press development and its relations in the last a hundred and a half years. This trail stresses out the close relations between the photo and press history, as was possible to see with the indications of the transformations suffered by some of the main press publications in Brazil. Was also possible to observe the ways in which photography was inserted, underlined, and valued along the decades, its importance went through variations according to the technological advances, social-political changes. The political-economic needs of daily life and its different insertions in the social political context that were in transformation are also central to understand the uses of images and its history in the Brazilian press. It will be on this last case that we will focus more thoroughly on the following pages: our goal it is to understand which were the ways of using the photojournalism for the narrative construction and the reinforcement of a particular point of view on the events in progress.

## **PART II – The convergence application**

### **Chapter 4 – Political ferment and the coup d'état framing**

#### *The Brazilian second half of the XX century and the military dictatorship*

An overall comprehension of the meanings and the events that took place in Brazil in 1964 and in the successive decades demands some steps back in time to what was the Brazilian society and its political organization after the end of the Second World War. Our main objective in this first section is to indicate contextual elements of Brazil in the years that took the country from the post-war period to the beginnings of the 1960s. Along the following sections will become more clear and closer the connections between the historical political context of the country and the newspaper's analysis.

At the time of the end of II World War, the nation had lived the last months of the so-called «Estado Novo»<sup>263</sup> leaded by Getúlio Vargas. The second half of 1945 meant in Brazil not only the end of the world conflict but also the last days of the autocratic regime of Vargas. After almost ten years of regime, at the beginning of 1945, Vargas called news elections for that same year. This political action was also a result of diverse forms of social and political pressure. The growth of street protests, a new organization of the opposition and the loss of political support forced Vargas to allow some changes. The returning of the democracy gave room for a series of new political parties that it would have a central role until the 1960s, they were: «União Democrática Nacional» (UDN), gathering a major part of the opposition, «Partido Social Democrático» (PSD), close to the exiting «Estado Novo», and the «Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro» (PTB) with a large base in the working class and its Unions. The UDN's candidate was Eduardo Gomes<sup>264</sup>, meanwhile the party coalition «PSD-PTB» supported the

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<sup>263</sup> A controversial populist regime with elements of an authoritarian regime inspired in the Constitution of other regimes that were in power in Europe at that time in countries as Spain, Portugal, Italy and Germany. From 1937 to 1945, Getúlio Vargas was the leader of a regime which proposed strict conduction of the country with extreme censorship, limitation to the opposition and the closure of the National Congress. The main goal of the «Estado Novo» was to develop the country throughout a major State intervention in the economy and also in the construction of a ufanistic idea of Brazilian identity and nationalism.

<sup>264</sup> Brigadier Eduardo Gomes (1896 – 1981) was a member of the Brazilian Air Force, took part on the «Movimento Tenentista» that in 1922, 1924 and at the «Coluna Prestes», claimed for generic changes in the government following the motto of the post I World War in which, the secret vote, stronger State participation and the independency of the Justice System became part of a progressist agenda. He has also been «Patrono» of the Air Force, Aeronautics Ministry, establish the Air Postal Service and in 1935 integrated the military action against the so-called Communist Revolt. After that, Gomes was candidate to presidency in 1945 and 1950, losing on both occasions to Eurico Gaspar Dutra and Getúlio Vargas. CPDOC. Eduardo Gomes. Available at: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/gomes-eduardo> Last access: 19/06/2021. According to Stringueti (2018) he has been chosen to be the UDN's candidate because of his past dedicated to the country and the democracy, but also because he was well accepted by the Armed Forces and the USA interests. At the same time, Gomes represented a sort of conservative democrat, very close to some catholic principles.

General Eurico Gaspar Dutra<sup>265</sup> as candidate. It is important to notice that the two main candidates were members of the armed forces that had major participations in previous turbulences of the still young and fragile Brazilian Republic. At the same time, the «Partido Comunista Brasileiro» (PCB), which leader was Luiz Carlos Prestes<sup>266</sup> and as candidate indicated Iedo Fiúza<sup>267</sup>, had concerns with an election being made still under the Constitutions of 1937, which could give dictatorial powers to any new president.

Nevertheless, the scenario was not simple, the elections for president and also for the Congress were determined to take place in the December 2<sup>nd</sup>. of 1945, and the states election only in the following year. On the one side the «UDN» was pressing for the elections happen as soon as possible, on the other hand the Communist Party and the «PTB» were claiming for the creation of a new Constitution before the elections, that option would take longer but would create an electoral process without Vargas. At the beginning of October, Vargas determined that the state elections should also take place on the December 2<sup>nd</sup>, meaning that the whole electoral process would happen in the last months of Vargas government. The heating was building up and a conspiracy movement was also growing, especially inside the upper ranks of the Armed Forces. On October 29<sup>th</sup> the «Alto Comando do Exército»<sup>268</sup> removed Vargas from office and José Linhares, chief of the Supreme Court, was appointed president until January of 1946. When Eurico Gaspar Dutra (PSD), who had won the elections, assumed the office.

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<sup>265</sup> Eurico Gaspar Dutra (1883 – 1974), was a member of the Brazilian Army, in 1904 participated at the uprising against the government of Rodrigues Alves, was expelled of the Forces, but in the following year was amnestied and reintegrated in the army. In 1932, during the repression to the Constitutionalist Revolt of São Paulo he obtained notoriety and after that became general; three years later was him the commander of the army against the Communist Revolt, and in 1936 Dutra became Ministry of War, position that he occupied until the elections of 1945 when he ran and won the dispute. CPDOC. Eurico Gaspar Dutra. Available at:

<http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/dutra-eurico-gaspar> Last access: 01/06/2021.

<sup>266</sup> Luiz Carlos Prestes (1898 – 1990) born in Porto Alegre, concluded in 1919, the Military School of Realengo a Rio de Janeiro. Took part in the «Revolta do Forte de Copacabana» of 1922, repressed by the federal government, three years later he led a revolutionary column inside the country, the so-called «Coluna Prestes», for twenty-nine months, the military column travelled 25 thousand kilometers inside the country. After that Prestes went in exile to Bolivia, and after that to the Soviet Union. In 1935, after creating the «Aliança Nacional Libertadora», Prestes was the leader of the attempt to take down Vargas term. During his life and political action within the Brazilian Communist Party, Prestes has been pursued in different ways, in 1971 went on exile once again to the Soviet Union, returning to Brazil only in 1979. CPDOC. Luís Carlos Prestes. Available at:

[https://cpdoc.fgv.br/producao/dossies/AEraVargas2/biografias/luis\\_carlos\\_prestes](https://cpdoc.fgv.br/producao/dossies/AEraVargas2/biografias/luis_carlos_prestes) Last access: 03/06/2021.

<sup>267</sup> Iedo Fiúza (1894 – 1975), also born in Porto Alegre went to Rio de Janeiro, city in which he studied to become an engineer, during the «Estado Novo» started to work at the National Department of Road Construction. After 1945, when the PCB was once again a legal party, Fiúza was a friend of Prestes and the party wanted to indicate a candidate of its own, even not being a communist adept, he accepted the invitation, in the occasion received 10% of the votes. CPDOC. Iedo Fiúza. Available at: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/fiuzza-iedo> Last access: 19/06/2021.

<sup>268</sup> «Army High Command».

This small sample is a great example of what has been the role of the Armed Forces inside the Brazilian politics, in a moment where an authoritarian regime came to an end and the country seemed to enter in a period of democracy. Although, what was seen was the continuous presence of the military in the political scene in the late 1940s. In this sense, understand the constant participation of the Armed Forces in the politics is key to comprehend what was the coup of 1964 and its previous years.<sup>269</sup>

#### *Dutra's term*

On the occasion of Dutra's election, the number of voters was around seven and a half million, meanwhile ten years earlier only, only one and a half million Brazilians could vote. This is one of the main socio-political changes that Brazil went through in that period. In 1945, six million votes were counted, Dutra received 54% of it and was elected the new president. The election of a General pointed out two kinds of continuity; in first place was the extension of Vargas political influence, since the ex-president was the main responsible of the viability of its candidature and campaign, especially throughout the coalition between «PSD» and «PTB»; both parties had a strong connection with Vargas and his political force. In second place, Dutra's election represented the continuity of the military influence in Brazilian politics (FERREIRA, 2019, p. 57).<sup>270</sup>

His government was marked by some crucial events that are key to understand the following years. At first, is mandatory to indicate the alliance between «PSD» and «UDN» after the elections, consolidating a conservative group which had the main goal of isolating Vargas and the «PTB»; this conduct was seen in almost all the nominations of executive positions in the government made by Dutra. In second place, during the whole year of 1946, after the installation of a Commission on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, the legislative power worked on the writing of a new Constitution. In this period, Dutra took some important measures, such as the 15<sup>th</sup> of March 1946 decree which weakened the Union's right to strike. At the same time, the new Constitution legislated against the labor agenda that was in debate. Still in 1946, with the uprising of the Cold War in the global scenario, public employees which had connections or

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<sup>269</sup> CPDOC, *A queda de Vargas*. Available at: <https://cpdoc.fgv.br/producao/dossies/AEraVargas1/anos37-45/QuedaDeVargas> Last access in: 02/06/2021.

<sup>270</sup> FERREIRA (2019), underlines that the period that Eurico Gaspar Dutra was in office as president become known as the term in between Vargas's presidency and this, according to the author, is one of the reasons of receiving less attention of the Brazilian historiography.

were accused of being communists had been dismissed and, at the same time, the Electoral Justice began the process to revoke the legality of the «PCB».<sup>271</sup>

The formulation of a new Constitution to the country has been a work that involved all the political parties, represented respecting a proportionality rule; although in the end, thirty-two out of thirty-seven members of the Commission were members of the «Partido Democrata Cristão» (PDC), «Partido Republicano» (PR), «Partido Libertador» (PL) and «PSD», the last one had by itself nineteen commissioners. Meanwhile, political events and rallies organized by the «PCB» in different states were repressed or pursued by the states police. The new Constitution was finalized on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September and installed presidential terms of five years, in other words, Dutra would be in charge until January of 1951. At this point we must highlight that, in general terms, the final text of the Constitution was the reflection of a conservative majority and was this Constitution that in 1964 would be violated by the civil-military coup.

In the economic field, the final years of the 1940s were marked by a route change in economic developmentalism. Dutra was dedicated to insert Brazil in a dependent way in the global economy remarking in the first years the agricultural vocation of the country, but at the same time, the development of a national industrialization was an immediate goal aiming to achieve an objective in course since the 1930s in Brazil: the replacement of the importations. However, the methods to achieve this goal diverge to what Vargas had proposed so far, Dutra gave preference to international capital and financing of new industries.<sup>272</sup> The way in which Dutra proposed the Brazilian development in opposition to what has been done so far, especially by Vargas and his national-development policy, helps us to understand the two different national projects that were in dispute during that time. In the case of Dutra's government, was clear his preference to insert Brazil in a supposedly favorable international scenario, pretty much linked with the USA (AYRES & FONSECA, 2017).

Before going any further, is important to mention that Dutra and his anti-Vargas coalition had also the objective of isolating the «PCB» as part of a conservative strategy inside the global context of the Cold War. This political agenda was very effective and in 1947 the Electoral Justice determined the closure and cessation of all the «PCB's» activities; in the same year a law project was approved extinguishing all the legislative terms of any senator or

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<sup>271</sup> CPDOC, Eurico Gaspar Dutra. Available at: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/dutra-eurico-gaspar> Last access in: 02/06/2021.

<sup>272</sup> AYRES and FONSECA (2017) through the analysis of different declarations of the Industries Confederations defend the hypothesis that Dutra's term and his economic policy were dedicated to a national industry development, but in opposition to Vargas, his policy was more favorable to international investments.



congressman that were elected in parties that had been forbidden. As an additional act in the radicalization of the Brazilian Cold War, Dutra's government had also severed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union that would only be retaken in 1962 during João Goulart's (PTB) term. Finally, the repressive motto had consequences also in the Unions, until the end of his term about four hundred Unions suffered some kind of intervention from the Ministry of Labor (FERREIRA, 2019, p. 59). By relating the events here presented is possible to see that Dutra's political and economic agenda had a common goal, bring the country closer to the capitalist bloc during the first years of Cold war through the reinforcement of an international dependence, as well as, the condemnation of the labor agenda, and mainly, any kind of communist organization.

### *Vargas back in power*

Due to his political support to Dutra's election, when Vargas was removed from power in the final months of 1945, he hasn't received any other political sanction at that moment, and more, as one of the results of the new Constitution and the elections to the national House, he became senator representing his home state, Rio Grande do Sul. During the regional elections of 1947, Vargas worked in favor of all «PTB» candidates but at the end of that year he took leave of absence from the senate and went back to his ranch in São Borja in the interior of Rio Grande do Sul. His close relation to Samuel Wainer, owner of «Última Hora», a «varguista» newspaper, and an important story published at «Revista do Globo»<sup>273</sup>, had a fundamental role in his return to national politics.

Vargas's electoral campaign was launched on his birthday on the April's 19<sup>th</sup>, the main motto of it was the idea of a political reconciliation within his adversaries. In the first months of 1950, the opposition tried to block his candidature, but in August Vargas registration was finally allowed. Since the beginning of his return to the political scenario, Carlos Lacerda, owner of the «Tribuna da Imprensa», an anti-Vargas newspaper, was one of his main opponents. As we will see further on, Lacerda became a key character in this moment of the Brazilian history. Still taking in consideration the months that preceded the elections, receiving the political support of Ademar de Barros (PSP) - governor of São Paulo - gave an important boost to Vargas's candidature, especially, because represented the so-called political reconciliation. Finally, on October 3<sup>rd</sup>, Vargas won the elections with 48,7% of the votes, in

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<sup>273</sup> This publication and its narrative construction have been indicated in the previous chapter. Ana Maria Mauad (2005) proposes an important analysis of this story.

other words, three million eight hundred and fifty thousand Brazilians chose once again Vargas as president. On the other side of the campaign, the «PSD» had great difficulties to indicate a name of consent inside the Party and took several months announcing Cristiano Machado as its candidate only in June of that year. «UDN», instead chose to indicate the same candidate as five years earlier, Brigadier Eduardo Gomes. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of January of 1951, Dutra was the first Brazilian president since 1926 inducting his successor, and as we will see this is a rare occasion inside the Brazilian History<sup>274</sup>.

This new presidential term was supposed to be completed in January of 1956, and was marked by the comeback of many Vargas allies to his ministries<sup>275</sup>, they had the mission of reimposing a nationalist orientation to the government. One of the main expressions of this new moment of a national developmentalism has been the creation of Petrobras<sup>276</sup> and the implementation of a state monopoly over oil production (D'ARAÚJO, 1992, p. 105). Roeper (2007, p. 68) suggests that, as a whole, Vargas political strategy can be considered part of what the historiography and political science defines as Populism<sup>277</sup>, in other words, a political practice dedicated to work as a referee of the different class interests and in search of the approval of the lower classes. According to Roeper (2007) this happens when there is a hegemony crisis, that is to say that, in the Brazilian case, after 1930, the agricultural oligarchy entered in a process of loss of political power to a growing industrial elite and had to deal with the demands of a new urban working class. One of the characteristics of this kind of Populism is a major participation of the State in the definition and orientation of the different national policies<sup>278</sup>. In order to guarantee and justify this kind of participation, nationalism had a central

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<sup>274</sup> CPDOC, Getúlio Vargas. Available at: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/getulio-dornelles-vargas> Last access: 03/06/2021.

<sup>275</sup> To the «PTB» was nominated the Ministry of Labor, the name chosen was that of Danton Coelho; to the «UDN» had the Agricultural Ministry; to the «PSP» the Ministry of Public Works, and to the «PSD» all the other civilian ministries.

<sup>276</sup> Petrobras is the Brazilian national oil company. It was created by Vargas in 1953, in the occasion was part of the national-developmentism plan that the country would be able to be self-sufficient in oil production. Nowadays, Petrobras is between the main oil producers companies in the world. Throughout this case is possible to see what the idea of a non-dependent industrialization was, what Vargas's second term on presidency wanted was to develop the Brazilian industry with the support of international capital, but not with the exploitation of national richness's by foreign companies. An example was the investments made by the USA government during the II World War to build the Brazilian steel company, «CSN – Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional». This indicates that Vargas's proposal of nationalism it was not antiimperialist as proposed by Martins (2015).

<sup>277</sup> Incisa proving to define the different possibilities that the concept of Populism gather around itself, shows that in a process of industrial modernization the Populism can be interpreted as an ideology of synthesis, which proposes to mix the traditional social values and the need of modernization and industrialization acting in the in between the social classes in the name of the «people». Ludovico Incisa. In: Norberto Bobbio et al. Dicionário de Política, Editora UnB, Brasília, 1998 p. 980-986.

<sup>278</sup> During this new Vargas government were created the «Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento – BNDE», «Banco do Nordeste», the State had also imposed different forms of social control as a new Press Law (1953) and a Law of crimes against the State and the Social and Political Order (1953).

role in the country's narrative, and, at the same time, was in this political arena that ideological and practical conflicts took place. At this point, is mandatory to have it clear what were the main national projects in dispute at that moment in Brazil.

On the one hand, «UDN» and some groups inside the «PSD» had a neoliberal agenda, making a strong argument in favor of a minimum intervention of the State in the economy and pretty much aligned with the USA. On the other hand, the national-developmentalism, based on a dependency theory in which Brazil was part of the international labor division but taken in a critical way; in this case the proposition was a State participation in the economy in other to boost the industry development, trying to give to the country the basis for a consistent industrial growth<sup>279</sup>. A third alternative was the so-called Radical Nationalism, in other words, an economical proposal defended by the «PCB» and a leftist part of the «PTB» indicated that only a pure national developmentalism would be effective in the Brazilian case, keeping in a distance the economic relations with the main capitalistic centers (ROEPER, 2007, p. 74). At the same time, similar groups had been formed inside the Armed Forces and had great influence in the following years; in addition to that, the Cold War context was crucial to determine some of the actions by specific groups inside the Army.

During the first years of this second term of Vargas in presidency has been the nationalist group of the military forces that had the majority inside the «Clube Militar» by winning the elections in 1950. The leftist nationalist wing had as its leaders the Generals Horta Barbosa and Estilac Leal, the latter was chosen by Vargas as the new Ministry of War, what cause great dissatisfaction within the Forces. Although, the previous relations with the USA, reinforced by the new military agreements signed during Dutra's term, gave to the anticommunist and conservative wing of the forces great boost. This group was defined by itself as the «Cruzada Democrática»<sup>280</sup> and was attached to the «Escola Superior de Guerra» (ESG), the general Juarez Tavora, being the president of «ESG» was the main leadership of this political wing inside the Armed Forces. There was still a third group, connected to the idea of national development, but always with an alignment to the USA. This schism, is key to understand the importance of the military influence in the Brazilian politics, as well as the role played by the Forces inside the intensification of the Cold War (D'ARAÚJO, 1992, p. 120).

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<sup>279</sup> This theory was supported by the «CEPAL – Comissão Econômica para a América Latina». Created in 1948, the Commission of the United Nations have the objective of increase the economic development of Latin America, to expand also the social development. Available at: <https://www.cepal.org/pt-br> Last access in: 04/06/2021.

<sup>280</sup> «Democratic Crusade».

In the 1952 campaign to the presidency of the «Clube Militar», the nationalist wing faced a hard opposition of the «Cruzada Democrática» group, especially with the imprisoning of several of its members. As a result, the conservative wing was elected, representing the rejection of the national-developmentism politics inside the Forces; is important to mention that the Laborism as a political agenda was being continually linked to a communist agenda, giving each day more strength to an anti-communist narrative and repression (ROEPER, 2007, p. 77). As will be clear in the following pages, this division inside the Brazilian military forces was already present in the 1950s and will follow the national politics until the coup in 1964.

There are left two other main events that had great importance during Vargas's term in those years. At first, after a ministerial reform made in 1953 in which were replaced all the civilian ministers and that can be interpreted as a way of Vargas to deepen his conciliation policy, but as well as a form of reducing the critics in the political and military spheres that were enhanced through the press. In this sense, members of the opposition party, «UDN», became ministers, and João Goulart (PTB) was put in charge of the Ministry of Work, a move that proved to bring the government closer to the working class. However, instead of creating a new image to his government, closer to a consensus, the result of the ministry reform was a radicalization in his position against the ruling classes. On that occasion, Goulart had already become the preferred target of the opposition under the accusation of being responsible for giving too much power to the Unions (D'ARAÚJO, 1992, p. 131). Is also central to mention that the labor agenda that Vargas proposed did not have as the main target the working class, but it was an answer to the new demands of the industry development in Brazil. D'Araújo (1992) synthetized the reasons and consequences of this economic nationalist policy

O nacionalismo, enquanto tentativa de usar os recursos existentes no país com vistas a criar as condições para o fomento e a ampliação do parque industrial e para fazer prosperar a economia nacional, não era uma iniciativa nova. Ela estava presente desde a década de 1930, quando a grave situação econômica do país e os novos parâmetros políticos tomaram inadiável uma ação planejadora por parte do Estado. Era premente redefinir o papel do país frente à divisão internacional do trabalho, o que impunha pensar novas alternativas para suprir a fragilidade econômica brasileira no mercado internacional, que por sua vez tinha forte poder desestabilizador a nível interno. Na consecução desses objetivos, o Estado assumiu formas autoritárias e corporativas visando implementar um projeto de constituição da nação. Esse tipo de nacionalismo, quando retomado na década de 1950, recebe roupagem antüperialista [...] Fez-se das intenções de restringir a entrada do capital

estrangeiro o grande marco do nacionalismo de Vargas, atribuindo-lhe uma conotação ideológica, dado o seu caráter contrário ao imperialismo (D'ARAÚJO, 1992, p. 112)<sup>281</sup>.

In 1954, Goulart took position in favor of the demands of banks and seafaring workers and proposed an increase in their wages, that was seen by the Ministry of Economy, Osvaldo Aranha saw as an irresponsibility and also the opportunity to isolate Goulart, making the problems inside Vargas's ministries even serious. Generating consequences also in his political support within the main political parties; «UDN», «PSD», «PSP». The attempt to give a new raise of 100% in the Brazilian minimum wage enacted in January of 1954, unfolded a series of complaints inside the lower ranks of the military forces that saw this action as a loss of prestige of its own role inside the society, and deepened the crises inside the ministries (ROEPER, 2007, p. 80). Even though Goulart had the support of several Unions and Workers Associations, the «Manifesto dos Coronéis»<sup>282</sup>, was key to his deposition of the Ministry in February of that year. According to Napolitano (2014, p. 29) there is a straight connection between the positioning of the Coronels in that occasion and the events of ten years later «O pronunciamento dos coronéis de 1954 era o prenúncio dos generais golpistas de 1964».<sup>283</sup> Is central noticing that already in the mid-1950s, Goulart represented the personification of what was each day constructed as the «communist threat» in the Brazilian politics. Vargas, even facing great opposition, on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1954, approved the increase in the minimum wage, that triggered a further action of the opposition; Afonso Arinos, member of the «UDN», sent a request of «impeachment» to the Congress, this was refuted in the Congress and, according to D'Araújo (1992), among the options that remained to take Vargas of the power, the only one that was feasible was a coup<sup>284</sup>.

Finally, an ultimate event determined major changes in the immediate Brazilian politics and society. Vargas's suicide. The radical and last political action of one of the most important

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<sup>281</sup> «Nationalism, as an attempt to use the country's existing resources to create conditions for fomenting and expanding the industrial park and to make the national economy prosper, was not a new initiative. It had been present since the 1930s, when the country's serious economic situation and new political parameters made a planning action by the State unavoidable. It was urgent to redefine the country's role in the international division of labor, which required thinking up new alternatives to overcome Brazil's economic fragility in the international market, which in turn had a strong destabilizing power at the domestic level. In the fulfillment of these objectives, the State assumed an authoritarian and corporative form aiming the implementation of a project of nation-building. This type of nationalism, when retaken in the decade of 1950, receives an anti-imperialist clothing [...] It was made with the intentions to restrict the entrance of the foreign capital the great landmark of Vargas' nationalism, attributing to it an ideological connotation, given its character contrary to imperialism».

<sup>282</sup> «Colonels' Manifesto».

<sup>283</sup> The 1954 colonel's pronouncement was a preview of the coup-plotting generals in 1964.

<sup>284</sup> The other options were the resignation to the office by Vargas and a Constitutional reform that would try to create a new parliamentarism inside the Republic, this last one, although was not legal, because it has already been voted ins 1952. (D'ARAÚJO, 1992, p. 142).

and controversial presidents in the Brazilian history took place as his answer to a huge crisis, as we have seen so far, involving the political parties, the press and the Armed Forces. However, a specific fact had unfolded the final acts of the crisis. On 5<sup>th</sup> of August 1954, an assault against Carlos Lacerda (owner of «Última Hora» and in campaign for Congressman as member of «UDN») killed a member of the Air Force that oversaw Lacerda's security and triggered the final crisis. Lacerda quickly blamed the president, publishing his version of the facts in his own newspaper. Two days later, a member of Vargas's personal guard, Climérios Euribes de Almeida was accused of participating in the attack, a week later he confessed the participation. This episode became known as the «Atentado da Rua Toneleros».<sup>285</sup> In the following days, the Ministry of Aeronautics opened an investigation that helped to increase the pressure made on Vargas by the military wing of the government. In addition to that was crucial, the «Manifesto dos Generais»<sup>286</sup> signed by thirty generals, including Humberto Castello Branco, asking Vargas to resign<sup>287</sup>. Not accepting this request, in the early hours of the 24<sup>th</sup> August 1954, Vargas shot himself in the chest and ended his term, his life and the coup attempts (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 14). Vargas left a letter of testament in which he pointed out his national project, the difficulties faced and blamed his political adversaries; the letter ended with a phrase that became part of the Brazilian History and memory: «Eu vos dei a minha vida. Agora vos ofereço a minha morte. Nada receio. Serenamente dou o primeiro passo no caminho da eternidade e saio da vida para entrar na História».<sup>288</sup>

The suicide of the president, on the one hand putted the opposition immediately in power, because Café Filho, the vice-president of Vargas took place in office and represented a conservative wing in that moment. Though, on the other hand, a shocking event like it has become the ending of Vargas's second term changed his political status from being accused of an assault against an opposition member, to become victim of the opposition persecution. In a medium-term this was a great help to his political heirs as Juscelino Kubitschek and João Goulart (D'ARAÚJO, 1992, p. 143).

### *Juscelino Kubitschek and Brasília*

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<sup>285</sup> «Toneleros Street Plot».

<sup>286</sup> «Generals' Manifesto».

<sup>287</sup> The General Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco, in 1964, was chosen by the military cupula to be the first president of the new regime.

<sup>288</sup> "I gave you my life. Now I offer you my death. I fear nothing. Serenely I take the first step on the road to eternity, and I leave life to enter History". Available at: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/getulio-dornelles-vargas> Last access: 03/06/2021.

The abrupt end of Vargas's second term on presidency has shaken Brazilian politics, and also the way that society engaged itself on it, reorganizing different sectors on both, right and left wings. The so-called «República de 1946»<sup>289</sup> brought, through the years, a new element to the Brazilian context that cannot be inconsiderate, the working class vote able to decide an election; and that has never been well comprehended by the political conservative aristocracy, that always saw a coup as tool to restore the political ongoing according to its interests (NAPOLITANO, 2020, p. 29).

Deepen in Vargas's succession, after his suicide, Café Filho was in office during the last year and a half of a term that in October of 1955 held new presidential elections. That had as winning candidate, Juscelino Kubitschek<sup>290</sup>, starting a new term in January of 1956 after defeating Juarez Tavora, «UDN's» candidate and Chief of Staff of Café Filho's government, a supporter of his candidature. Previously, still in 1954, a new Legislative election reduced the size of the conservative «UDN's» power in Congress and gave more chairs to both, «PSD» and «PTB»<sup>291</sup>. According to D'Araujo (1992, p. 145), the coalition of forces «PSD-PTB» was the way that the political parties founded to incorporate the «getulismo» inside politics but without Getúlio Vargas, giving new faces to a major political project dedicated to the national-developmentism.

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<sup>289</sup> A democratic breach of twenty years that the Brazilian society have had in between the authoritarian «Estado Novo» (1937-1945) and the «Regime Militar» (1964-1985).

<sup>290</sup> Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira was born in Diamantina (MG) in 1902 inside of a traditional political family in the state of Minas Gerais. In the 1920s, JK concluded his degree in medicine and during the repression to the «Revolta Constitucionalista » in 1932, integrated the Armed Forces as part of the medical staff in the area in between the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. In 1934, JK entered to politics and was elected Federal Congressman as member of the «Partido Progressista de Minas Gerais» (PP), however, in 1937 with the beginning of «Estado Novo» and the closure of the National Assembly he lost his post and went back to his life as doctor in Minas Gerais occupying important positions inside the main hospitals of the state. In that time some municipalities were determined by indication of the state governor and in 1940, JK was indicated to become Mayor of Belo Horizonte, capital of Minas Gerais. Five years later he actively participated in the creation of the PSD, party that played a major role in Dutra's election, and also became central in the national politics from that moment on. With the elections and a new Constitution, JK won a new term in National Assembly as Congressman and, in the last months of his term, throughout a difficult agreement inside the PSD he was chosen as the party's candidate to the office of Minas Gerais governor, having Vargas's support he won the run in 1950. His term in one of the main countryside Brazilian states was mostly dedicated to its modernization and industrialization, with great attention to the expansion of an electrical network and road connections. In the beginning of 1955, in an agreement between PSD and PTB, JK was nominated president candidate, having João Goulart as his vice in the election sheet. After his term as president, JK was elected senator for the period 1960-1964.

CPDOC, Juscelino Kubitschek. Available at: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/juscelino-kubitschek-de-oliveira> Last access: 08/06/2021.

<sup>291</sup> UDN lost ten of its 84 chairs in congress, meanwhile PSD went from 112 to 114 and PTB from 51 to 56. There is a debate inside the Brazilian historiography that considers that this change in the National Congress composition had a great influence of Vargas's suicide impact, as well as some changes in the PTB agenda that immediately incorporate Vargas suicide latter in its Program (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 30).

Although the «PSD» during the decades of 1940 and 1950 had the role of being a peacekeeper party inside the Brazilian politics and, as part of that goal, had made an alliance with «PTB» achieving the presidency with JK<sup>292</sup> and João Goulart in the sheet; has not been an easy task to arrive in office in 1956. A few weeks after the electoral defeat of Juarez Tavora a part of the higher ranks of the Armed Forces, the Ministers of the Navy and the Air Force, groups of Congressman and the ex-president, attempt a coup not allowing Kubitschek to assume the president's office. In the occasion, the Minister of War, General Henrique Teixeira Lott, organized the «Movimento 11 de Novembro», known for guaranteeing the Constitution and the continuity of democracy (CARLONI, 2009). Lott, after leaving the Ministry where he had been allocated by Café Filho, for his respect to the hierarchy, the General gave himself a coup with the support of the Congress, giving afterwards the leadership of the Executive power to the Senate's president, Nereu Ramos. As a complementary action, installed a State of Emergency until the beginning of JK's term (FERRO, 2013).

Once in office, JK arrived in the presidency in a moment in which the country was completing the transition from a rural to an urban world. Cities were growing fast and without order, modernization was the main agenda, its contradictions were visible in many aspects and layers of the society. On the one hand, the second half of the 1950, even with its turbulences, allowed a minimum of planning in politics, Brazil had a liberal Constitution, a national parties organization, the National Congress was an important part of politics, and JK's election had been the third free election in a row. On the other hand, the Communist Party was still illegal, there were limitations to the Union's organizations, and was small the attention to the social agenda as a whole, something that also Vargas was not too dedicated, even if close to the working-class agenda; is important to underline once more the political force of the Populism as an authoritarian and in sometimes controversial way of dealing with class tensions<sup>293</sup>. Albeit all the contradictions of that moment, JK was able to profit from an overall scenario in which was possible to imagine and propose a project of national development. Of great help has been the already established statal bureaucratic structure that the almost two decades of «varguismo» and a consolidate national-developmentalism project gave to the country.<sup>294</sup> In

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<sup>292</sup> JK was acronym used at the time by the Brazilian press, his political colleagues and that is still used nowadays by part of the Brazilian historiography, we will adopt this option in some opportunities during the text.

<sup>293</sup> CPDOC, «Vargas e as bases do desenvolvimento».

Available at: <https://cpdoc.fgv.br/producao/dossies/JK/artigos/OBrasilQueVargasDeixou/BasesDesenvolvimento>  
Last access: 08/06/2021.

<sup>294</sup> Is important to mention the role of Petrobras, Eletrobras, CSN, BNDE, Banco do Nordeste and other statal companies created after 1930 and that were key to the acceleration in the national development that JK would propose.



many ways is possible to say that Kubitschek has been a political heir of Vargas, but also an heir of many of the achievements of its governments and policy (D'ARAÚJO, 1992, p. 187).

In the economic field, JK government received notoriety especially due to the «Plano de Metas»<sup>295</sup> and the way in which this project was a synthesis of the national project of developmentism and modernization. According to Franca (2019), inside the idea of developing «Fifty years in five», a political slogan largely used in the occasion, the Target Plan proposed by the president was a group of thirty sector goals with the objective of surpassing some of the limitations that hold back the modernization and industrialization of the nation, in order to achieve a central goal, the replacement of the importation of goods with a national production. Divided and planned to be concluded in the following ten years, the main actions were taken in fields linked to energy production, transports, basic industry and a few of them were directed to the alimentation infrastructure<sup>296</sup>. To the viability of the plan were central a series of studies conducted by the «BNDE» and «CEPAL», both created by Vargas (FRANCA, 2019, p. 42). Was inside of this great development effort that the construction of a new capital to the country was planned and conceived. Although the Brasília project was not officially part of the «Plano de Metas» become a symbol of the campaign. And at this point emerged an issue that is key to comprehend the problems and difficulties that JK faced during his time in the office, how to finance all of these huge constructions? Albuquerque (2015) by proposing a comparison in between Vargas and JK indicates that if the last one, what was seen was a change in the direction of the concept of internationalist-developmentism. In other words, JK was much more opened to the participation of international capital and investments than Vargas's administration which had bigger concerns related to the government's autonomy.

Even considering the many different aspects of importance related to the construction of Brasília<sup>297</sup>, can be seen also as one of the symbols of JK's administration problems. Beyond the economic growth that Brazil lived during the decade of 1950s, inflation was also growing fast, according to Albuquerque (2015) one thing was directly related to the other, and the

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<sup>295</sup> «Target Plan».

<sup>296</sup> Inside this context was Juscelino Kubitschek's term which gave a first national statal boost to the automobilist production in Brazil, this goal had a straight connection with many of the others thirty, mainly because of the items needed to this kind of industry.

<sup>297</sup> The construction of Brasília mobilized also different aspects of Brazilian Culture, in first place is mandatory to mention the city's urban and architectural project created by Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer, both were responsible for idealization and realization of the new capital. Tavares (2007) shows in what aspects they converge and diverge. In 2010, the Library of the National Congress published a guide into Niemeyers's work in Brasília. Available in: <https://bd.camara.leg.br/bd/handle/bdcamara/3565> Last access: 09/06/2021.

In addition, the renowned photographer, Thomaz Farkas created a photo essay dedicated to the construction of the new country's capital and its inauguration by Juscelino Kubitschek on 21/04/1960. Available in: <https://acervos.ims.com.br/portals/#/search?filtersStateId=8&page=1> Last access: 09/06/2021.

national administration was aware of that, and also aware that the construction of Brasília might put at risk the inflation control.<sup>298</sup> Other actions that were put in motion by the JK's administration also contributed to the inflation increase, for example, the expansion of credit lines dedicated both to the new industry but also to coffee farmers. The public wages increase created significant tensions between the president and the executive leaders of the state banks<sup>299</sup>; especially because of the gap in the economical balance that these actions had the potential to generate, in an overall it is possible to affirm that at the beginning of the 1960s, the Brazilian scenario was of crisis, a different panorama of the one that existed ten years before (FRANCA, 2019, p. 55). In this sense, besides the problems listed so far there was another one that its effects can be seen until nowadays, the regional inequality and the social disparity generated. Cities grew extremely fast and without order, has been created a great gap between the economic centers, as in the biggest cities of country's southeast as São Paulo, Belo Horizonte e Rio de Janeiro, and the north and northeast countryside what generated a huge migration influx to the mains cities of the country. Albuquerque indicates a synthesis of how the JK's administration changed Brazil in some aspects, but in others nothing had changed or worst, problems were intensified

Com o Plano de Metas JK transformou a base produtiva do país mas não foi capaz de modificar a realidade social. Mesmo com o PIB crescendo a taxas elevadas durante o período de execução do plano, milhões de pessoas continuaram na pobreza e na miséria. Por outro lado, não há dúvidas de que milhões de outras pessoas foram incorporadas as áreas dinâmicas da produção e, com isso, puderam melhorar notavelmente o padrão de vida. Para Copérnico, séculos de geocentrismo terminaram por criar um monstro astronômico, no Brasil, décadas de industrialização criou um monstro econômico-social. Um dos maiores mercados consumidores do mundo convive com uma das maiores

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<sup>298</sup> The industrialization and financing models were one of the reasons to the growing inflation. Prices getting higher was a way of expanding the monetary basis and keep a high level of investments in several areas. On the other hand, the international commerce division forced the prices up. Coffee was the main exportation production in the Brazilian economical balance, although in that period the import of manufacture products had grown, the export of coffee lost monetary power due to the drop on the price and the duplication of the production, what created a loss of dollars in the national scenario forcing the national production to invest and build a manufactory industry, that even growing fast it was not sufficient, resulting in higher prices and an inflation almost impossible to control. In other words, what was happening was a loss in the buying power of the consumer, who transferred income to the industry; in this context, the building of Brasília was a deepening and radicalization of a high-risk strategy (ALBUQUERQUE, 2015, p. 18).

<sup>299</sup> SARMENTO, Carlos Eduardo. CPDOC. *O custo do desenvolvimentismo*. Available at: <https://cpdoc.fgv.br/producao/dossies/JK/artigos/Economia/Desenvolvimentismo> Last access in: 09/06/2021.

disparidade de renda do Planeta (ALBUQUERQUE, 2015, p. 27).<sup>300</sup>

The end of Juscelino Kubitschek term has also become known as the end of the «golden years» in the Brazilian history, at least in the economic field. Has been inside of this debate that Jânio Quadros surged as a sort of outsider in the Brazilian politics; in a matter or a lit bit more than ten years, he went from alternate city councilor in São Paulo (1947) to President of the Republic (1960), being in the meantime, Mayor (1953-54) and Governor (1955-59) of São Paulo (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 31).

### *Jânios election and resignation*

The election of Jânio Quadros<sup>301</sup> in the dispute of 1960 brought a break in the winning alliance between «PSD» and «PTB». As mentioned before, Jânio fulfilled a space in Brazilian politics, with a singular charisma combined with doses of moralization he created a new administration stile. Along the political disputes he has always participated representing small parties such as «Partido Democrata Cristão» (PDC) and «Partido Trabalhista Nacional» (PTN) that, at the same time, placed him in confront with the main political forces, but also allowed him to a practice that can be named as particular.

Aiming the reinforcement of the opposition to the so-called «getulismo» or «trabalhismo»<sup>302</sup>, heir of Vargas's populism, «UDN's» supported Jânio's candidature formalized on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1959 through the «Movimento Popular Jânio Quadros»<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> «With the Plano de Metas JK transformed the country's productive base but was unable to modify the social reality. Even with GDP growing at high rates during the period of the plan, millions of people remained in poverty and misery. On the other hand, there is no doubt that millions of other people were incorporated into the dynamic areas of production and thus were able to noticeably improve their standard of living. For Copernicus, centuries of geocentrism ended up creating an astronomical monster, in Brazil, decades of industrialization created an economic-social monster. One of the largest consumer markets in the world coexists with one of the greatest income disparities on the planet».

<sup>301</sup> Jânio da Silva Quadros (1917-1992), born in Campo Grande, one of the main cities of the Brazilian «Pantanal» and today capital of the State of Mato Grosso do Sul. During his childhood time his family moved to diverse cities in the interior of the states of Paraná and São Paulo. When he completed 18 years old, his family lived in the city of São Paulo where he entered at the Law School. Has been teacher in two traditional private schools: Dante Alighieri and Veracruz; in the year of 1945 was affiliated to the UDN, but as he wasn't able to run for the city council, went to the «Partido Democrata Cristão» (PDC) in which he had the chance of running to the position. In that occasion he already started to build his character, a sort of peculiar politician, not so worried with its appearance and very much close to a moralist discourse and engagement. As governor of São Paulo, supported the actions that the Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott took to guarantee the inauguration of JK's term. After his resignation to the presidency office, Jânio Quadros has ran once more for the position of São Paulo governor in 1962, but was defeated by Ademar de Barros (PSP), he was elected for another executive post only in 1986 when defeated Fernando Henrique Cardoso (PMDB) in the elections for São Paulo's mayor.

CPDOC, Jânio Quadros. Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/janio-da-silva-quadros> Last access: 10/06/2021.

<sup>302</sup> «Laborism»

<sup>303</sup> Jânio Quadros Popular Movement.

(MPJQ). On October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1960, in the occasion of the elections his candidature received six million votes - defeating the Navy Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott (PSD) and Ademar de Barros (PSP). In so alongside João Goulart (PTB)<sup>304</sup>, Jânio composed the sheet that took the presidency office on the January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1961 (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 32). Both candidates have not putted opposition to the idea of a «Jan-Jan» sheet during the campaign, but after the elections, was this composition itself that would spark the political crisis and increased by the president's inability to deal with the opposition (PSD / PTB), majority in Congress, that culminated in Jânio's resign (ROSSI, 2019).

But why was that? The moralizing discourse and the personalism of Jânio Quadros were seen in the way he faced the Brazilian problems of the period. His plan was to make a clean-up in country's finances, freezing public-employees' salaries, and investigating corruption inside the Statal Companies; for that purpose, he even used the nickname and mentioned himself as the «Vassourinha»<sup>305</sup>. In the Foreign Policy his term was dedicated to an Independent Policy within the USA aiming new economical possibilities, this thus was not well seen inside the Cold War context (VIZENTINI, 2004). However, was his moralistic and anti-corruption discourse the responsible for opening the crise, especially because Jânio frequently inserted among the corrupts his own vice, João Goulart.<sup>306</sup>

In addition to this, his administration proposed also the prohibition of cockfighting, the use of bikinis in the Miss's disputes and the use of ether-spray during the Carnival. Botelho (2014, p. 83) through the analysis of letters that were written by ordinary citizens to the presidency, indicates how his decrees that were related to a new moralization of habits and customs were influenced by these letters, what at its turn were a reflection of a new urban social composition mostly conservative. It can be seen as consequence of a rural exodus and the arrival of a more catholic and traditional population in the cities, facing also the habits modernization in the city centers. Jânio tried to use politically this encounter in his favor, besides the moral actions already mentioned, he also regulated card games, the participation of underage in radio and TV shows; hypnosis shows; and the operations of the Jockey Club on working days. According to Botelho (2014, p. 95) this political attitude can be seen as the

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<sup>304</sup> It is important to mention that at that time, it was possible to vote separately for President and Vice-President, remaining open the possibility of the election of two different candidates from different parties. In comparison with nowadays voting organization this characteristic is almost illogical.

<sup>305</sup> «small broom».

<sup>306</sup> According to Napolitano (2020) his strategy was to create a bigger tension in between the far-right wing and his vice, than of these with himself, what in theory would be enough to avoid a coup during his administration and also to generate the concern of a possible resign.

response of the presidency, inside his short term, to a moral and conservative agenda that was present in a context of increasing polarization.

As a synthesis is possible to say that Jânio was trying to consolidate himself as a charismatic and original political leader, but all in all, especially after the commendation personally delivered to Ernesto Che Guevara<sup>307</sup>, he became known for being contradictory, ambiguous and not reliable. After that, Jânio loses the political support of «UDN» and started to face a strong opposition in many fronts. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of August, the president resigned with the idea that Brazilian people would take the streets asking him back, and the military wouldn't allow Goulart's to take office, though, both calculations were wrong. His resign letter had a clear denouncing tone in which Jânio accused his opposing parties of not allowing him to accomplish the agenda that he has proposed to the country (GOMES & FERREIRA, 2014, p. 29). According to Napolitano (2014) it is consensus inside the Brazilian historiography that what Jânio made was an attempt of self-coup<sup>308</sup>, what obviously did not went as planned and opened a new chapter in the Brazilian turbulent politics at the beginning of the 1960s.

#### *1961, João Goulart arrives at the office*

In August 1961, João Goulart was on a diplomatic mission to China as vice-president when he received the news that Jânio Quadros has resigned. At that moment, Brazil experienced a first attempt to seize power by conservative sectors of the Congress with the acquiescence and collaboration of part of the military. This attempt was prevented by the «Campanha da Legalidade»<sup>309</sup> strongly supported by the lower ranks of the Armed Forces (GOMES & FERREIRA, 2014, p. 35). After the resign of Jânio Quadros on the 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1961, took place a coup attempt; in the occasion a Military Junta composed by the following ministries of Jânio's administration: Odílio Denys, Silvio Heck and Grum Moss, with the support of «UDN's» most conservative sectors (which included the governor of Guanabara, Carlos Lacerda) tried all that was possible to avoid the arrival of Goulart's to the presidency. From the day after the resignation until 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1961 was this junta that governed the country (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 34).

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<sup>307</sup> On the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1961, the Cuban leader received from the Brazilian president the «Grã Cruz da Ordem Nacional do Cruzeiro do Sul» (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 32).

<sup>308</sup> Is interesting to see that in other fields of analysis this hypothesis is not a consensus, Rossi (2019), proposes that Jânio's resign was part of a strategy that was dedicated to change part of the Brazilian political system, in which, the vote for the Legislative was not direct and plebiscitary, but proportional (ROSSI, 2019, p. 324). His work was made having the basis of Law School as main references.

<sup>309</sup> «The Legality Campaign».

Goulart, on purpose took the longest route to return from China to Brazil. In the meantime, Leonel Brizola, governor of the State of Rio Grande do Sul<sup>310</sup>, organized a resistance. From the 27<sup>th</sup> of August the mobilization headquarters was the «Palácio Piratini», in Porto Alegre, official house of the state governor. After confiscating the equipment of «Rádio Guaíba»<sup>311</sup> was from there that has been created a Radiophonic Network of Legality that transmitted its program to the country and also to other neighboring countries in south America denouncing the intention of a group inside a part of the Armed Forces to take the national executive power<sup>312</sup>. Once more, Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott has published a statement indicating the division inside the forces. The situation escalated quickly and on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, when the Ministry of War had ordered the attack and bombing of the «Palácio Piratini», Brazil was on the edge of civil war. What the «Campanha da Legalidade» tried to do was to mobilize the public opinion to resist and defend the Constitution. The attack did not take place due to the soldiers' insubordination, the goal of the Minister of War at this moment was to pressure the majority in the Congress to do not recognize Goulart's as president. Nevertheless, the General Machado Lopes, commander of the «III Exército» based in Porto Alegre, and the governor of Goiás, Mauro Borges, joined the resistance led by Brizola giving strength to it. It is also important to mention that different sectors of the civil society also took part in the defense of the Constitution and arms were distributed to the population in the city of Porto Alegre, where also the football clubs, «Grêmio» and «Internacional» published statements defending Goulart (FERREIRA & GOMES, 2014, p. 40).

Although, the majority of the Congress; «PDT», «PSD» and «UDN», were not in favor of the idea of a coup and the possibility of a negotiated inauguration of term seemed at that moment the best option, having also the support of the «Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil»<sup>313</sup> (CNBB), «Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil»<sup>314</sup> (OAB) and «União Nacional dos Estudantes»<sup>315</sup> (UNE). Even if part of the press, especially the conservative one,<sup>316</sup> was not in favor of this alternative, the political format that showed itself as able to conciliate and overcome the crisis was a parliamentary term with Goulart. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of September, on the

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<sup>310</sup> Goulart's birth State and his political cradle.

<sup>311</sup> The details of this mobilization are explained by GOMES & FERREIRA (2014, p. 32-36).

<sup>312</sup> More than 150 radio stations were part of the network that was able to overcome the censorship and informal State of Emergency imposed by the Military Junta (NAPOLITANO, 2020, p. 34).

<sup>313</sup> «National Conference of Bishops of Brazil».

<sup>314</sup> «Brazilian Bar Association».

<sup>315</sup> «National Union of Students».

<sup>316</sup> The newspapers «O Estado de S. Paulo»; «Tribuna da Imprensa» and «O Globo» supported the decisions of the Military Junta, attempting to prevent the arrival of Goulart in office (GOMES & FERREIRA, 2014, p. 42).

same day that Jango<sup>317</sup> arrived in Porto Alegre, the Congress approved a parliamentary system and Goulart took the office as president on a symbolic 7<sup>th</sup> of September<sup>318</sup> (PEREIRA, 2018).<sup>319</sup>

According to Napolitano (2014), what happened in 1961 was already a coup, a civilian coup perpetrated to avoid a military one. The parliamentarism reduced the power of the Executive power, in other words, was taken an important part of Goulart's power, especially because the Chief of State couldn't dissolve the Congress and call for new elections. But, on the other side, this particular solution that the Brazilian politics founded was born already with problems; all the major parts and elements of the political forces were not satisfied with the new system, although accepted it as a way to avoid a military government in that moment.<sup>320</sup> In addition to this, an opinion survey published on September 2<sup>nd</sup> indicated that 81% of the Brazilian were in favor of Goulart in office, but under a presidentialism regime.<sup>321</sup>

Once in office, Goulart dedicated himself to the labour agenda. At the same time, already in the first months of 1962 the parliamentary system was in check; «UDN» and «PSD» removed their support to it, and the president himself was working against it, especially because of the limitations that the parliamentarism imposed to the realization of the so-called «Reformas de base».<sup>322</sup> In the president speech on the 1<sup>st</sup> May of 1962, Goulart putted in doubt how the parliamentarism was a good asset to the majority of the Brazilians, creating a relation between the system itself and the economic difficulties that most of the population was facing, mostly linked with the life-cost and the day-to-day life

A cada hora que passa o povo brasileiro tem motivos para novas preocupações sobre o dia de amanhã. Para ele, para o povo, ainda não foram asseguradas perspectivas animadoras de tranqüilidade e bem-estar. O custo de vida continua subindo e destruindo os orçamentos populares. Esta verdade, aflitiva e cruel, chega

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<sup>317</sup> This was the nickname used by part of the press and the population to refer to President João Goulart.

<sup>318</sup> Was on the 7<sup>th</sup> of September of 1822 that the Brazilian Independence of proclaimed.

<sup>319</sup> Andre de Souza Pereira (2018), present in this work an interesting analysis of the news coverage made by the «O Nacional» a newspaper from the town of Passo Fundo, during the 1961 crisis.

<sup>320</sup> Is important to mention that according to Delgado (2010) the amount of history works, and research dedicated to the presidency of João Goulart are in a significant smaller number if in comparison with other presidents of the period, for example, the cases of Getúlio Vargas and Juscelino Kubitschek. Even if Goulart was the main heir of the laborist tradition in the Brazilian politics.

<sup>321</sup> «Jornal do Brasil» Rio de Janeiro, 2 de setembro de 1961, p. 01. Cit. in. Gomes & Ferreira. *1964: o golpe que derrubou um presidente, pôs fim ao regime democrático e instituiu a ditadura no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2014, p. 45. Available also in:

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=0qX8s2k1IRwC&dat=19610902&printsec=frontpage&hl=pt-BR> Last access: 18/06/2021.

<sup>322</sup> «Base reforms». These proposed a robust change in the administrative, banking, university and electoral organization; but also, a land reform, the extension of the right to vote for illiterates, soldiers, sailors and corporals, as well as the possibility of eligibility for all citizens. This agenda had the goal to reduce the social and economic inequality in Brazil (GOMES & FERREIRA, 2014, p. 57).

constantemente aos meus ouvidos como o mais inquietante dos clamores. O preço dos gêneros sobre verticalmente, inclusive, e sobretudo, os de primeira necessidade. Todos sentem que é preciso pôr um freio a isso e que as soluções claras e positivas não podem tardar. Participando, como sempre participei, das angústias do povo, sinto que não podemos mais adiar um conjunto de medidas efetivas para vencê-las ou atenuá-las. Embora não me caiba institucionalmente a competência para tomar tais providências, devo, como mandatário do povo, participar de qualquer responsabilidade que importe melhorar as condições gerais de vida e defender os justos anseios das classes populares. (GOULART, João. Discurso do presidente João Goulart durante comemorações do Dia do Trabalho em 1º de maio de 1962).<sup>323</sup>

On that point is mandatory to indicate that these reforms were a moderate proposal, especially if we take in consideration the Land Reform, an agenda which Goulart's government, via the Prime Minister Tancredo Neves, proposed only a stronger fiscal policy against the unproductive lands. On the other hand, farm workers leaded by the Congressman Francisco Julião (PSB)<sup>324</sup> pressed for a radical transformation, including land expropriation.<sup>325</sup>

The year of 1963 brought on one side fresh air to Goulart's term. In first place, on January 6<sup>th</sup> a plebiscite approved the return to the presidentialism (FERREIRA & GOMES, 2014, p. 140), giving new powers to the president and signaling new possibilities to the parliamentary-left wing which never accepted the parliamentarism. Although, two issues were also central in that year and ended up as two losses to Goulart's political group: the approval of the Land's Reform and the attempts to control the increasing inflation (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 39).

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<sup>323</sup> «With every hour that passes the Brazilian people have reason for new worries about tomorrow. For him, for the people, no encouraging prospects of tranquility and well-being have yet been assured. The life-cost keeps rising and destroying people's budgets. This truth, afflicting and cruel, constantly reaches my ears as the most disquieting of clamors. The price of goods is rising vertically, including and above all those of basic necessity. Everyone feels that this must be stopped, and that clear and positive solutions cannot be delayed. Participating, as I have always done, in the anguish of the people, I feel that we can no longer postpone a set of effective measures to overcome or alleviate them. Although I am not institutionally competent to take such measures, I must, as the people's representative, participate in any responsibility that implies improving the general living conditions and defending the just desires of the popular classes».

Available in: <http://www.gedm.ifcs.ufrj.br/upload/documentos/13.pdf> Last access: 16/06/2021.

<sup>324</sup> Francisco Julião Arruda de Paula was born in the state of Pernambuco, went to Law School and since there engaged himself in peasant causes that suffer with the latifundium owners. In 1954 was elected State Deputy as member of the «Partido Socialista Brasileiro» (PSB). In the 1950s was engaged in the formation and consolidation of peasants' associations, especially the group called «Ligas Camponesas». In the year of 1957 visited the Soviet Union and three years later visited also Cuba. During the 1950s and 1960s was the «Ligas Camponesas» the main association that pressure for an immediate Land Reform. Julião attitude towards this agenda was considered related to the extreme left-wing, mainly the «Frente de Mobilização Popular» (FMP) which stated that the Land Reform must take place, «In law or by force, with flowers or blood» (GOMES & FERREIRA, 2014, p. 131).

<sup>325</sup> Napolitano (2014) indicates the disputes and the consensus inside the «Ligas Camponesas».



The main problem that Goulart's faced was the lack of a social cohesion, needed to give the political tranquility for the application of the economic plan created by Celso Furtado,<sup>326</sup> which followed the orientations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This plan, in order to give the conditions to new stage of development to the Brazilian capital and control the inflation, had as main tool the social basic reforms that were on the center of Jango's government proposal. Although, due to other politics connected to this plan – salary reduction; limitation to credit and control of the State expenses – during the year of 1963 the industrial sector withdraw its support to the president, in the same breath, Goulart also has had problems with the support of Unions Confederations that accused the plan of being reactionary, these critics were mostly linked to the loss of purchasing power of the low classes income after the elimination of protective measures on the wheat and oil prices. Still on the first semester of that year, Goulart's term accepted the social-political pressure; credit was allowed and raised public salaries (TOLEDO, 2004b, p. 17). During the year of 1963, took place several negotiations for a national Land Reform, however throughout the months important political forces backed up its support to the agenda, «UDN» in April and «PSD» in August, at the end in October a last proposal placed by the «PTB» was reject in Congress, formalizing another important loss to Goulart's term (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 41).

João Goulart's term worked also in favor of the right to eligibility of the lower ranks of the armed forces, a group that had been fundamental in enabling him to take office. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court did not allow the investiture of those militaries that were elected state deputies and city councilors in the 1962 elections (GOMES & FERREIRA, 2014, p. 179). From that, in 1963 the sergeants' movement led to an uprising and the seizure, by six hundred members of the Air Force and Navy, of the buildings of the Federal Department of Public Security (DFSP), the Central Station of the Radio Patrol, the Ministry of the Navy, the National Radio and the Department of Urban and Interurban Telephones and also the Congress

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<sup>326</sup> The so-called «Plano Trienal de desenvolvimento econômico-social: 1963-1965» (Triennial Plan of social and economic development) had as main goals the following points: 1) Assure the growth of the national income in 7 per cent a year; 2) Reduce the inflation pressure; 3) Create conditions for better distribution of the national production to the population; 4) Intensify the government measures in the educational, technological and scientific fields in order to assure better access of a bigger part of the population to cultural assets; 5) Develop several country's areas aiming to reduce national disparities; 6) Reduce institutional problems in order give more efficiency to the national agricultural production; 7) Refinance the National External Debt; 8) Give more agility and efficacy to the government and its actions. As a synthesis, was expected a growth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in an annual rate of 7 per cent, the total growth of 37 per cent of the industrial production and, at the end of 1965 a national contribution to its own growth of 70 per cent. PLANO TRIENAL DE DESENVOLVIMENTO ECONÔMICO E SOCIAL – 1963-1965 (SÍNTESE) – Presidência da República, Brasília, dezembro de 1962.

Avallabile in: <https://bibliotecadigital.seplan.planejamento.gov.br/handle/iditem/495> Last access: 15/06/2021.

in Brasília. When the mutinous sergeants tried to move to the second step of the insurrection, the high ranks of the Armed Forces reacted and rebels were arrested; though the lack of a formal condemnation by the president led Carlos Lacerda, one of the main opposing parties of Jango, to make statements suggesting that the «PTB» government was preparing a coup and suggested the intervention of the USA in order to guarantee the Brazilian democracy. The reaction of Goulart to this crisis has been the proposition of the approval by the Congress and the declaration of the State of Emergency. His action was condemned by all political sectors and the synthesis of the final months of Goulart's term was a clear polarization between the right and left wings with a growing political pressure. The president gamble relied on the popular pressure to his agenda, although time was running off (TOLEDO, 2004b, p. 18)

### *Two decades of a new cultural turn*

Before entering in the final months and acts of Goulart's term, as so in the details of the coup, is important to make a synthesis movement on what has been the main cultural catalyst and its transformations in the period just presented. The presidency of Jango itself represented this element of cultural catalyst, for two main reasons; in first place, even if there were many turbulences and ferocious political disputes, Brazil was living between 1945 and the beginning of the 1960s a period of relatively calm and democratic stability with four consecutives elections. In addition to that, the reformist agenda that «PTB's» term proposed gave strength to a new cultural agenda, which was inspired in a Brazilian Modernism born in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 19).

Since the 1920s, part of a cultural elite was trying to understand and represent the Brazilian cultural identity, modernizing it, in order to unite the country and its people, but without losing most of its specificity. This search for a modern Brazilian Identity was an issue for both political wings, in the 1940s, the Estado Novo and its authoritarian project has related the «Brazility» with the Official Cultural Line, on the other hand the Communist left saw in the Culture a revolutionary road. Ridenti (2000) points out that the idea of the building of a «New Man» was a fundamental part of most of the left-wing cultural agenda, in so, there was an idealization that the return to the interior of the nation, far away from the cities in quick transformation would take back the country to a real national identity, that was defined as a Revolutionary Romanticism; «Em suma, buscava no passado uma cultura popular autêntica para construir uma nova nação, ao mesmo tempo moderna e desalienada, no limite, socialista»<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> «Summing up, it sought in the past an authentic popular culture to build a new nation, at the same time modern and unalienated, in extreme, socialist».

(RIDENTI, 2000, p. 02). Was in this context and in the attempt of bringing closer to the mass of the population new cultural aspects and this identity debate that the «Bossa Nova» and the «Cinema Novo» proposed a new relation of engagement, esthetics, popular culture and nationalism. Once more is necessary to underline why there were the conditions for this new rise of the Modern Brazilian Culture.

The first two decades after the Second World War saw the flourishing and spreading across the globe (even if in unequal conditions) a significant change in the material conditions of life. Had been guaranteed, especially in Europe and the USA, access to the basic needs of a modern urban life, a speedy technological transformation, new products in market, a major part of the population had for the first-time access to formal education. According to Ridenti (2000), this material changes aren't by itself the reason for cultural revolution, although give an important help in proposing new possibilities to the politics.

And has been on this big context the Jango's term was inserted, allowing new contacts, ideas and utopias to be part of the cultural scenario. In the music «Bossa Nova» presented itself as the new proposal of a Brazilian Popular Music, at the same time, inside the «União Nacional dos Estudantes» (UNE) was born the «Centro Popular de Cultura» (CPC) which as heir of the idea of a «national-popular» culture, was dedicated to understanding what was necessary to be the committed artist. At the same time, was pretty much in connection with what was the socio-political agenda of Goulart's term

Como tarefas básicas, à medida que o governo João Goulart assumia as Reformas de Base como sua principal Bandeira, o CPC se dispunha a desenvolver a consciência popular, a base da libertação nacional. Mas antes de atingir o povo, o artista deveria se converter aos novos valores e procedimento, nem que para isso sacrificasse o seu deleite estético e a sua vontade de expressão pessoal (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 21).<sup>328</sup>

At the same time, Paulo Freire and the national campaigns of literacy were giving a new movement to many Left Political Movements in the country. Finally, the cinema with the consolidation of the «Cinema Novo» as a group and a movement were proposing a new orientation and breath to a New Modernism that was contesting in many ways and layers the old oligarchic power in Brazil. Inspired by the Italian Neorealism and the French «Nouvelle

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<sup>328</sup> «As basic tasks, as the João Goulart government assumed the Base Reforms as its main political flag, the CPC was willing to develop popular consciousness, the basis of national liberation. But before reaching the people, the artist should be converted to the new values and procedures, even if this meant sacrificing his aesthetic pleasure and his desire for personal expression».

Vague», in 1960, the «Cinema Novo» movement was inaugurated with movies directed by Glauber Rocha, Ruy Guerra, Roberto Santos, Nelson Pereira dos Santos, Arnaldo Jabor, Cacá Diegues and others. Until 1967 the main scenarios in the narratives of the group were the Brazilian Northeast or the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, with this framing Napolitano (2014, p. 25) indicates that how was born the Manifest «Estética da Fome», which Glauber Rocha presented Genova in 1965 as a political demonstration on how was the hunger that unified all the undeveloped societies, and how the violence of the images was the way founded to make the colonizer understand the culture explored by him.<sup>329</sup>

### *1964 and the final months of Goulart's term*

The last month of Goulart's term was extremely tense and polarized. As we mentioned before, the president has made the choice of appeal to the public opinion and popular support as his main political asset to face the growing opposition. A group that each day was stronger and bigger, nurtured above all by the national economic difficulties, political crisis, and the ideological polarization. This last point had suffered great influence by the organization and action of part of the mainstream press that created the so-called «Rede da Democracia»,<sup>330</sup> besides the international pressure, especially the USA throughout the interferences of the United States Ambassador Lincoln Gordon. As part of the political choice made by the Jango, was central in his strategy, the emphasis on the Base Reforms. Which, at the same time, was a way of speaking to the popular classes and to a sector of the parliamentary left-wing; but on the other hand, gave breath to the political groups, in particular the conservative parties and the rebel wing of the armed forces, that saw in this move a radicalization that would justify an intervention in his term.<sup>331</sup>

With the objective of gather popular support and put in motion his social-political plan of national reforms, Goulart started to take part in major rallies organized by the «PTB». The first one, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of March 1964, in Rio de Janeiro at the «Central do Brasil» the city's main

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<sup>329</sup> Paula Siega (2009) proposes how the Manifest can be read nowadays, in order to insert the «Cinema Novo» beyond the Brazilian borders.

<sup>330</sup> During the years of 1963 and 1964, it was organized the so-called «Democracy Network» created by several press organs such as «O Globo», «Jornal do Brasil» and «Diários Associados», including radio networks. The objective of the network was to strengthen the ideological opposition to Goulart. According to Silva (2008, p. 115) one of the main targets of the group was the relation between the government and the Union's organizations, theoretically responsible of deepen the labour agenda inside Goulart's term.

Available in: <https://app.uff.br/riuff/bitstream/1/22099/1/eduardo%20todo.pdf> Access in: 15/07/2021.

<sup>331</sup> There is an important historiographical debate around the issue of the polarization and the problems that Goulart created to itself with the so-called political radicalization. Delgado (2010) and Toledo (2004) points out some of the main interpretative tendencies. This question will be further developed.

train station; the enormous rally in which were present about two hundred thousand people, was the moment chosen by Goulart to officially announce the Reform's program, a plebiscite for a new Constitution, as well as the signature of several decreets in which some refineries were nationalized, prices were frozen and unproductive land was expropriated (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 55). From that moment on, the rebel part of the high ranks of the Armed Forces, a major part of «UDN», USA agents (deepening the relation between the countries that was close since the 1950s throughout military agreements),<sup>332</sup> the rural farm owner's oligarchy, a major part of the industrial sector and a conservative part of the civil society start actively acting to unfold a coup.

Another key moment that brought more political instability to the period and fueled the coup plotters happened on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March when took place the «Sailors Revolt». During the celebrations of the second anniversary of the illegal «Associação de Marinheiros e Fuzileiros Navais»<sup>333</sup> in the headquarters of the Metalworkers Union. The so Ministry of the Navy, Silvio Mota, ordered the prison of the sailors, however, the soldiers sent to do the arresting joined the movement. Goulart, in the occasion, had forbidden the invasion of the Union's building; Ministry Mota in reaction to that had resign. Three days later, Goulart, trusting in the popular support, had amnestied the sailors creating a bigger unsatisfaction within the high ranks (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 57). We arrive then in what was for many the main trigger event of the coup itself, even if the whole scenario of instability and coup had already been in the air for some years as we had seen so far. On March 30<sup>th</sup>, in the occasion of the Inauguration of the New Board of directors of the «Associação de Sargentos e Cabos da Polícia Militar do Rio de Janeiro»<sup>334</sup> in the «Automóvel Clube»<sup>335</sup> of Rio de Janeiro, Goulart answering to the invitation of its leaders went to the event, breaking once again the military hierarchy.

Besides that, he proclaimed in a television broadcasted an inflamed speech in which he denounced the coup plotter and the reactionaries' forces, the necessity of a "reform's coup", according to Toledo (2009, p. 23) «As palavras eloqüentes e os gestos draconianos do Presidente da República foram muito parecidos com a carta de Vargas. Sem atirar em si mesmo no peito, Goulart parecia decidir pelo suicídio político»<sup>336</sup>. But the author as well as consider the importance of the left-wing political movements to the outcome of the coup, he also

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<sup>332</sup> According to Green & Jones (2009), The cooperation between the two countries has been continuous in the 1950s and 1960s, with high-ranking Brazilian military officers attending military academies in the US.

<sup>333</sup> «Association of Sailors and Marines».

<sup>334</sup> «Association of Sergeants and sub-officers of the Military Police».

<sup>335</sup> «Automobile Club».

<sup>336</sup> «The eloquent words and draconian gestures of the President of the Republic were very similar to Vargas' letter of testament. Without shooting himself in the chest, Goulart seemed to decide for political suicide».

underlines that «devemos sempre lembrar e enfatizar que aqueles que planejaram e desataram o golpe contra a democracia foram as classes dominantes através de suas forças políticas e entidades de classe»<sup>337</sup> (TOLEDO, 2009, p. 24). That was the last public appearance of Goulart as president, in the night of the 31<sup>st</sup> of March the *coup* was triggered in Juiz de Fora, in the interior of the State of Minas Gerais by the General Olimpio Mourão Filho<sup>338</sup>, his objective was march until the State of Guanabara, and the take the building of the Ministry of War, was then expected the support of the troops and other divisions along the way (GOMES & FERREIRA, 2014, p. 335).

At this point is important to mention that Mourão's action was a surprise even for the coup plotters, but why? The conspiracy that took down Goulart's term and the national-reformist political project was being planned and organized for some years, and part of this organization had the political and military support of the United States government. Recently, were declassified and published by «The George Washington University», telegrams from «The National Security Archive», that indicates the direct participation of the US Ambassador Lincoln Gordon not only inside the political arrangements of the plot but, in the organization of a necessary military support by the US government. Gordon's interpretation pointed out the possibility of a coup by Goulart and a later change in power, due to Jango's political fragility; what would open space for a possible communist rise<sup>339</sup>. From that, was born the proposal of a military operation called «Brother Sam» which would be responsible for giving tactical and logistic support to the uprising Brazilian Armed Forces in case was needed.<sup>340</sup>

The problem was that in the night between March 31<sup>st</sup> and April's 1<sup>st</sup> the US Navy was not even in his way to Brazil. The General, Humberto Castelo Branco, assigned in the State of Guanabara, and one of the leaders of the group inside the Army that was conspiring against

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<sup>337</sup> «we must always remember and emphasize that those who planned and unleashed the coup against democracy were the dominant classes through their political forces and class entities».

<sup>338</sup> Born in 1900 in the city of Diamantina, interior of the State of Minas Gerais, son of a Congressman and Senator, he completed his military formation in 1924. During the following decade participate of several Army repressions to different insurgent movements in the country. The most important one has been the repression to the so-called «Revolta Constitucionalista de 1932», in which political groups from the State of São Paulo started a civil war against the Vargas's federal government. The movement was insatisfied with the end of the political agreement called «política do café com leite» that corresponded to a relay in the presidency between politics of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. Mourão was also the writer of the «Plano Cohen» a fake written plan in which supposedly Brazil would be victim of an international communist coup, the false document was used by Vargas to perpetrated the «Estado Novo» coup. In 1945 he was sent with the Expeditionary Forces to Italy, taking part in the World War II conflict. Finally, in 1956 was promoted to general and since then was the leader of the «4<sup>o</sup> Military Region of the Army» based in Juiz de Fora, Minas Gerais. Available in:

<http://www.fgv.br/cpd/doc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/mourao-filho-olimpio> Access in: 15/07/2021.

<sup>339</sup> This telegram is it available in: <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB118/bz02.pdf> Access in 15/07/2021.

<sup>340</sup> Available in: <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB118/bz03.pdf> Access: 15/07/2021.

Goulart criticized Mourão's action indicating that didn't have other supports insider the Armed Forces. Although, even with the hesitation of some of the plotters and the attempt of others, as for example the General Costa e Silva, to take the leadership of the coup (disorganizing even more the movement) the plot went on. Goulart also didn't know what his reaction could be, especially in trying to avoid an armed conflict, as he had declared several times. After the loss of the support of the General Amaury Kruel, commander of the III Army based no Rio Grande do Sul (Goulart's birthplace) the military rebellion had gained strength, armored tanks were seen in the streets of Rio de Janeiro and other main cities of the country (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 64).

Many left-oriented movements waited for a reaction order that never came. In the meanwhile, Goulart tried to negotiate.<sup>341</sup> Nevertheless, the proposals received by him were too hard to accept, in general lines they were asking for a conservative turn in the government and the quitting of the reformist agenda, besides the total and official rejection of Communism; we must remember that in that context the PCB was already illegal (GOMES & FERREIRA, 2014, p. 343). In that very same day, a major group in the press made a clear change of route in its speech, raising the tone of the critics to Goulart's term and supporting the coup's need.<sup>342</sup>

In his continuous attitude to avoid an armed conflict and a possible civil war, Goulart saw the growing of the plotter military movement during the 31<sup>st</sup> of March and April's 1<sup>st</sup>. On the first day of the new month, he decided to fly back to the Rio Grande do Sul, his home state. Is interesting to see, at this point, how the coup had a closure in line with the Brazilian political tradition; tanks and soldiers were not the main responsible for the consolidation of the coup in a practical form. The National Congress, in a Session on the evening of April 2<sup>nd</sup>, with the president still in the country, declared vacant the presidency without debate in the plenary.<sup>343</sup> Has been the Chamber of Deputies President, Ranieri Mazzili, that took the office; however, was clear to all political groups that he was in charge only as a formal measure. In the

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<sup>341</sup> Domingos (2009, p. 12) highlights the great ability of João Goulart to negotiate and organize political agreements throughout his entire carrier, although make also clear that this was different of being permissive.

<sup>342</sup> Chammas (2012, p. 33-39) in a work dedicated to the newspapers «Jornal do Brasil» and «Correio da Manhã» indicates how the critics tone in both cases was rising through the hole March's month, with a constant support to the plotter movement. Available in: <https://teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8138/tde-13122012-101040/pt-br.php> Access in: 15/07/2021.

<sup>343</sup> On the night of the 21/11/2013, the Brazilian National Congress approved a «Projeto de Resolução (PRN 4/13)» cancelling the 02/04/1964 session in which the was declared vacant Goulart's term. It is important to mention that according to the document of 2013, the so deputy Jair Bolsonaro – actual Brazilian President – was the only dissonant voice in the Congress. Available in: <https://www.camara.leg.br/noticias/421429-congresso-anula-sessao-que-declarou-vaga-a-presidencia-de-joao-goulart/> Access on: 06/07/2021.

following days political arrangements inside the conspirators' groups were made and the name of the General Humberto Castelo Branco<sup>344</sup> came out as a consensus name.

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With the intent of opening the analysis sections with a synthesis of how we might interpret the photographs as a source of History we recur to Salvatore Satta. In his masterpiece, *Il giorno del giudizio* the author reflects on the problem of the perspective when looking back to the past. On the existence of such difficulty Satta states: «E si capisce perché: ognuno di noi, anche se si limita a guardare in sé stesso, si vede nella fissità di un ritratto, non nella successione dell'esistenza. La successione è una trasformazione continua, ed è impossibile cogliere e fermare gli attimi di questa trasformazione».<sup>345</sup> In so, more than the fixed points of the portraits, we recall that the intention in the present work is to try to find and understand the continuous transformation that photography captures precisely in the small still moments; therefore, we must go beyond the photographs themselves exactly because they carry more than fixed moments. The historicization process of the photographs is then fundamental.

Thus, we may proceed to the first key date selected to our analysis and is exactly the *coup d'état* itself. As was presented in the previous chapters, nowadays, most of the historiography lines interpret the 1964 coup as a civilian military movement, given the active participation (beyond the militaries) of civilian and institutional elements of the nation. Aiming to comprehend how this participation was reflected inside the mass media production of the period and a refraction of the press participation in the process, the first pictures that will be dissected are those that were published in the last days that anticipated the coup and the following days of the military capture of institutional power. The last days of March and the first two days of April 1964 reveals a press coverage that expresses the catalysis of years of

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<sup>344</sup> Born in Fortaleza, capital of the State of Ceará in the year of 1897. Son of an Army officer, and member of a tradition family in the region with influences in the state politics, cattle creation and even literature, he was related to the Romancist José de Alencar. After a childhood in military schools, Humberto concluded the Military Academy in 1921. Loyal to the military hierarchy, during the 1920s participated of the repression to «Tenentist Movement» and the «Coluna Prestes»; in 1932 also participated in the repression against the «Revolta Constitucional» in São Paulo and in the 1940s due to the II World War was sent to the USA to accomplish new training in US Military Academy and also participated as official in the conflicts in Italy. In the second half of the 1950s he assumed a post in the «Escola Superior de Guerra» - the ideological cradle of the Brazilian Armed Forces – training and forming new cradles. In 1963, when he was already General, was convinced to take part in the conspiracy that was being planned to remove Goulart from power. Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/humberto-de-alencar-castelo-branco> Access in: 15/07/2021.

<sup>345</sup> «And you can see why: each of us, even if we just look into ourselves, sees ourselves in the fixity of a portrait, not in the succession of existence. The succession is a continuous transformation, and it is impossible to capture and stop the moments of this transformation». Salvatore Satta. *Il giorno del giudizio*. Adelphi, 1990. p. 103.



political accumulation, tension, and the triggering of a major change, however, all these elements were reported inside newspapers that were organized from the perspective of press organs with a clear position in favor of the deposition of João Goulart and the arrival of the military in power. Some editorials<sup>346</sup> of the precedent days and weeks of the coup were already signaling this positioning, nevertheless, has been the material transformation of the political domination that unfolded and accelerated a process of new hegemony consolidation with the fundamental participation of the press.

Seeing the editorials as a strong tool to better understand the positioning movement of both newspaper in the moment of the coup some examples will be proposed in the next pages. As demonstrated by Chammas (2012, p. 35) «JB»'s opposition to the social reforms proposed by Goulart has been hard-hitting specially since the political rally of March 15h when the reforms were officially announced. Is important to highlight the fact that the newspapers weren't against the reforms, as long as within the «social and economic order in place». According to the author, has been in this period that emerged the notion of a «preventive coup» as a needed political maneuver in a crisis moment were all the actions took by the government were being inserted in a logic of radicality and class struggle. In this logic Chammas (2012) calls the attention to the genesis of another rhetorical phenomenon that, as was mentioned before, has its influences until nowadays in the mainstream memory of the reasons to the coup

No JB, o adjetivo “radical” vai sendo imputado a quase tudo que está relacionado ao governo Jango. Em 20 de março de 1964, o jornal publica editorial afirmando que é preciso “devolver ao país a paz e a tranqüilidade perdidas, retirando a iniciativa dos radicais que cortam todas as pontes de saída democrática”. O jornal começa a construir a ideia de que se a saída da “resistência democrática” for autoritária, a responsabilidade terá sido dos radicais.<sup>347</sup> (CHAMMAS, 2012, p. 37).

On reading the editorials published in the issues of the indicated period a first element that emerges, the «FSP» even if had a strong opposition attitude to Goulart's term, has been

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<sup>346</sup> The work of Eduardo Chammas, «A ditadura e a grande imprensa» (2012), presents an analysis of two newspapers editorials: «Jornal do Brasil» e «Correio da Manhã» in the first four years of the military dictatorship. In order to organize the present, analyze path, Chammas's work will serve as a guide to the use of the editorials in the interpretation of the images.

<sup>347</sup> «In JB, the adjective "radical" is attributed to almost everything related to the Jango government. On 20 March 1964, the newspaper published an editorial stating that it was necessary "to give back to the country the peace and tranquility it had lost, withdrawing the initiative of the radicals who are cutting all bridges to the democratic way out". The newspaper starts to build the idea that if the way out of the "democratic resistance" is authoritarian, the radicals will be responsible».

only after the arrival of the militaries in power that some words started to be used in a more incisive way. For example, the following extracts from the editorials of March 31st and the 1st and 2<sup>nd</sup> of April shows that the words «communist», «communism» or «threat» appeared only after the coup. In the editorial of March 31st, is possible to see also in the «FSP» a major critic to the President and the high ranks of the government as responsible for the crisis within the Armed Forces.

A culpa maior, porém, está perfeitamente caracterizada: é dos altos escalões da República, que deram mais ouvidos ao CGT e à Frente de Mobilização Popular (e voltamos a indagar: que é que tinha essa gente com um problema eminentemente militar) do que às ponderadas vezes que exigiam um procedimento capaz de restabelecer a hierarquia e a disciplina na Marinha de Guerra.<sup>348</sup> (MARINHA: O BOM CAMINO..., 31/03/1964).

In the following day, the editorial was focused on commenting Goulart's speech at the Sergeants event that took place in Rio de Janeiro the day before, once more a strong critic to the president was made and has been centered in the tone of the speech, an element that as will be present further on, has a strong connection with the pictures of that day.

O mais lamentável, porém, no discurso presidencial foi o tom em que falou aquele que, por sua posição mesma no cenário político, deveria representar a ponderação e o espírito de concordia e apaziguamento. Era o tom de quem deseja, inflamando sargentos e suboficiais, cindir de maneira irreparável as Forças Armadas. Era o tom de quem, tendo por máximo dever preservar as instituições, jogava, numa última e decisiva cartada, o destino delas.<sup>349</sup> (DISCURSO INFELIZ..., 01/04/1964).

Finally, in the editorial of April's 2<sup>nd</sup> the press organ published not only a longer text, but was much more incisive in the condemning the actions of the government agitators' political group that now were being labelled as «communists' elements» capable of direct Goulart's term actions.

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<sup>348</sup> «The higher echelons of the Republic were to blame, as they listened more to the CGT and the Popular Mobilization Front (and we ask once again: what did these people have to do with an eminently military problem) than they did to the thoughtful demands for a procedure capable of re-establishing hierarchy and discipline in the Navy». «Folha de S. Paulo, 31/03/1964, N° 13.707, Ano XLIV. Pages. 24».

<sup>349</sup> «The most regrettable thing, however, in the presidential speech was the tone of the person who, due to his position in the political scenario, should represent the ponderation and the spirit of concord and appeasement. It was the tone of one who wishes, by inflaming sergeants and non-commissioned officers, to irreparably split the Armed Forces. It was the tone of one who, having as his utmost duty to preserve the institutions, was playing, in a last and decisive move, their destiny». «Folha de S. Paulo, 01/04/1964, N° 13.708, Ano XLIV. Pages. 24».

Ninguém por certo desejou tal situação, excluídos certamente os elementos comunistas para os quais a situação do país estará tanto melhor quanto pior em verdade for. Esses elementos, infelizmente, vêm agindo há muito em altos cargos da administração pública federal e, de certa maneira, orientando muitas ações do governo.<sup>350</sup> (EM DEFESA DA LEI..., 02/04/1964).

The «JB» however, as presented above, was already making use of a straighter denomination of the ideological differences in dispute – even if there was not a real communist threat in the Brazilian context at that time.<sup>351</sup> In the editorial of March 31<sup>st</sup> what was seen has been an insinuation of an external invasion, and the presentation of the notion of something that was being prepared. Besides that, is also present a general idea of correctness and legality related to the production and flow of work inside the country.

A cada dia que passa menos se trabalha, menos se produz. E nada indica que essa marcha ladeira abaixo tenha algum paradeiro. Ou algum beneficiário visível. [...] Não se trata de uma atmosfera de reformas, não se trata nem mesmo de uma atmosfera de Revolução organizada. Ou ainda não. Trata-se exatamente de uma espécie de preparo de terreno, de desmoralização do País para alguma invasão. [...] O Brasil acelerou sua marcha. Mas parece ter perdido o rumo. Convença-se o Presidente de que agitar os outros e se agitar a si mesmo não é governar. Lamentamos repetir: o Presidente continua não governando, e agora na ilegalidade<sup>352</sup>. (DESGOVERNO E ILEGALIDADE ....., 1964).

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<sup>350</sup> «No one certainly wanted this situation, except certainly the communist elements, for whom the situation of the country will be better the worse it is. These elements, unfortunately, have been acting for a long time in high positions of the federal public administration and, in a certain way, orienting many government actions». «Folha de S. Paulo, 02/04/1964, N° 13.709, Ano XLIV. Pages. 24».

<sup>351</sup> Cristopher Alves (2013) in analyzing the editorials of «JB» in the first months of 1964, indicates that in the period that precede the coup d'état there was an ideological and conceptual difference in between what should be the meaning and the social role of the democracy as a political concept with the purpose to balance the social interests. To João Goulart there was the need of institutional and social reforms in the country, in a perspective in which the democracy should be guaranteed not only as a political right but as well as a real distribution of power and reduction of social inequalities – to achieve this goal in some contexts the individual liberty would be affected. And at this point the Liberal political wing of the country had several critics and, in this view, to the «JB» the real treat to the democracy was Goulart's intervention in other Republican powers, especially the Legislative. In this logic it was justified the newspaper support to Goulart's deposition and editorial positioning.

<sup>352</sup> «Every day that passes, there is less work and less production. And there is no indication that this downward march has any whereabouts. Or any visible beneficiary. [...] It is not an atmosphere of reforms; it is not even an atmosphere of organized Revolution. Or not yet. It is exactly a kind of preparation of the terrain, of demoralization of the Country for some invasion. [Brazil has accelerated its march. But it seems to have lost its way. The President must be convinced that agitating others and agitating himself is not governing. We regret to repeat: the President is still not governing, and now illegally]. «Jornal do Brasil, 31/03/1964, N° 75 Ano LXXIII, pages 32».

In the day after the coup the carioca newspaper was openly defending the movement that would take down Goulart and calling into a «legality» that was being restored by the militaries - always in opposition of a communist threat to the country. This is the most critic editorial published in the period and obviously does not call the military arrival in power as a coup

Só há uma legalidade – a legalidade dos brasileiros liderados por Minas e São Paulo. [...] Os verdadeiros brasileiros já fizeram sua escolha. Estão restabelecendo a legalidade democrática, reformista, sim, mas expurgada do objetivo de comunização do Brasil. O reformismo do Sr. João Goulart é comunização disfarçada de reformismo. [...] Nada há de temer. A Federação ameaçada será logo reunificada pela ação liderada por Minas Gerais e São Paulo. A derrota do Sr. João Goulart é inevitável [...] A Legalidade está conosco – não com o caudilho aliado do comunismo. As opções estão feitas e vamos para a vitória<sup>353</sup> (FORA DA LEI..., 1964).

Curiously, on April's 2nd what was seen in the pages of «JB», has been an editorial that on the one hand was dedicated to a «legal solution» that should be in act after Goulart's deposition. After the ferocious critics to the «communization» of the country printed in the day before, the newspaper was now defending and believing that the Congress and the Militaries would organize the returning to the democracy through elections on the following year. On the other hand, there were still critics directed to Goulart, individualizing the problem. Those critics, however, did not carry an explicit «communist» labeling, and tried to separate two kinds of laborism – the one related to Jango and the one that should be in place from that day on.

A solução está nos textos constitucionais. Congresso e Forças Armadas terão que partir sem a menor demora para o restabelecimento do *status* legal do Poder [...] Considera-se o JORNAL DO BRASIL em condições de absoluta autoridade para pregar a estrita solução legal, depois de reiteradamente e à custa dos maiores riscos, declarar a incompatibilidade do ex-presidente João Goulart com o regime representativo [...] Caiu vitima finalmente de sua insinceridade e de sua política de enganos. Esperamos que com seu desterro, o desterro do janguismo, se inaugure nova era do trabalhismo brasileiro, na árdua luta

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<sup>353</sup> «There is only one legality - the legality of the Brazilians led by Minas and São Paulo. [...] The true Brazilians have already made their choice. They are re-establishing democratic legality, reformist, yes, but purged of the objective of the communization of Brazil. The reformism of Mr. João Goulart is communization disguised as reformism. [...] There is nothing to fear. The threatened Federation will soon be reunited by action led by Minas Gerais and São Paulo. The defeat of Mr. João Goulart is inevitable [...] Legality is with us - not with the caudillo allied with communism. The choices are made and we go on to victory». «Jornal do Brasil, 01/04/1964, N° 76 Ano LXXIII, pages 32».

oposicionista. A era do trabalhismo apenas. Sem qualquer *ismo* pessoal ou exótico.<sup>354</sup> (PRESENTE PASSADO...,1964).

The elements present in these Editorials extracts added to the previous aspects of both newspapers' historical developments, converge to an important overall view of the discursive horizon that this part of the Brazilian press entered in the authoritarian political regime. In the following pages these relations will be added up by the photograph's discursive layer.

### *The political crisis and the coup d'etat*

In this first group of newspapers editions that had been put under scrutiny is possible to identify some tendencies in the coverage realized by both daily publications. In first place, there is a growing number of pages, headlines and pictures dedicated to the civil-military coup as the crisis deepens. If in all the four days analyzed the crisis was presented in the first page, on the last day of March 1964, was still timid the presence of it in the internal pages of the newspapers, with a much smaller number of pages and photos regarding the triggering of the movement to depose João Goulart. In second place, is necessary to underline two other aspects of this first group of editions; the intention of approximate and relate the deposition of the President with a political legitimacy within the National Congress actions and the narrative of a defense of the legality being acted by the coup plotters – this is visible both in the headlines and editorials. In addition to this, another aspect that recalls the attention in this first overall look to the coverage is the presence of fourteen photos in the internal pages of the «FSP» 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1964 issue, signposting that, to the newspaper, the pictures were playing an important role on the veridiction of the facts narrated, especially as will be detailed in the following pages, those related to a generic narrative of the facts.

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<sup>354</sup> «The solution is in the constitutional texts. Congress and the Armed Forces will have to leave without the slightest delay to re-establish the legal status of Power [...] The Jornal do Brasil considers itself in a position of absolute authority to preach the strict legal solution, after repeatedly and at the greatest risk, declaring the incompatibility of the former President João Goulart with the representative regime [...] He finally fell victim to his insincerity and his policy of deceit. We hope that with his banishment, the banishment of janguism, a new era of Brazilian labour will begin, in the arduous struggle of the opposition. The era of Labourism only. Without any personal or exotic *ism*». «Jornal do Brasil, 02/04/1964, N° 77 Ano LXXIII, pages 32».

<b>Case / Data</b>	The military coup - the days before and after the coup 29/03/1964 - 02/04/1964	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>Period analysed</b>		4 issues
<i>JORNAL DO BRASIL</i> <sup>355</sup>		
Nº of front pages	4	4
Nº of headlines	4	
Nº front page photos	1 (29-30/03); 1 (31/03); 2 (01/04); 6 (02/04)	10
Main headlines	«Almirantes anunciam a comunização do País» (29-30/03) «Clube Militar dá apoio ao Clube Naval» (31/03) «S. Paulo adere a Minas e anuncia marcha ao Rio contra Goulart»; «Gorilas invadem o JB» (01/04) «Goulart resiste no Sul e Congresso empossa Mazzilli» (02/04)	
Nº of internal pages	3 (29-30/03); 1 (31/03); 4 (01/04); 2 (02/04)	3
Nº of internal photos	1 (29-30/03); 1 (31/03); 7 – pag. 09 – 1º Caderno (01/04); 8 – p. 02; 04 and 08 – 1º Caderno (02/04)	3
Main internal titles	«Clube Naval protesta contra anistia a marinheiros rebeldes» (29-30/03) «Magalhães exige que disciplina militar seja mantida» (31/03) «Fuzileiros com metralhadoras invadem JB e tiram Rádio do ar» (01/04); «Fora da Lei» Editorial (01/04) «Situação definida, mas ainda não consolidada» (02/04)	
<i>FOLHA DE S. PAULO</i> <sup>356</sup>		
Nº of front pages	3 – the issue of 01/04 it is in terrible conservation conditions	3
Nº of headlines	3	3
Nº front page photos	0 (30/03) 3 (31/03); 4 (02/04)	7
Main headlines	«Ultimato do Clube Naval ao Ministro da Marinha» (30/03) «Os clubes naval e militar tomam posição conjunta» (31/03) «Congresso declara presidência vaga; Mazzilli assume» (02/04)	
Nº of internal pages	3 (30/03) 1 (31/03) 4 (02/04)	8
Nº of internal photos	2 (30/03) 0 (31/03) 14 (02/04)	16
Main internal titles	«Clube Naval envia ultimato: Goulart volta ao Rio» (30/03) «UDN e PSD unidos para derrubar Goulart» (31/03) «Em defesa da lei» Editorial (02/04) «Ademar não acredita que o presidente Goulart renuncie» (02/04) «Assessores de Goulart admitem a derrota do governo» (02/04)	

<sup>355</sup> «Jornal do Brasil, March 29th, 30th, 31st and April's 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> 1964, N° 74, 75, 76, 77. Ano LXXIII».

<sup>356</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo, March 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup>, April's 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1964, N° 13.706, 07, 08 and 09. Ano XLIV».

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Admirals announce the communization of the country» (29-30/03); «Military Club gives support to the Naval Club» (31/03); «S. Paulo adheres to Minas and announces march to Rio against Goulart» (01/04); «Goulart resists in the South and Congress imposes Mazzilli» (02/04)
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Clube Naval protests against amnesty for rebel sailors» (03/29-30/03); «Magalhães demands that military discipline be maintained» (31/03); «Marines with machine guns invade JB and take Radio off the air» (01/04); «Outlawed» Editorial (01/04); «Situation defined, but not yet consolidated» (02/04)

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo »	«Ultimatum from the Naval Club to the Minister of Navy» (30/03); «The naval and military clubs take a joint position» (31/03); «Congress declares presidency vacant; Mazzilli takes over» (02/04);
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo »	«Clube Naval sends ultimatum: Goulart returns to Rio» (30/03); «UDN and PSD united to overthrow Goulart» (31/03); «In defence of the law» Editorial (02/04); «Ademar does not believe that President Goulart will resign» (02/04); «Goulart's advisers admit the government's defeat» (02/04)

### 30/03/1964 – Folha de S. Paulo

On that day's edition no image related to the political crisis has been published in the front cover of the newspaper. This first image (*photo 01*) printed in the third page of the «1<sup>o</sup> Caderno», occupies 1/8 of the page and alongside the title «Fica»<sup>357</sup>, was followed by the subtitle «O alm. Aragão continua. A sua permanência pode gerar nova crise na Marinha»<sup>358</sup>, composes a group of discursive elements that are related to the headline of the page: «Clube Naval envia ultimato: Goulart volta ao Rio»<sup>359</sup>; completing a whole page dedicated to the insubordination crisis inside the Navy. The squared, frontal and in american plan shot presents a still composition entirely sharp, with a small blur on the soldier in the first plan at the left front corner, is visible a strong contrast distinction with the background and apart from the three persons in the middle is not possible to identify the other five in the photo. In an unknown and external location that seems to be a sort of stage, the image illustrates the Navy Admiral Candido da Costa Aragão that might be in the center of a new crisis.

The external photo is centered on the people in the scene. In total eight men (four of them are military) standing in a moment that seems to be part of an official ceremony which

<sup>357</sup> «Stays». At this point a clarification is needed, from this point on, all the texts, titles auxiliary titles, and subtitles quoted from the newspapers under analysis will be presented in the text in Portuguese, as in the original, accompanied by a translation. After that, all repetitions of the already translated text will be made in English aiming to facilitate the lecture.

<sup>358</sup> «The Alm. Aragão continues. His presence might generate a new crisis in the Navy».

<sup>359</sup> «Naval Club sends an ultimatum and Goulart returns to Rio».

# CLUBE NAVAL ENVIA ULTIMATO: GOULART VOLTA AO RIO

## Goulart movimenta-se na Guanabara contra a oposição impetuosa

BRASÍLIA, 29 (FOLHA) — O presidente da República viajou para o Rio, por volta das 15 horas, a fim de enfrentar, no centro das atenções, a oposição à sua política que se desenvolve impetuosamente nas últimas horas. Assessorado pelo Sr. João Goulart, chefe da Casa Civil, analisou-se profundamente a situação política e a possibilidade de um retorno à presidência da República, tendo em vista a situação política, econômica e social do país, a situação da Marinha, que se encontra a servir sob o comando do almirante Paulo Maria Instituto, e a situação da Força Armada Brasileira, sob o comando do general Augusto Magessi. A situação política espera-se um maléfico de consequências, a ser divulgado a qualquer momento, pelo que ajudaria a ocupar a situação militar de Goulart, no Rio de Janeiro.

### GUERRA: TROCA DE MINISTRO

Para lidar com a situação, o presidente da República, em substituição do general João Dantas, que, até agora, não tem condições de assumir o Ministério da Guerra. A escolha — confirmada por telegramas entre — estaria entre o general Oscar Dantas, general Ledério Pereira Tasso e marechal Gustavo Ferreira Aires.

Quando o presidente estiver para a Guanabara, a 10ª edição, após o COT se manifestar, a respeito do COT de Brasília, firmada pelos militares, a situação política e econômica do país, a situação da Marinha, que se encontra a servir sob o comando do almirante Paulo Maria Instituto, e a situação da Força Armada Brasileira, sob o comando do general Augusto Magessi. A situação política espera-se um maléfico de consequências, a ser divulgado a qualquer momento, pelo que ajudaria a ocupar a situação militar de Goulart, no Rio de Janeiro.

Um o COT está articulando todas as atividades militares. O novo governo político de substituição ao Sr. João Goulart, segundo a informação, já estaria em andamento, sob o comando do general Oscar Dantas, general Ledério Pereira Tasso e marechal Gustavo Ferreira Aires.

Também a Associação dos Marinheiros e Fuzileiros Navais desenvolveu uma campanha em favor de Goulart, que se encontra no Rio de Janeiro, sob o comando do almirante Paulo Maria Instituto, e a situação da Força Armada Brasileira, sob o comando do general Augusto Magessi. A situação política espera-se um maléfico de consequências, a ser divulgado a qualquer momento, pelo que ajudaria a ocupar a situação militar de Goulart, no Rio de Janeiro.

### ULTIMATO

O Clube Naval enviou um ultimato ao presidente da República, exigindo a sua permanência no Rio de Janeiro, a fim de lidar com a situação política e econômica do país, a situação da Marinha, que se encontra a servir sob o comando do almirante Paulo Maria Instituto, e a situação da Força Armada Brasileira, sob o comando do general Augusto Magessi. A situação política espera-se um maléfico de consequências, a ser divulgado a qualquer momento, pelo que ajudaria a ocupar a situação militar de Goulart, no Rio de Janeiro.

Logo a situação não ficou em uma situação normal, o presidente da República, em substituição do general João Dantas, que, até agora, não tem condições de assumir o Ministério da Guerra. A escolha — confirmada por telegramas entre — estaria entre o general Oscar Dantas, general Ledério Pereira Tasso e marechal Gustavo Ferreira Aires.

### CLUBE MILITAR

A situação política espera-se um maléfico de consequências, a ser divulgado a qualquer momento, pelo que ajudaria a ocupar a situação militar de Goulart, no Rio de Janeiro.

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## Anistia



Em sua 1.ª entrevista, o novo min. da Marinha anuncia a anistia aos rebeldes

## Fica



O alim. Aragão continua. A sua permanência pode gerar nova crise na Marinha.

## Situação normal em São Paulo

Logo a situação não ficou em uma situação normal, o presidente da República, em substituição do general João Dantas, que, até agora, não tem condições de assumir o Ministério da Guerra. A escolha — confirmada por telegramas entre — estaria entre o general Oscar Dantas, general Ledério Pereira Tasso e marechal Gustavo Ferreira Aires.

## Magessi: Clube Naval tem apoio do Militar

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## Marinheiros regressam aos navios

RIO, 29 (FOLHA) — Atendendo a uma ordem da Associação dos Marinheiros e Fuzileiros Navais do Brasil, marinheiros e cabos libertados na rebelião regressaram hoje à noite às respectivas unidades. A medida foi determinada pelo presidente da entidade, cabo José Américo, em vista de notícias referentes aos meios militares, segundo as quais a situação política e econômica do país, a situação da Marinha, que se encontra a servir sob o comando do almirante Paulo Maria Instituto, e a situação da Força Armada Brasileira, sob o comando do general Augusto Magessi. A situação política espera-se um maléfico de consequências, a ser divulgado a qualquer momento, pelo que ajudaria a ocupar a situação militar de Goulart, no Rio de Janeiro.

## PSD lançará manifesto sobre a crise

RIO, 29 (FOLHA) — O deputado Gustavo Capanema anunciou hoje que o PSD lançará um manifesto sobre a crise na Marinha, mas que não tem intenção de se envolver na situação. O manifesto será de caráter político, e não de caráter militar, e não de caráter político, e não de caráter militar, e não de caráter político, e não de caráter militar.

## I Exército pune os que assinaram contra Goulart

RIO, 29 (FOLHA) — O Exército puniu os militares que assinaram um manifesto contra Goulart, exigindo a sua permanência no Rio de Janeiro. A punição foi aplicada aos militares que assinaram o manifesto, e não de caráter político, e não de caráter militar, e não de caráter político, e não de caráter militar.

## Aragão explica detenção

Logo a situação não ficou em uma situação normal, o presidente da República, em substituição do general João Dantas, que, até agora, não tem condições de assumir o Ministério da Guerra. A escolha — confirmada por telegramas entre — estaria entre o general Oscar Dantas, general Ledério Pereira Tasso e marechal Gustavo Ferreira Aires.

RIO, 29 (FOLHA) — O Clube Naval enviou um ultimato ao presidente da República, exigindo a sua permanência no Rio de Janeiro, a fim de lidar com a situação política e econômica do país, a situação da Marinha, que se encontra a servir sob o comando do almirante Paulo Maria Instituto, e a situação da Força Armada Brasileira, sob o comando do general Augusto Magessi. A situação política espera-se um maléfico de consequências, a ser divulgado a qualquer momento, pelo que ajudaria a ocupar a situação militar de Goulart, no Rio de Janeiro.

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Admiral Aragão had to attend. Aragão was framed in the center of the photo, the framing also aims at its relationship with other subjects, such as the soldiers on the left corner as part of the narrative construction of the image. On its turn, the picture intends to be part of the narration of the conflict and problems in between the different ranks of the Armed Forces and its relation with the government. The photo, alongside the texts correlated, tries to indicate who is the man in the center of the potential new crisis and compose a scene that resumes the insubordination issue in the Navy at the tumultuous moment of Goulart's term. One of them (the one in a white navy uniform) has its gaze on Aragão and the other one, holding a machine gun and has its eyes closed; giving margin to an interpretation of a photo composition related to the insubordination problem. As an exception, there is one man in the center wearing a suit and a second one wearing a regular civilian shirt. The uniforms present in the images make clear the rank distinctions in between the elements in the picture, and also the civilians.

Most of this interpretation hypothesis might be considered as assumptions that emerge from the photo elements presented, nevertheless, represents in a pictorial form a metonymy in which the whole of the insubordination crisis is represented and illustrated in the aspects presented in the specificity of the photo and of that individual event. That is to say, the «FSP» by choosing to use that picture in that page, understand that every single aspect of it can be capable of carry the narrative and meaning elements that were needed not only to illustrate the crisis, but also to present other layers of interpretation and interaction of its readers to the image and the political and military crisis.

*30/03/1964 – Jornal do Brasil*

On that day, the «JB» in its sixteenth page, presented an isolated picture of the Mariner's leadership (*photo 02*). Even though the page in which the photo was printed brings also other subjects of the national context, the first page headline of that day's edition of «JB» states: «Almirantes denunciam a comunização do país»<sup>360</sup>. Besides this first interaction, the picture was presented under the auxiliary title: «A folga da cautela»<sup>361</sup> and the subtitle: «Anselmo e seus companheiros ganham mais dois dias de folga, graças ao medo da Marinha de novos choques entre oficiais e marinheiros»<sup>362</sup>. Is important to mention that the indicated page of the newspaper proposes a composition in which on the same page are present two important elements of the political context of the country at that time: the Navy crisis and the

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<sup>360</sup> «Admirals denounce the country's communization».

<sup>361</sup> «The pause of caution».

<sup>362</sup> «Anselmo and his companions received two days more of pause, due to Navy's fear of new clashes between officials and mariners».

## “Judas” criticam carestia

Os clássicos Judas malhados no sábado de Aleluia surgiram, este ano, apenas nas praças públicas, notadamente em São Cristóvão, no Largo da Cancellaria, com uma inovação: o Judas feminino, ostentando cartazes de protesto pela alta do custo de vida e pela atmosfera de tranqüilidade reinante no País.

Predominaram charges contra os candidatos à Presidência da República, vários Judas Brizola, alguns Judas Carlos Lacerda, e muitos Judas com nomes de proprietários de botecos do bairro. Na Rua São Luis Gonzaga, os populares chegaram a armar um bar fictício com os preços cobrados pelos proprietários de restaurantes.

### REFORMAS

Um dos temas lembrados pelos malhadores de Judas foram as reformas de base. Vários bonecos, a serem malhados, levavam o título de reforma arara, reforma agrária ou mesmo reforma das mamatas.

Um dos momentos mais felizes dos fabricantes de Judas foi quando um loteação de madeira compensada, em tamanho natural, cheio de Judas passageiros e com um Judas motorista, na Praça de São Cristóvão. No cartaz, lia-se: Viação Ilusão. Os passageiros, segundo ainda os letreiros, eram a melhoria do nível de vida, os governantes honestos e o cruzelro estável. Populares, munidos de pranchas, discutiam a hora do linchamento dos bonecos.

### SAPATOS

O toque humano foi dado por uma velhinha que tentou apoderar-se de um par de sapatos de um dos Judas, sendo impedida pela multidão do Largo da Cancellaria, em São Cristóvão. Rapidamente, porém, a anciã foi compensada por pequenas quantias em dinheiro arrecadadas entre os presentes. A velhinha chama-se Maria das Dores, e declarou ao JB que queria os sapatos, pois não podia comprá-los. Dona Maria das Dores declarou ainda, esboçando um

## Marinha dá mais dois dias de folga aos marinheiros que ainda não sabem se I morreu

Para evitar novos choques entre oficiais exaltados e marinheiros rebeldes, o Ministro da Marinha, Almirante Paulo Mário Rodrigues, adiou para quarta-feira a volta do expediente normal, concedendo, com essa medida, mais dois dias de licença aos que participaram do movimento e que apresentavam ontem, debaixo da calma pela vitória conseguida, os primeiros sinais de esgotamento.

O Presidente da Associação dos Marinheiros e Fuzileiros Navais, José Anselmo dos Santos, declarou, ainda ontem, que desconhecia, até o momento, a existência de um morto entre os rebeldes, afirmando que se acha em condições apenas de registrar que há três feridos, todos internados no Hospital da Marinha.

### NOVOS RUMOS

A respeito do movimento deflagrado por ele, o marinheiro José Anselmo dos Santos declarou:

— Não se trata de um motim ou rebelião, como a imprensa noticiou. É uma atitude direta contra o golpe que partiria de oficiais que já governaram a Marinha, entre eles o Almirante Sílvio Heck. O golpe seria dirigido contra o Presidente e contra as idéias reformistas.

— Nossa atitude agora é de obediência disciplinar ao novo Ministro e seu gabinete, que nós sabemos ser de oficiais progressistas, dispostos a lutar pelo desenvolvimento e independência de uma Marinha, realmente, brasileira.

### ANISTIA

Sobre a anistia que teria sido concedida aos marinheiros que se rebelaram, José Anselmo dos Santos afirmou:

## Caravanas do interior chegam quinta-feira para Marcha da Família

São esperadas para a próxima quinta-feira, dia 2, várias caravanas de estudantes, donas-de-casa, operários e famílias de vários Estados do Brasil que vêm participar da Marcha da Família com Deus, pela Liberdade, viajando em ônibus especialmente fretados.

A direção da CAMDE informou ontem ao JORNAL DO BRASIL que já confirmaram suas presenças os Estados de Minas Gerais, com quatro ônibus; Rio Grande do Sul, com cinco; São Paulo, com cinco. Outros Estados deverão confirmar sua participação dentro de poucas horas.

## A FOLGA DA CAUTELA



Anselmo e seus companheiros ganharam mais dois dias de folga, graças ao medo da Marinha de novos choques entre oficiais e marinheiros

## Dutra aceita participar do Forum da Legalidade

## Governo quer substituir

## Vigília Pascal acaba em tôdas as igrejas com o silêncio da Semana Santa

Com a Vigília Pascal — iniciada em tôdas as igrejas às 22 h 30 m — terminaram ontem as solenidades da Semana Santa, cujos últimos atos foram a Bênção do Fogo, o Canto do Precônio Pascal, o Canto das Profecias, a Renovação das Promessas do Batismo e a Missa Pontifical da Vigília Pascal.

Após o término das solenidades, os sinos e campanhas de tôdas as igrejas da cidade — paralisados desde segunda-feira passada — começaram a tocar em sinal de júbilo pela ressurreição de Cristo, precedendo a celebração da Missa da Ressurreição ou da Aleluia.

## Povo procura muito os ovos caros como ouro

Vários comerciantes do ramo interrogados ontem pelo JORNAL DO BRASIL disseram que a procura dos ovos de páscoa este ano é muito maior do que no anterior apesar dos preços cobrados serem muito superiores aos de 1963.

Numa das principais lojas do gênero, o gerente informou que foram postos à venda diversos tamanhos de ovos, sendo os mais procurados os de 150 gramas, que são vendidos por Cr\$ 645, e que todos os ovos de Cr\$ 43 mil — os mais caros do mercado — já foram vendidos.

### NAS RUAS

Os vendedores dos produtos Kibon também estão vendendo ovos de páscoa. Um deles afirmou ao JB que nunca vendeu tanto em sua vida. Os ovos são de tamanho único, sendo vendidos por Cr\$ 390, ou seja por

Cr\$ 200, e mais que o ano passado.

### O JUDAS

Niterói (Sucursal) — Embora a Aleluia rompa, agora, mais tarde, o Judas foi malhado desde as 10 horas de ontem nas principais ruas e bairros de Niterói. O Presidente João Goulart, o Governador Carlos Lacerda e o Congresso Nacional foram preferidos, na Capital do Estado, pelos que festejam o Sábado de Aleluia.

Um Judas de um metro de altura foi visto na Praça Martin Afonso ainda intato, com os dizeres: “Governador Badger Silveira, o Judas do funcionalismo fluminense”. Os bonecos que simbolizavam o Presidente e o Governador carioca apresentavam dizeres pornográficos, mas ninguém foi preso em Niterói por malhar seu Judas.

## Minas viu ao vivo as cenas tôdas da Paixão

Belo Horizonte (Sucursal) — A compreensão de que a tradução para o povo das cerimônias litúrgicas atrairia mais fiéis às comemorações da Semana Santa fez com que os párocos das principais cidades históricas de Minas, como Ouro Preto, Mariana, Sabará e São João Del Rei, realizassem representações ao vivo do drama

Nas noites de segunda e terça-feira santas houve as Processões de Encontro e Saudade, com missas solenes e a participação de figuras ao vivo do Velho e do Novo Testamento.

Na terça-feira cerca de quatro mil pessoas acompanharam o crucifixo existente na cidade desde 1698, todo de madeira e quase no tamanho natural

organization of the «Marcha da família com Deus para a Liberdade»<sup>363</sup> in the country's main cities. The expression of reactionary and conservative groups connected with the dominant elite's interests, occupying 1/6 of the page the vertical rectangular photo composed in two main planes presents a diving angle freezing the scene, in a sharply and equilibrated shot with a little blur on the individual placed in second plan.

The exact location of the image is unknown, probably the «Associação dos Marinheiros e Fuzileiros Navais»<sup>364</sup>. What can be inferred specially if related with the text on the side giving information about the daily updates of the crisis and the interaction in between the military ranks. In addition to that, the picture plays the role of illustrating and giving a face to José Anselmo dos Santos<sup>365</sup>, the Association's leader and president. In the scene are visible a table and some papers on it, as well as an ashtray full of burned cigarettes, which might lead to a place of relaxation or a sign of the tension. The three men in the picture are wearing regular shirts, and Anselmo is the only one with long leaves. The composition of the scene with one man standing and the other two seated around a table and cigarettes generates a meaning that might be interpreted as some sort of disquietude.

Anselmo's image representation and other two members of the Mariners association leaders can be interpreted as an expression and illustration of who are those low ranked militaries that are organizing the insubordination crisis. By giving faces to a category of the militaries there is a narrative movement that on the one side might serve to humanize those who are asking for changes, and at the same time can be an attempt to individualize the problem created, connecting those unsubordinated mariners to the figure of the President. The ambiguity connected to the choice of that image to compose a page dedicated to the insubordination crisis reveals that if on the one hand the «JB» was a supporter of Goulart's deposition, its narration of the events, gave space to a not so explicit support to it, especially if the images goes understood as compositional extra layer of meaning.

*31/03/1964 – Folha de S. Paulo*

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<sup>363</sup> «Family march with God for Freedom».

<sup>364</sup> «Navy Sailors and Marines Association».

<sup>365</sup> José Anselmo dos Santos became known during the dictatorship as «Cabo Anselmo». After the Mariners Revolt crisis that had triggered Goulart's deposition, and after being arrested in the 1970's, became a double agent serving the Brazilian Armed Forces, he has worked infiltrated in Armed Struggle groups giving crucial information to the repression agents that helped the militaries to exterminate these groups of oppositors. In 2015 he published an autobiography entitled: «Cabo Anselmo - Minha Verdade: autobiografia». The ex-military died on the 15th of March 2022. To see more on this topic: Anderson da Silva Almeida, «Todo leme a bombordo - marinheiros e ditadura civil militar no Brasil: da rebelião de 1964 à Anistia». Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2010.

The front page of this day's issue features three photos, each one approximately distributed in one third of the page. The one placed higher up is the only one dedicated to our analysis, and is slightly larger than the others (*photo 03*). The image is placed below the headline: «Naval and Military Clubs take joint position» and framed by the title: «Calma e exaltação»<sup>366</sup> and the subtitle: «O presidente, no Automóvel Clube do Rio, momentos antes de proferir violento discurso, ouviu com alma oito oradores»<sup>367</sup>, positioned below the photograph. The image, divided into two main plans and with a slightly dipping angle<sup>368</sup> shows, in the foreground, João Goulart, placed almost centrally, subtly shifted to the left (perhaps reflecting his political orientation) and some bottles, flowers and microphones on the table. At the moment of the shot, the then President was slightly crestfallen, looking down while - and as indicated in the caption - listening to another speech. On his right side, is possible to identify a man, probably a member of the Military Club, once he is in uniform. In the background of the photograph, behind the table and standing, is possible to see and count eight other men, some in uniform, others not, all very close, indicating the probable capacity of the event recorded.

In this case, the picture was taken at a distance of a few meters from the table. Probably taken through the use of a tele objective lens, allowing a closer framing and flattening the plans, even though the result was an american plan. Is clear a special attention regarding the framing so that those portrayed in the foreground are not cut off. Considering the cutting of part of the speaker, is observed the photographer's intention to emphasize those who were sitting at the table. In this same image, is possible to observe that the focal sharpness does not change much in the different parts of the photograph, with a slight favoring of the foreground in which is then Goulart, reinforcing the documental character of the main image of the newspaper cover. By portraying the President closely and with a thoughtful expression, the photograph conveys a certain ambiguity: was he attentive to the speech of his interlocutor and, simultaneously, thinking about the speech he would make? There is, then, a fundamental identification and interaction between the image and the caption: «momentos antes de fazer um violento discurso, ele calmamente ouviu a oito oradores»<sup>369</sup>, give that, from the reading of the caption, the image carries, transmits and may mean that moment of waiting of the president before speaking.

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<sup>366</sup> «Calm and exaltation».

<sup>367</sup> «The president at the Automóvel Clube do Rio, moments before delivering a violent speech, calmly listened to eight speakers».

<sup>368</sup> This is the type of photography angle in which the photographer stands above the subject or object being photographed and is often used when the aim is to devalue the subject portrayed.

<sup>369</sup> «moments before delivering a violent speech, he calmly listened to eight speakers».

— Brasil continua

Em edição de hoje, a FOLHA DE S. PAULO tem o Suplemento Especial - 01 — ISRAELI-CA, em que este jornal realinha a convergência, marcar das crises internas e externas, mas aos países que possuem a razão do direito, da razão para esperar do Brasil um compromisso com as esperanças do povo e com todo de uma nação jovem e aberta. Atira-ão na crítica de que, de fato, em 64, o Bra-tilha.

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

Um jornal a serviço do Brasil

ANO XLIV

São Paulo — Terça-feira, 31 de março de 1964

N.º 12.707



## Os Clubes Naval e Militar

# tomam posição conjunta

*Calma e exaltação*



O presidente, no Automovel Clube do Rio, momentos antes de proferir violento discurso, ouviu com calma oito oradores \*

Brasil preocupa EUA

WASHINGTON, 30 (UPI) — Alto funcionário do Departamento de Estado declarou hoje que a situação no Brasil possui um elemento de incerteza e que existe grande preocupação sobre as possibilidades de sobrevivência do regime democrático naquela nação. As declarações de tal representante do governo em relação ao preparo dos Estados Unidos para assumir uma postura em relação ao presidente Goulart seguir-se-iam uma "política comunitária", "havia escassas possibilidades de que o comunismo dominasse aquele país". A crise na América Latina preocupa o Departamento de Estado, mas não se acredita que o comunismo domine o Brasil. \*

### JG e a crise: Não permiti- violências

Um destacamento militar se proclamou ontem no Automovel Clube do Rio, proferindo um discurso que foi considerado violento por alguns presentes. O presidente Goulart não se manifestou, mas foi ouvido com calma por oito oradores. O discurso foi proferido por um dos membros do grupo, que se declarou favorável ao comunismo e ao socialismo. O presidente Goulart não se manifestou, mas foi ouvido com calma por oito oradores.

CLASSE HADOS

O Clube Militar e o Clube Naval marcaram para hoje, no Rio, reunião conjunta, em que tomarão uma posição comum em face dos últimos acontecimentos.

As diretorias de ambas as entidades deixaram a sede do Clube Naval, na noite de ontem, mantendo o Hino Nacional e dirigiram-se para o Clube Militar, que se declarou em assembleia permanente.

O novo ministro da Marinha anunciou que se prepara para fazer uma viagem ao Rio de Janeiro, a fim de se reunir com o chefe de Estado e com o chefe de Governo. O novo ministro da Marinha anunciou que se prepara para fazer uma viagem ao Rio de Janeiro, a fim de se reunir com o chefe de Estado e com o chefe de Governo.

No Cinema e no Teatro, a programação continua normal. O dia de hoje é dedicado à apresentação de uma peça de teatro no Teatro Municipal. A programação continua normal.

Nenhuma das páginas 3, 7, 11 e 12 deste cad. em pág. 1 do 2a cad. e na ult. pag. de Classificados.

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## Plano para matar Arrais em Maceió

MACEIÓ 30

Thus, the violent speech and the calm identified in the subtitle and in the text of the caption of the first photograph, would be portrayed in the ambiguous expression of the president; again, the interaction with the caption and other texts arranged on the cover of the newspaper is fundamental to the meaning of the image. It is necessary to underscore that the words «violent» and «calm» are, in the texts cited, the only ones loaded with subjectivity and value judgment by the newspaper. Taking the context of the time as a starting point, it is possible to infer that the violence attributed to the speech may be a consequence of the unstable pre-military coup moment in which the government of João Goulart was inserted, and that at this time, Jango made the choice for a speech that reinforced the differences between his government and the intentions of the coup plotters. At the same time, the use of the term «calm» in relation to the speeches of speakers belonging to the military and naval club, may indicate the fact that such political groups were part of the group of military supporters of Jango, but also the president's attempts to curb the low-ranking officers' demonstrations and insubordination.

With that, from the formal point of view, the image proposes to perform what can be called «objective photojournalism» or, still, intends to convey the idea of documenting the event more than interpreting it (building a framework that aims to place the characters in the scene in a discursively direct way, seeking to reduce as much as possible the enunciative noise that photography can provide). Besides, the editorship of the newspaper tried to expose the characters, but mainly the President of the Republic, in a sober way. The subtitle and the caption, however, indicate the fact that the speech was exalted - however - he listened to his interlocutors calmly, the image thus presents an ambiguous figure, not expressing either the aforementioned exaltation or extreme calm. This construction helps to promote the idea that the newspaper «Folha de S. Paulo» was trying to portray the fact in a distant manner, without political or ideological involvement, without subjectivity. However, the expressions indicated, violent and calm, when linked to the photograph, add subjectivity and value judgment of the newspaper to the occurrence. With this case it is possible to see the way through which a newspaper and its internal interactions have in photographs a central element for the convergence of the other items of the pages towards the organization of the consensus that is trying to consolidate with the public opinion without, however, giving up the Enlightenment notion of objectivity and abstract neutrality that is usually referred to the press.

*31/03/1964 – Jornal do Brasil*

On the cover of the March 31, 1964, edition of «JB», only one photograph was published (*photo 04*). The image placed symmetrically at the top and center of the page left space for text on the sides. The headline was: «Military Club gives support to Naval Club». Immediately above the image the subtitle indicated «Reforma para sargentos»<sup>370</sup> furthermore, the caption below the photo informed: «Presidente João Goulart falou longamente nas reformas e disse que deseja disciplina nas Forças Armadas»<sup>371</sup>. In terms of photographic language, given the approximation of the object and the flattening of the planes, can be identified that the image was produced using a tele objective lens and arranged in a close-up plan. This technical combination contributes to and makes use of the reduced depth of field (presenting a notable focal difference between what is in the center of the foreground image and the peripheries and background of the photo) this is a tool often used to emphasize the object, isolating it from the environment and highlighting the physiognomy of the subject portrayed. In this image, João Goulart is centralized in the frame and has his face, captured in a frontal manner at a slight angle of counter-dip, revealing in detail his expression as he gave his speech. The elements of the moment in which Jango gave his speech are visible: in the very foreground, that is, in front of the president, is possible to identify the microphone and his right-hand pointing. In the background, is possible to observe other people, among them, the one immediately behind the president, wearing a military hat. Is noteworthy that João Goulart's hand partially covers the face of one of his interlocutors at his side, with his eyes closed. The shadow play is of great importance in the black and white photograph and is also visible on the face of the President of the Republic, half lit up and half in shadow.

The close and centralized framing reveals the expression of the then president at the moment of his speech. His expressions are clear: his forehead and frowning eyes are indicative of vehemence, irritation and, possibly, a certain nervousness in his speech. In the same way, the clenched fist and the pointed finger transmit the idea of accusation or, in another reading, of an imperative-order. From what has been exposed so far can be inferred that the image favors, from the aesthetic-formal point of view, the emotion of the speaker at that moment. Moreover, there is a interpretation game with subjectivity in the reception of the reader, since the lighting and shadow carries a dark, uncertain, nebulous aspect as to the fate of the president and the nation that can be inferred from a reading of the signical-imagetic canons.

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<sup>370</sup> «Reform for sergeants».

<sup>371</sup> «President João Goulart spoke at length about the reforms and said he wants discipline in the Armed Forces».

TEMPO — Instável, com chuvas. TEMPERATURA — em declínio. VENTOS — quadrante sul, fracos a moderados. MÁXIMA — 27,4. MÍNIMA — 21,0. (Mais detalhes na Agenda JB, pág. 12)

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

Rio de Janeiro — Terça-feira, 31 de março de 1964

Ano LXXXIII — N.º 75

Camponeses e fazendeiros em tiroteio (Pág. 12)

## Clube Militar dá apoio ao Clube Naval

### REFORMAS PARA SARGENTOS



O Presidente João Goulart falou longamente nas reformas e disse que deseja disciplina nas Forças Armadas

### Goulart pede aos sargentos acato a seus superiores

### Reincidência

O Presidente da República sente-se bem na ilegalidade. Está nela e ontem nos disse que vai continuar nela, em atitude de desafio à ordem constitucional, aos regulamentos militares e ao Código Penal Militar. Ele se considera acima da lei.

Mas não está.

Quanto mais se afunda na ilegalidade, menos forte fica sua autoridade. Não há autoridade fora da lei. E os apelos feitos ontem à coesão e à unidade dos sargentos e suboficiais em favor daquele que, no dizer do próprio, sempre esteve ao lado dos sargentos, demonstra que a autoridade presidencial busca o amparo físico para suprir a carência de amparo legal.

Pois não pode mais ter amparo legal quem no exercício da Presidência da República, violando o Código Penal Militar, comparece a uma reunião de sargentos para pronunciar discurso altamente demagógico e de incitamento à divisão das Forças Armadas.

Já a oportunidade da presença constituiu-se numa tomada de posição em favor dos marinheiros e fuzileiros sublevados na Rua Ana Néri e logo libertados pela complacente conivência presidencial. A demonstrar o claro conluio presidencial com a indisciplina, a presença do chefe da indisciplina, cabo Anselmo, na reunião de sargentos, converteu-se no centro de solidariedades mais amplas de militares a rebeldes, tudo isso sob a assistência patrocinadora

### Magalhães exige que a hierarquia seja respeitada

O Governador Magalhães Pinto afirmou ontem, em manifesto à Nação, que "se por influência de inspirações estranhas e propósitos subversivos são comprometidas a hierarquia e a disciplina sem as quais elas não sobrevivem, têm as Forças Armadas o direito e o dever de pugnar pela sua própria integridade, pois de outra maneira não cumprirão o pesado e glorioso destino que a Constituição lhes assinala".

— Não apoiaremos nunca — afirmou o Governador Magalhães Pinto — qualquer movimento que viesse apenas agravar a intranquilidade dos brasileiros, já tão angustiados de aflições ou que embaraçasse a marcha acelerada em que deve

caminhar o nosso desenvolvimento social, econômico e político.

— Por isso — concluiu — atendemos ao apelo da Marinha de Guerra e lhe damos, neste momento delicado, a nossa solidariedade, que exprime sobretudo, estamos certos, a solidariedade do povo mineiro nos seus anseios de ordem, de progresso e de paz.

O Governador Ademar de Barros disse ontem, depois de se solidarizar com a oficialidade da Marinha de Guerra, que a hierarquia é fundamento constitucional e legal, e acrescentou que a disciplina nas Forças Armadas foi agredida e abolida por atos do Governo Federal. (Pág. 2)

O Presidente do Clube Militar, Marechal Augusto Magessi, esteve às 16 horas de ontem na sede do Clube Naval, a fim de expressar a solidariedade da entidade que dirige aos oficiais da Marinha, e colocar a sede do Clube Militar à disposição do Clube Naval, que "poderá utilizá-la para os fins que julgar necessários".

A exoneração do Almirante Cândido Aragão do Comando-Geral do Corpo de Fuzileiros Navais e a não nomeação do Almirante Pedro Paulo de Araújo Suzano para a Chefia do Estado-Maior da Armada foram anunciadas ontem por setores da Marinha de Guerra, como uma providência do Presidente João Goulart para pacificar aquela Arma.

As mesmas fontes anunciaram que para o lugar do Almirante Cândido Aragão deverá ser nomeado o atual Subcomandante do Corpo de Fuzileiros Navais, Almirante Washington Frasnão Braga. Para a Chefia do Estado-Maior da Armada deverá ser designado um almirante da confiança do Governo, que não tenha assinado o manifesto do Clube Naval.

Cercado de rigoroso sigilo, o Comandante do I Exército, General Armando de Moraes Âncora, reuniu ontem à tarde, no Gabinete do Ministro da Guerra, todos os generais sob o seu comando, para um amplo debate sobre a situação nacional, e, particularmente, a respeito da crise na Marinha de Guerra.

O Presidente e João Goulart convidou para um encontro pessoal algumas das figuras princi-

S. A. JORNAL DO BRASIL — End. Tel. JORBRASIL — Av. Rio Branco, 110/112 — (GB) — Tel. Redação Interna 22-1818. Sucursais: Rua Barão de Itapetininga, 151 — conj. 21/22 (SP) — Tel. 32-8702. Av. W-3, Quadra 16, c/82 (Brasília). Tel. 2-8866. Rua dos Tamoios, 200, 22.º and. — Tel. 2-5848 (B. Horizonte) — Correspondentes: P. Alegre, Curitiba, Salvador, Recife, Natal, Estado do Rio, Washington, Nova Iorque, Paris. PREÇOS — VENDA AVULSA: Est. da Guanabara, Est. do Rio, Est. de Minas Gerais, Est. de São Paulo e Distrito Federal: Dias úteis, Cr\$ 50,00 — Domingos, Cr\$ 100,00. Demais Estados da Federação: Dias úteis Cr\$ 70,00 — Domingos, Cr\$ 130,00. Entrega domiciliar: Ano — Cr\$ 10 200,00; Semestre — Cr\$ 5 200,00; Trimestre — Cr\$ 2 650,00; Mês — Cr\$ 900,00. Assinatura Postal: Ano — Cr\$ 6 000,00, Sem. Cr\$ 3 000,00

### ACHADOS E PERDIDOS

BÍBLIA PERDIDA no dia 29, na Estação de Mauá. Favor tel. 29-0137, Dona Zenilda.

DOCUMENTO PE DIDO — João Batista Bidu, Gráfica-se Bem, 22-2479 - 29-4950.

ENCONTRA-SE extraviado o livro de verba n. 1 da firma "Construtora Trens e Linhas Ltda.", estabelecida na Rua Mar. Cantuária 34, Urca — Gráfica-se.

LEALDINO TEIXEIRA TORRES perdeu seus documentos. Carteira da Ordem dos Músicos e sindicato.

PERDERAM-SE todos os documentos e recibo de quitação, licença de automóvel (Lincoln 48, chapa R3 14-57-52 Barra Fúria, nome Maria Pito, Gráfica-se, Telefone 57-3357, Póla.

PERDEU-SE um papagaio, dia 29, Sexta-Feira Santa. Gráfica-se a quem achar. Favor telefonar para 45-8637 ou entregar na Rua Barão do Flamengo, 35, ap. 1216, D. Julieta.

FALTA com diversos documentos, pertencente a Joaquim Pereira da Silva, M. 19, n.º 297-600 e pertencentes da Firma, Piscinas H. Eggr I. C. P. Alegre. Gráfica-se a quem devolver. Tel. 22-8151. Rua da Constituição, 80.

### EMPREGOS

#### AUXILIARES DE ESCRITÓRIO

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O Presidente João Goulart, após prometer uma nova lei de promoções aos sargentos das Forças Armadas, fez-lhes um apelo, em discurso proferido ontem à noite no Automóvel Clube do Brasil, para que "continuem cada vez mais unidos, cada vez mais disciplinados, naquela disciplina consciente fundada no respeito entre comandantes e comandados", e para que "respeitem a hierarquia legal."

Pediu-lhes ainda o Presidente da República que "continuem prestigiando as nossas instituições, porque em nome dessas instituições, os sargentos jamais permitirão que se pise nos sentimentos do povo brasileiro. Ao lado dos comandantes, e em nome da disciplina, tenho certeza de que os sargentos jamais aceitarão sectarismos, partam de onde partirem".

Frisou o Sr. João Goulart que "a crise que se manifesta no País foi provocada pela minoria de privilegiados que vive de olhos voltados para o passado". — O momento que estamos vivendo — disse, em seguida — exige de cada brasileiro o máximo de calma e determinação, para fazer face ao clima de intrigas e envenenamento que grupos poderosos estão procurando criar contra o Governo.

O Presidente afirmou que o "dinheiro grosso" empregado na campanha contra o seu Governo vem dos que não se conformam com a lei de remessas de lucros, com a encampação das refinarias particulares e com o tabelamento dos remédios. O "dinheiro miúdo" vem dos donos de apartamentos sonogados ao povo, dos opositores da Supra e dos comerciantes sonegadores. (Pág. 5)



Is important to underline the fact that again, as on the cover of «FSP», there is an interlocution between the image and what is described in the subtitle, captions, but mainly with the political context of the moment – the extract of that day’s editorial indicated before<sup>372</sup>, has in this picture the illustration of what signified the «misgovernment» in what was the newspaper opinion. The proposals for social reforms advocated by Jango's political agenda that were the subject of his speech (highlighted, even, by the subtitle and caption of the periodical) were also the reason for controversy between supporters and opponents of the government: this aspect helps to explain the notion of strength or nervousness that the image carries and that, in the case of the previous periodical, is portrayed in the ambiguous notions presented in the interlocution of «calm» and «violence». In this case, however, the interlocution created in the construction of the meaning of the discourse of the periodical may claim that the irritation and firmness of the president are a result of the political difficulty of carrying out the intended reforms, leaving the ambiguity to the image, since the perception of emotions will depend on the reader and the interaction that he will perform, from his repertoire, with what the newspaper proposes.

From a formal point of view, the photograph chosen for the cover of this issue of «JB» plays with the open codes of photography precisely because explores not only the emotional dimensions of the individual portrayed - given the moment of the cut-off of time and space - but also by proposing the flexibility of the subjectivity of the reader, who navigates between the idea of nervousness or firmness of João Goulart according to his reading of the social political moment the country was going through. There is a clear preference on the part of the editors of the press organ to stress the agenda of social reforms proposed by the president, highlighted not only in the subtitle and caption, but also in portraying him as a speaker and not as a listener. There is, therefore, a fundamental difference in relation to «FSP», this would be a way of discursive and narrative construction in which the opposition to Jango’s term that kept open a space for rhetorical maneuvers.

*01/04/1964 – Folha de S. Paulo*

In the morning after the coup, most and almost that day’s entire edition was dedicated to political and military event. The headline of the first page was: «II Army dominates Paraíba valley» in a reference to the military insurrection that had started in the state of Minas Gerais and moved to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The other titles in the first page are related to the

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<sup>372</sup> «Misgovernment and illegality».

other adhesions of military groups to the first insidious. The images on the first page, however, have some preservation problems and we found that the narrative construction at the internal pages is richer to the present analysis.

One of the two pictures printed (*photo 05*) in page six of the «1° Caderno», presents the auxiliary title: «Como segurar o fuzil?»<sup>373</sup> and the subtitle: «Cada um segura o fuzil como quer, mas a ordem é guardar o Palácio da Guanabara e isso eles sabem fazer»<sup>374</sup>. Besides that, there is a direct connection with the text right below under the title of: «Lacerda: GB será defendida»<sup>375</sup> in which is described the actions taken by Carlos Lacerda, Guanabara's state governor, to prevent any reaction to the coup. The interaction between the picture and the texts proposes an almost humoristic connection in respect to what is expected as a military posture of soldiers that are guarding a building and what was exposed in the image, most of this is built due to the interrogation point in the auxiliary title above the photo. The image in a horizontal rectangular orientation occupies 1/3 of the page and was printed on the bottom of the page. Composed in a still framing and in two planes there is a clear difference between the first plan presented sharp and the second one blurred characteristic which indicates a use of the Field Depth of the scene. Besides that, this aspect is reinforced by the strong contrast between the military uniforms and the scene's background.

The shot was probably made in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in the Laranjeiras neighborhood in a street nearby or in front of «Palácio Guanabara», the governor's official house when in term. More important than the exact location of the photo in the city is the fact that the newspaper from São Paulo is on the same page referring to the neighboring states of Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro (Guanabara) in order to guarantee the update of the facts narrated. The image proposes seven soldiers are standing one on the side of the other, with a weak coordination in between all of them; an eighth military is also pictured, is not possible to assure that he had an equal rank as the others. All the eight men pictured in the photo are wearing a military uniform, on the basis of the details, all of them are soldiers or low rank militaries. The fundamental element of this picture is the way in which the soldiers hold their rifles (each one on its own way) and the fact that in this case, the «sentinel posture» is absent. Buildings and cars in the background create the reference of a street in the city center. The rarity and uniqueness of the scene might have served as the triggering motivation to the shot.

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<sup>373</sup> «How to hold the rifle?».

<sup>374</sup> «Each one holds the rifle as they wish, but the order is to guard the Guanabara Palace and this they know how to do».

<sup>375</sup> «Lacerda: GB will be defended».

# Tropas de Minas em movimentação; Jair quer ordem

## AB: Não temos mais regime federativo

Depois de um ano de... na presença de... a situação... a situação... a situação...

**RUMORES E REUNÃO**  
O sr. Ademar de Barros...

Interrogado sobre a situação...

Ademar afirmou que...

Por volta das 9 horas...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

**ALMOÇO SECRETO**  
Por volta das 12 horas...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

**ENGENHEIROS E CONVOCACÃO**  
A pedido do grupo...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

**CRISE**  
A situação... a situação... a situação...

**NOVA RECUSA**  
No início de hoje...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

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...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

## MG: fronteiras policiadas e barreiras nas estradas

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

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...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

## Minas vai: rumo é GB

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

## Magalhães ao Brasil

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...



Cada um segura o fuzil como quer, mas a ordem é guardar o Palácio da Guanabara, e isto eles sabem fazer.

## Fuzileiros liberaram os detidos

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

## Lacerda: GB será defendida

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

## Ribeirão: Prefeito: Jornal ocupado

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

## Medidas de segurança em Minas

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

...a situação... a situação... a situação...

A meaning that is possible to infer from this image is once more the idea of the lack of insubordination of the lower ranks in the Armed Forces, that were visible in the defense of the governor's palace, at the same time reinforced the capacity of the Armed Forces to do what was supposed to be done.

01/04/1964 – *Jornal do Brasil*

In a similar discursive attitude made by «FSP», the «Jornal do Brasil» proposed a first page dedicated to the military arrangements and reactions to the beginning of the insurrection. The headline published in the first page stated: «S. Paulo adere e Minas anuncia marcha ao Rio contra Goulart»<sup>376</sup>. On its cover were also published two pictures dedicated to the event, although, to maintain the analysis cohesion an image printed in the middle section of the newspaper on that day has been chosen. On the internal page n° three of «JB», the picture (*photo 06*) placed at the bottom of the page brings the headline: «Polícia e Exército ocupam Minas e rumam para a fronteira»<sup>377</sup>. The picture has the auxiliary title: «As rosas antes da crise»<sup>378</sup> and the subtitle: «O General Luis Carlos Guedes que também gosta de plantar rosas, é o comandante do ID-4 e controla, desde ontem, Belo Horizonte»<sup>379</sup>. The squared and medium distance picture, in a deeping angle, occupies 1/8 of the page and frames in a little movement the General Guedes who was pictured with a little blur due to his movements while the shot was taken. The equilibrated contrast of the standing photo focuses the gaze of the reader most into the action in place on the image, and also in the interaction with the surrounding texts, rather than in the image itself.

The shot was made in a garden, probably in the General's house or office. The idea of an external picture perhaps was to balance the other images of the coup published on that day. Guedes was pictured in a moment that has no direct connection with the facts narrated in the text below and in the whole edition of «JB». General Guedes has been the official responsible for controlling the city of Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais state capital, in the moment of the insurrection rise; that is to say a pragmatic and authoritarian task. The choice made by the newspaper to present him in a garden and related to a manual work while the General gardening some rose plants in a lawn, surrounded by a small path. The military uniform works as an identifying toll, probably in tons of brown or dark green. The mix of objects is central to the

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<sup>376</sup> «S. Paulo joins and Minas Gerais announces march to Rio against Goulart».

<sup>377</sup> «Police and Army occupy Minas and march to the front».

<sup>378</sup> «The roses before the crisis».

<sup>379</sup> «The General Luis Carlos Guedes who also likes to plant roses is the commander of ID-4 and since yesterday controls Belo Horizonte».

Photo 06  
JB - 01/04/1964

**Polícia e Exército ocupam Minas e rumam para fronteiras**

**Manifesto de Magalhães**

**Pinho esperava a hora**

**Exército em Minas: o que é**

**Magalhães: história desde quando menino**

**Gasolina racionada**

**Polícia diz que está unida**

**AS ROSAS ANTES DA CRISE**

**Letras de Câmbio**

**MAIORES TRAZES COM MAIOR GARANTIA**

**56 25**

**54%**

O sucesso na carreira foi fulminante: com 25 anos de idade já era diretor de banco. Passou parte de sua infância, já órfão de pai, em Lima Duarte, e parte em Juiz de Fora.

**UM PULO NA POLITICA**

Depois de se realizar profissionalmente partiu para a política, conseguindo se eleger deputado federal em 1946. Foi reeleito sucessivamente deputado federal, até 1 de janeiro de 1961, quando assumiu o Governo. No princípio, a imprensa o ignorava como político. Só depois é que começou a aparecer, ajudado por um jornalista, Sr. José Aparecido de Oliveira, que passou a se interessar por seus pronunciamentos, que ganharam destaque no jornal da UDN, em Minas, o Correio do Dia.

Seu nome começou a crescer dentro do partido e, em 61, foi candidato da UDN para

**AS ROSAS ANTES DA CRISE**



O General Luis Carlos Guedes, que também gosta de plantar rosas, é o Comandante do ID-4 a controla, desde ontem, Belo Horizonte

le: como conciliador. Depois disso, as reformas engolferam todas as possibilidades de se discutir outro assunto no Estado. O Sr. Magalhães Pinto tomou posição favorável a elas, contratou técnicos e assessores e, arriscando-se nas bases do interior, surgiu com uma posição reformista. As críticas foram violentas e ele esteve a pique de romper com as bancadas estaduais e federais da UDN.

No último mês, sua posição começou a se dirigir no sentido de evitar o contato com a Bossa Nova da UDN, onde estão os Srs. Petrólio Portela e Seixas Dória, partindo para uma reaproximação com o Sr. Carlos Lacerda. Agastado com os episódios do Congresso da Cepal e com distúrbios em Belo Horizonte, iniciou a reforma do Secretariado, trazendo para o seu lado os Srs. Milton Campos, José Maria Alcântara e Afonso Arinos. O resto de sua história começou ontem e, por hoje, acaba aqui.

chando-as e colocando todo o material à disposição do Exército. O centro das operações militares foi transferido para o Grupo Escolar Pandiá Calógeras, ficando o gabinete do Comandante da Polícia Militar entregue aos seus auxiliares diretos. Outros grupos escolares estão sendo requisitados pelo Comando da Polícia Militar.

**O MOTIVO**

— Em declarações prestadas ao JORNAL DO BRASIL, sobre as medidas adotadas na manhã de ontem pela Polícia Militar, o Chefe do Policlamento Ostensivo de Minas Gerais, Coronel José Pereira, informou o seguinte:

- 1) que a situação em Juiz de Fora está normal, tendo o 3.º Batalhão da Polícia Militar tomado apenas medidas preventivas, para evitar agitações na região, vigiando os elementos que geralmente promovem tumultos e seguindo todos os seus passos;
- 2) que a ocupação dos postos e depósitos de gasolina, feita desde anteontem, por soldados da PM, foi apenas para controlar a saída da gasolina, não tendo sido requisitado o produto, que não vai faltar em Belo Horizonte;
- 3) que a interdição da Estação Rodoviária, foi motivada porque a Polícia Militar precisou do transporte; entretanto, preferiu omitir a finalidade dessa transporte. Alegou, todavia, que a requisição de 20 ônibus foi feita com o consentimento dos concessionários e será suspensa ainda hoje.

**GENERAL NA CIDADE**

O Coronel Batista, que se encontrava num dos quartéis da 4.ª Região Militar da Jus de Fora, informou que o General Olímpio Mourão Filho encontra-se na cidade, onde determinou que as tropas ficassem de sobrelavio, não havendo, entretanto, proibição militar.

building of an idea and connection in between the high ranks or the Armed Forces involved in the deposition of Goulart and a regular and humanized life. By choosing this composition and with the general in which the General was pictured on a daily/civilian activity but also body position presents a meaning that has been built and is mostly related to an «acceptable» and humanized Armed Forces. Especially because in the middle of the page was published a small note referring to the controlling elements of Belo Horizonte in which were described the existing military tools

Fazendo parte da 4a Região Militar, a IV Infantaria Divisionária ID-4, chefiada pelo General Luís Carlos Guedes. Ainda em Belo Horizonte, ao lado da ID-4, está o 12ºRI com 1800 homens, duas companhias, uma de apetrechos pesados e outra de comando e serviço. Fora disso, há ainda o CPOR e o Colégio Militar<sup>380</sup>.

In addition to this, on the left column of the page was published a «cronometer of the crisis» narrating all the political and military steps of the coup's afternoon and night on the day before. Taking all these elements in consideration, our interpretation is that the picture's choice was made to lighten the load of the daily news, corroborating with the image of a humanized Armed Forces.

*02/04/1964 – Folha de S. Paulo*

Despite the increasing technical agility of the Brazilian press, the daily press still needed some hours (or days) to absorb the facts. Thus, we underscore that on April 2nd, 1964, is a moment in which is possible to perceive some of the consequences of the coup perpetrated in the days before, especially in the discursive construction of the newspapers. One aspect that must be stressed and that served as a criterion for the choice of the pages and photographs analyzed in this item is the fact that the cover of «FSP» of April 2nd, 1964, was not in a good state of conservation in the newspaper archive and in its online version, making it practically impossible to see the images. Is interesting, however, to observe what information was presented in the headlines and captions. Such interaction is fundamental for understanding the reasons for choosing the images that were printed on page n° 6 of the «1ºCaderno» on that occasion, as well as in the comparison with «JB» as we shall see below. What we see in this case is a technical material difficulty of conservation of the pages, but mainly of the black and

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<sup>380</sup> «Part of the 4th Military Region is the IV Divisionary Infantry ID-4, headed by General Luís Carlos Guedes. Still in Belo Horizonte, next to the ID-4, is the 12ºRI, with 1800 men, two companies, one of heavy equipment and the other of command and service. There are also the CPOR and the Military School».

white printed images<sup>381</sup>. Thinking about this issue is central to always keeping in mind the importance of the material aspects necessary for the realization of the intended activities and how this changes the interaction with the medium. In the case of the present analysis forces us to look at other pages of the issue, which may seem negative, since, in theory, the cover gathers the most important thing to be published that day, on the other hand, allows us to observe other aspects of the publication.

On page n° 6 of that day's «1° Caderno» there are thirteen photographs from recent days with the following title: «Fotos da crise»<sup>382</sup>. Framing the three horizontal pictures diagrammed in the middle of the page are ten portraits of some of the main political figures of the moment, pointing out which of those subjects portrayed there stood for or against the coup movement. The present analysis, however, will be dedicated only to the horizontal pictures (*photos 07, 08 and 09*). In the first of the three photos placed horizontally in the center of the page is possible to observe, from a medium plane presenting a balanced interaction between the subjects and the context - in an angle of counter-dive, highlighting the elements on the scene -, four men, one of which is lowered, on a pulpit raising a flag. In the background, is possible to observe a building that seems to have at least two floors due to the number of windows portrayed, besides a large tree in the left vertical third of the image. The photographer has chosen a large depth of field, since there are no significant differences in focal sharpness in the different planes and elements of the image, although the second plane is a little less sharp. Is also possible to say that such a photograph was made with a tele objective lens, not only because of the closeness of the subjects portrayed but also because of the visible flattening of planes. We highlight two other aspects central to the interpretation of this photograph, the photo's title: «Boato iça pendão»<sup>383</sup> and the caption: «O boato correu: JG renunciou. Logo as bandeiras brasileiras e paulista foram hasteadas no Mackenzie»<sup>384</sup>. Such elements indicate the need to read the written information to fully grasp the reason for the publication of that image, and especially its relevance in portraying random individuals flying such flags at Mackenzie Presbyterian University in São Paulo, a place that, as has been presented, became famous for meetings of supporters of the civil-military regime.

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<sup>381</sup> It was only in 1968 that the newspaper went through a major technical transformation on its printing. For the first time in the country a newspaper had the possibility of buying and printing in an offset graphic plant. According to Mota & Capellato, three years later this system would be updated to a *Metroffset*, which would give a new level of tonality quality and photo printing. The final product is presented crisper, in the images and in the texts (Mota & Capellato, 1981, p. 201).

<sup>382</sup> «Photos of the crisis».

<sup>383</sup> «Rumor hoists flag».

<sup>384</sup> «Rumor has run it: JG resigned. Soon the Brazilian and São Paulo flags were hoisted at Mackenzie».

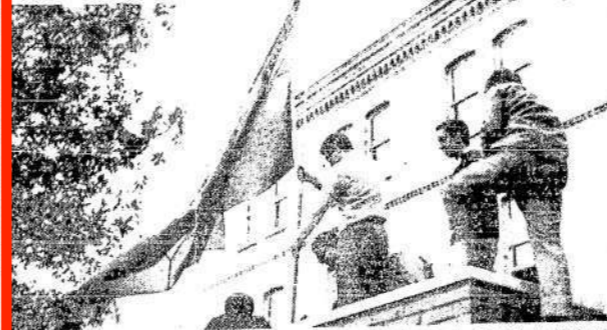
Photo 07, 08 and 09  
FSP - 02/04/1964

*Estopim*



Magalhães Pinto: o estopim do movimento armado.

*Boato iça pendão*



O boato correu: JG renunciou. Logo as bandeiras brasileira e paulista foram hasteadas no Mackeuzie.

*Rastilho*



Ademar: poderio de SP e rastilho para a crise.

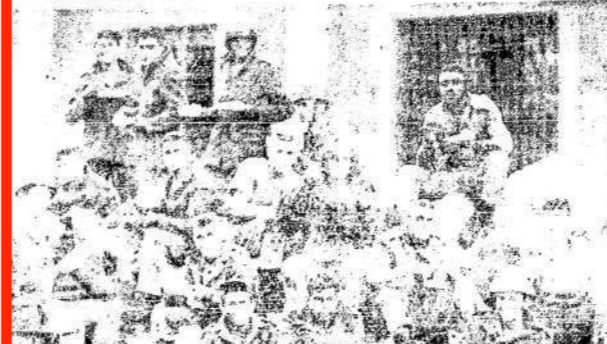
*Primeiro*



Olímpio Mourão: primeiro general antigovernamental.

# Fotos da crise

*Democracia: um ideal*



Sorrisos juvenis marcam a última "bola" antes do ataque. Agora vai combater em nome da democracia.

*Depois*



Carlos Lacerda: após Suassuna, anuncia a saída.

*II contra*



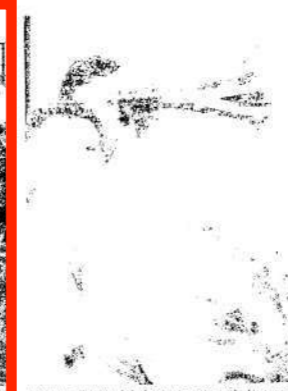
Amador Ribeiro: II Exército quer depor o presidente.

*Ordem é mais gente*



Mais gente para a luta e a patavina de ordem. E o alistamento de voluntários foi aberto ontem no DEFE.

*III com*



Laurindo Teles: III Exército, no sul, luta com o governo.

*IV sem*



Justino Alves Bastos: IV Exército não quer Jango.

*Antes*



Cândido Aragão: antes de sair saiu Lacerda.

*Deposto*



Miguel Arraes: governador que perdeu o mandato.

*I: só ameaça*



Moraes Andrade: ameaçou frear com JG mas não conseguiu.



Right below, another image also made with a tele objective lens, approximating the elements and flattening the planes; frames in a medium plane, horizontal angle and with medium field depth<sup>385</sup> a group of approximately twenty soldiers on what seems to be the stairs on a square. Thanks to this choice of medium focal length, the focus and attention is guaranteed on the foreground, slightly blurring the background. In the photo, is notable the fact that many of the soldiers portrayed are looking at the photographer when of the shot, some are smiling, some seem to be eating, others are just observing and some others still - especially in the lower right corner of the photo - are wearing helmets reinforcing the idea of the possible proximity of combat. Again, the interaction with the written text is fundamental to the understanding of the discursive intention of the newspaper and how the photograph was used in this sense, the auxiliary title indicates: «Democracia: um ideal»<sup>386</sup> and the subtitle: «Sorrisos joviais marcam a última “boia” antes do embarque. Agora vão combater em nome da democracia»<sup>387</sup> In this case, is notable that the soldiers portrayed will, in the words of the newspaper, defend democracy. There is here, therefore, a concordance of the lexical and discursive choice of «FSP» with the official discourse of the *coup* forces that deposed João Goulart in the name of an alleged communist threat and consequent democratic rupture, the reason why the authoritarian movement was called «revolution» by its members. Moreover, is also noted the generic aspect of the image portrayed and the scene constructed with the help of the captions: there is no indication of where the scene occurred and where those soldiers were going, exposing the newspaper's intention of transmitting an idea - «the armed forces support and defend democracy» (and not a concrete fact that had occurred in a particular place).

The last of the three photos analyzed is an internal general plan in a dive of what seems to be a gymnasium, once is possible to observe what probably was a multisports court and a protection grid in the background. In the foreground, the picture made with a wide-angle lens (increasing the size of the registered scene) manages to capture a table with several papers on it, and a large group of men clustered together, especially on the side that was facing the photographer. Again, the relationship with the written text is fundamental, revealing once more a stance and intention of the newspaper to convey the essence of the moment, especially among the supporters of the coup, besides promoting the idea of a possible fight in the short term, although in this case more specific information is provided. The auxiliary title states: «A ordem

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<sup>385</sup> The Field Depth is controlled by the conjugation of the diaphragma opening, lens focal distance and focal's plan distance; the choices on the extension of the Field Depth will determine a larger or smaller area of the image with a sharp definition.

<sup>386</sup> «Democracy: an ideal».

<sup>387</sup> «Joyful smiles sail the last 'buoy' before the boarding. Now they will fight in the name of democracy».

é mais gente»<sup>388</sup> and the caption: «Mais gente para a luta é a palavra de ordem. E o alistamento de voluntários foi aberto ontem no DEFE»<sup>389</sup>. The editorial of the same issue reaffirms the discursive proposal presented in the images and in their interactions with small texts and captions. A final excerpt stands out which, after defending the action of the military indicating it as a legal movement and a resumption of democracy, conveys the intentionality of the newspaper

Assim se deve enxergar o movimento [golpista] que empolgou o país. Representa, fora de dúvida, um momento dramático de nossa vida, que felizmente termina sem derramamento de sangue. E termina com a vitória do espírito da legalidade, reestabelecendo o primado da Constituição e do Direito. Restamos esperar que os focos de resistência esboçados em raros pontos logo se desfaçam, para que a família brasileira reencontre no menor prazo possível a paz à qual tanto aspirava e o povo, livre da pregação e da ação dos comunistas que se haviam infiltrado no governo volte a ter o direito, que lhe haviam tirado, de trabalhar em ordem e dentro da lei<sup>390</sup>. (EM DEFESA DA LEI..., 1964, p.3).

02/04/1964 – *Jornal do Brasil*

Unlike what we saw in the «FSP» issue, in the case of «Jornal do Brasil», the archives are well preserved, and is possible to analyze the images, texts and subtitles without any problem. Having said that, we indicate that, of the six photographs published on the cover of the April 2nd, 1964, edition, we will analyze in depth only two (*photos 10 and 11*). Both images' dialogues in a more direct way with what was presented from the «FSP». Thus, on the cover of this edition, the first photo placed at the top and left corner of the page. Is undoubtedly the photograph with the greatest expressive power on the cover: published in black and white, presents the silhouettes of two soldiers, one placed in the very foreground in the right corner of the image in front of what seems to be a military vehicle, and the second soldier in the middle in what can be called the background, since in the background there is also a third shot where the entrance to a building can be seen. The photograph, made in a medium shot (portraying the

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<sup>388</sup> «The order is more people».

<sup>389</sup> «More people for the fight is the word of order. Enlistment of volunteers opened yesterday at the DEFE».

<sup>390</sup> «This is how one should view the [coup] movement that has excited the country. It represents, beyond doubt, a dramatic moment in our life, which fortunately ends without bloodshed. And it ends with the victory of the spirit of legality, re-establishing the primacy of the Constitution and the Law. We can only hope that the pockets of resistance that were sketched out in a few points will soon crumble, so that the Brazilian family can find again in the shortest time possible the peace to which it aspired so much and the people, free from the preaching and the action of the communists who had infiltrated the government, will have again the right, which had been taken away from them, to work in order and within the law».

Photo 10 and 11  
JB - 02/04/1964

FIEL ATÉ DEBAIXO DA ÁGUA



Sôzinho na chuva, um soldado do Exército controla a situação, durante as comemorações da vitória

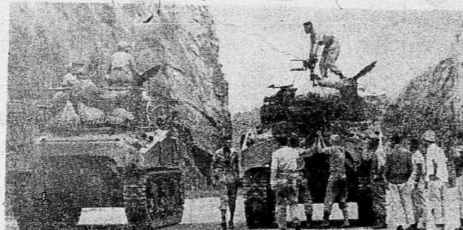
VITÓRIA ESTÁ NAS RUAS



A Cidade saiu às ruas para comemorar vitória sobre Goulart

## GOULART RESISTE NO SUL E O CONGRESSO EMPOSSA MAZZILLI

### O CAMINHO DA REVOLUÇÃO



Os tanques cruzaram as estradas mas não chegaram a disparar

### O FOCO DO POVO



Populares exultantes invadiram a sede da UNE, incendiando-a

### A PRIMEIRA QUEDA



Tropas do Exército manobram na Cinelândia, enquanto um popular é ferido por balas disparadas da porta do Clube Militar

### A FORÇA DA RESISTÊNCIA



O Governador esteve sempre preparado para tudo

Disposto a resistir contra sua deposição, o Sr. João Goulart seguiu para Porto Alegre, enquanto, em Brasília, de madrugada, o Congresso declarava o Sr. Rauli Mazzilli Presidente da República, depois de uma sessão de três minutos, feita debaixo de protestos do PTB. Ao responder a única questão de ordem levantada, o Sr. Auro de Moura Andrade afirmou: "Declaro, sob minha responsabilidade, vaga a Presidência da República que será entregue, a partir deste momento, ao Presidente da Câmara dos Deputados, na forma do Artigo 79 da Constituição". Em seguida, o Sr. Mazzilli foi empossado no 3.º andar do Palácio do Planalto, en-

quanto no andar de cima o Sr. Bráulio Bittencourt, assessor de Goulart, insistia a necessidade de reformas profundas. Poucos minutos depois, os Srs. Darcy Ribeiro, Valdir Pires, Cândido de Oliveira Neto, General Nicolau Fico e o Coronel Lemos Avellar deixaram o Palácio, onde prosseguiram a cerimônia de posse do Sr. Mazzilli.

Tropas do II Exército deslocaram-se para o Rio Grande do Sul, que tem a situação controlada pelo Sr. Leonel Brizola apesar das várias adesões às forças revolucionárias, em Santa Maria, Bagé, Livramento, São Leopoldo e Uruguaiana. A intensa troca de comandos no Exército teve o seguinte andamento: Comandante-em-Chefe do Exército

nacional, General do Exército Artur da Costa Silva, Comandante do I Exército, General-de-Divisão Otacílio Terra Ururai; Comandante da I Divisão de Infantaria, General-de-Divisão Orlando Geisel; Comandante dos Grupamentos de Unidades-Escolas, General-de-Brigada Augusto César de Castro Muniz Aragão; Comandante da I Divisão de Infantaria Blindada, General-de-Brigada José Horácio da Cunha Garcia; Comandante da Artilharia de Costa da I Região Militar, General-de-Brigada José Maria Moraes e Barros; Comandante da Infantaria Divisionária da I D. I., General-de-Brigada Manoel Rodrigues Lisboa.

### Confiança e susto

Newton, que sem se identificar politicamente com o Sr. Goulart, sustentou a necessidade de reformas profundas. O Sr. Doutor de Andrade, após um encontro de duas horas com o Sr. Goulart, em Brasília, afirmou que ele "não renunciará nem dará um tiro no peito". Desde que se confirmaram as notícias de que o Sr. Leonel Brizola domina Porto Alegre e entrou-se a mobilização militar, os partidários do Governo criaram uma nova hipótese de que o Sr. João Goulart acredita na resistência, mesmo em cidades dominadas pelos comandos militares, e considera, ainda, o

eventual apoio da FAB, cujo poderio está intacto. O Governador carioca, que manteve contato telefônico ontem com a Cadeia da Liberdade, durante todo o dia, viveu o que classificou de "maior empoço de sua vida" quando o General Salvador Mandim, coordenador do sistema de segurança do Palácio Guanabara, informou que os tanques do Exército abandonaram o Palácio das Laranjeiras a fim de dar-lhe cobertura. Surpreendido em meio a um discurso ao povo, o Sr. Lacerda exclamou, em lágrimas: — Graças a Deus... Obrigada, meu Deus...

### Prisão de Jurema e Arrais

Antes de conceder a entrevista ao JB, o Sr. Carlos Lacerda avisou, ontem à noite, um filme para ser exibido hoje pela rede de televisão da UNE, nos Estados Unidos — o enquanto falava ao JB, recebeu a notícia da prisão do Ministro Abelardo Jurema e do Almirante Cândido Aragão. Reação do Governador: apenas sorriso. Durante a entrevista ele foi assistido pelo Sr. Heitor Beltrão, que lhe sorria, vez por outra, alguns temas. O Ministro da Fazenda, Sr. Nei Galvão, encontra-se em seu Gabinete — de onde se surta "questões" segundo afirmou. O Governador Miguel Arrais de Pernambuco foi preso, à tarde, em palácio, por ordem do Comandante do IV Exército, General Justino Alves Bastos; o Governador Basílio Pinheiro foi preso à noite. Líderes sindicais do Rio, São

Paulo e Minas estão presos, inclusive a cúpula do CGT. As 18h, no Palácio Nacional e Marinho Vitor, que formavam uma Cadeia da Legalidade, irradiando notícias de interesse do Governo, saíram do ar. A RADIO JORNAL DO BRASIL esteve fora do ar durante 40 minutos, por viciosa de fumaças negras, que obediência ordem do Ministério da Marinha, segundo eles próprios disseram. Rádio JB teve de optar entre integrar a rede governamental e permanecer sem notícias, tendo preferido esta última alternativa. Este jornal foi invadido ontem, pela segunda vez em 8 horas, por infiltrados.

Após a Rádio Inconfidência haver anunciado a fuga do Sr. João Goulart, subleitos da Faculdade Nacional de Direito, enturmechados em frente de seu prédio, tentaram invadir o

Hospital Souza Araújo, sendo contidos pela Polícia de Arraumarica. No tiroteio saiu morto um menor e houve sete feridos graves. Na Cinelândia, à tarde, um grupo de populares, após tentar tirar de mãos de oficiais do Exército um manifestante do Clube Militar ao povo carioca, depredou a sede do Clube. Oficiais retiraram de alto sobre os manifestantes, soldados com fuzis M16, também retiraram. Resultado: um morto, não identificado, e seis pessoas gravemente feridas.

O jornal Última Hora foi atacado; quebraram máquinas de escrever, cadeiras e arquibancadas, e puseram fogo em algumas copias. Fatos idênticos repetiram-se na sede da UNE, onde esquemas Molotov provocaram incêndio, logo debelado pelos bombeiros.

### Euforia do povo

ram ao movimento, juntando-se, posteriormente, às forças do General Kruel que marchavam para o Rio e deterram-se em Resende. Ocorreram, depois, as ações da V e VI Regiões Militares (Paraná e Nordeste, respectivamente), além de diversos e unidades diversas em vários pontos do País. No Rio terminou, já às 18h, a cessação das atividades militares. A falta de uma declaração de renúncia do Sr. João Goulart criou para os chefes militares vitória — um problema de caráter constitucional e moral, que entendo meceram consegua a ser examinado entre eles e algumas partidas; não tendo renúncia, o Presidente não poderia

ser substituído segundo a linha de sucessão constitucional, isto é, dentro do quadro da legalidade — um cujo nome apuram as Forças Armadas. Além de não renunciar, o Sr. João Goulart dispõe-se a resistir em Brasília e Porto Alegre, de modo a caracterizar a duplicidade de Governo e a força pelo monopólio, a sua deposição dificultada: não de força que retiraria ao movimento seu caráter legalista. Aos primeiros minutos de hoje, o Sr. Auro de Moura Andrade disse haver recebido comunicação do General André Frutuoso de que o General Fico determinou a cessação de resistência, mandando ocupar os rádios locais.

Photo 10 and 11  
JB - 02/04/1964

FIEL ATÉ DEBAIXO DA ÁGUA



Sózinho na chuva, um soldado do Exército controla a situação, durante as comemorações da vitória

# GOULART RESISTE CONGRESSO EMPOSS.

O CAMINHO DA REVOLUÇÃO

A FORÇA DA RESISTÊNCIA

SU

VITÓRIA ESTÁ NAS RUAS



A Cidade saiu às ruas para comemorar vitória sobre Goulart

soldiers interacting with the street and the rain that was falling heavily at the time of registration) also presents a small depth of field, since is observed that the sharp focus space is restricted mainly to the soldier framed in the middle of the image, in which is revealed the use of a larger diaphragm aperture, necessary for the entry of sufficient light, since the photograph was made at night.

Furthermore, the photograph was taken at a counter-diving angle, placing itself slightly below the height of the soldiers. Normally this resource is used to emphasize the object portrayed, but we believe that, in this case, has been a technical resource very well executed by the photographer Evandro Teixeira<sup>391</sup> who sought, through the angle of the shot and the composition against light (emphasizing the contrast of black and white) to indicate and emphasize the presence of the heavy rain. At the same time that the image is static, as the soldiers are standing still, the rain was not completely frozen by the speed of the shutter, as it could not be set too fast for the right amount of light to enter. Thus, the effect of continuity is created, that is, the raindrops were given movement, creating a strong aesthetic effect. Finally, we should highlight the enormous technical skill of the photographer in working with limited lighting conditions, in the midst of rain and, from such material conditions, build a notion of contrast and tone that help to reinforce some elements of the day and the political context of that moment in the country. The image of a soldier in the rain, at night, in the middle of the street, surrounded by other soldiers points out, at the same time, the respect of this subject to the orders given to him and to the military hierarchy, as well as the exceptionality of the event - the taking of political power in the country. Is also possible to consider that Evandro Teixeira made a rather somber imagetic and symbolic construction of that moment, perhaps expressing what was his interpretation of the fact and that passed through the institutional filters of the newspaper issue.

Still regarding this photo, we highlight again the interaction with the auxiliary title and the caption. The first one says: «Fiel até debaixo d'água»<sup>392</sup>, reinforcing the military hierarchy and its role in taking power, especially if we consider that, as we saw above, one of the main justifications for the coup given by its executors were revolts and insubordination of the lower ranks that supported João Goulart and his proposals for social reforms. The subtitle indicates: «Sozinho na chuva, soldado do exército controla a situação durante as celebrações da

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<sup>391</sup> In an interview to Paulo Boni (2012) the photographer reveals interesting and important elements of how this picture was taken, an important one is his friendship with an Army officer which led him get inside the barracks in that crisis moment.

<sup>392</sup> «Faithful even underwater».

vitória»<sup>393</sup>. In this case, the interaction is multiple, with the cited context of the turbulences generated by the low ranks and in that moment, is the soldier who was «Sozinho na chuva»<sup>394</sup> defending the coup carried out by his superiors, at the same time the interaction deals with the victory in a more objective way and without great details. It is also worth mentioning that, although the photo beside presents a more joyful aspect of the victory, this specific photo does not present anything that seems to deserve celebration, indicating that the journal did not necessarily oppose the interpretation that the photographer had made of that moment. What can be taken as an example of the discursive breaches mentioned before.

In this first case, was observed, therefore, that both newspapers openly positioned themselves in favor of the coup movement and its perpetrators, criticizing the previous actions of João Goulart that would have led the country to that situation in which the authoritarian coup was necessary. In the case of the «FSP», photographs and photographic language were used in a supposedly objective way, modulating the journalistic discourse to the canons of modern journalism, which was asserting itself in that period. In this way, the photographs, interacting with captions, headlines and other texts, sought to consolidate the consensus that the coup movement would be carrying out a «revolution» in favor of democracy and freedom of Brazilians, against a supposed communist threat represented by Jango's term and political alliances – connected with the labor agenda. Was also observed that, at that historical moment, the analyzed periodicals, especially «FSP», acted as amplifiers of the coup discourse and reproduced statements that represented the class interests of the coup perpetrators. In the case of «JB», a different pragmatic and discursive performance regarding the same events was revealed. Although stuck to the logic of defending class interests, the newspaper showed itself more open and willing to portray the events, giving João Goulart a more humanized aspect, even though directly condemned his proposals for social reforms - especially in editorials. Has also been a use of photographs in the enunciative construction that allowed the intentionality's and interpretations of the photographers to appear more frequently, given that in some of the photographs we dealt with the elements of the photographic language carry great expressive and aesthetic force for the enunciation.

A second picture of that day showed to be important to the analysis path here proposed. The image presented is framed by an auxiliary title: «Vitória está nas ruas»<sup>395</sup> and the subtitle:

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<sup>393</sup> «Alone in the rain, an Army soldier controls the situation during the victory celebrations».

<sup>394</sup> «Alone in the rain».

<sup>395</sup> «Victory is on the streets».

«A cidade saiu às ruas para comemorar a vitória sobre Goulart»<sup>396</sup>. Placed on the right upper corner of the first page above the main headline. The squared photo occupies  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the page, in a regular horizontal orientation and based on a close-up plan shot from a medium distance of the scene, most probably using a tele objective camera. The picture is still and freeze although its elements are moving. Presents itself entirely sharp with an equilibrated contrast balance, in which the black and white composition emphasizes the clothing differences of the persons on scene. The external picture in a not identifiable street of Rio de Janeiro, presents some urban elements such as buildings at the back, cars and the accumulated rainwater on the floor. It seems that the intention of registering the celebrations of the coup were concentrated on a small street scene and the generic aspect of the representation intends to represent the total of it based on a small scene of the «victory» party. To accomplish the objective was chosen a scene in which the disorder element was representative of the population's happiness. A small group of people (around 15 persons) are celebrating in the streets the deposition of Goulart. The individuals that are climbing on a car are most of them wearing white shirts and dark pants, some of them wear black shirts and others (on the corners) framing the scene, are holding an umbrella. There is a man right in the center that seems to be looking at the photographer.

In the case of this image there are some elements that must be considered. The first of them is the close relation with the photo aside, previous analyzed in here, both of them present the rain element, although if in the coup's night picture, the water plays a dramatic and aesthetic role, in the present case is less obvious, but work as a insurance of continuity between the scenes and facts. This notion is reinforced by both of the subtitles that refer to the events as part of the victory celebration, even if the main headline informs that Goulart was resisting in the south of the country. A second point that must be underscored is the fact that this picture might represent the discursive movement proposed by «JB» of construction of a popular legitimacy of the military coup within the population throughout the images and information regarding the popular acceptance and endorsement of Goulart's deposition.

The different gazes and uses of the same event in the press coverage are remarkable. Nevertheless, both keep up with its class interests that are represented in the editorial intentionality of the newspapers, and also in the individuals' expressions, with greater or lesser subjectivity represented in the photographers' interpretations. This movement allows the perception of reflections and refractions that will compose the meaning of the enunciation in a two-way via between the enunciator and his audience. The moment of crisis climax that was

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<sup>396</sup> «The city went on the streets to celebrate victory over Goulart».

analyzed in the pages indicated, are an important example and materialization of the fact that in these historical moments some elements of the dispute for the hegemony become clearer. In first place, the necessity of a discursive movement in direction to a consensus building - this not only completes the *coup* itself as a political movement but reinforces the path to the consolidation of a determined social hegemony in a moment of crisis. Due to the fact that a political domination goes consolidated with a political and intellectual hegemony (GRAMSCI, 1975, p. 1513); from this first movement a second one will become possible. Is because of this element that the mass media participation has a central role in moments of hegemony crisis.

In a dialectical spiral, organizing it inside and beside that very action, the drive showed by the «JB» of telling in its pages some attacks and interferences that the press was suffering in those days, is here interpreted as a way the newspaper found to organize its own enunciation about the press, aiming the maintenance of its legitimacy with the public. On both days, April's 1st and 2nd in the pages number two and four, respectively were published the following internal headlines: «Fuzileiros com metralhadoras invadem JB e tiram Rádio do ar»<sup>397</sup> and «Choque de fuzileiros tenta apreender edição do JB e impedir a que circula hoje»<sup>398</sup> on both cases the texts that came right under the titles aimed to narrate the presence and intrusion of the navy militaries on the daily operations of the newspaper and other press organs, indicating that has been in action an occupation of the medias during the first two days after the coup, but with low precision in confirming what was the objective of those actions and its practical consequences apart from the disconnection of two radios.

In addition to that, and as was exposed throughout the editorial's extracts, in a discursive path full of reciprocity (at the same time that the mass media was in search of its own legitimacy by asking the new rulers another national legitimacy) the militaries in seeing this need to the government opened a new moment of the regime. Denying the «JB» editorial of April's 2, the democracy was not reinstated, and the military cupula has created new decrees that institutionalized its remaining in power – closing the coup and opening the regime.

First of moving on to what was the government of the General Castelo Branco, we must underline the creation of the «Ato Institucional»<sup>399</sup> on April 09<sup>th</sup> of 1964. What was supposed to be the only Institutional Act created by the Military in power, during the following years, showed itself as the first of many. In so, we underline a first part of the text in which is possible

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<sup>397</sup> «Marines with machine guns invade JB and take radio off air».

<sup>398</sup> «Marines chock tries to seize edition of JB and prevent the one circulating today».

<sup>399</sup> «Institutional Act».



to see how the movement saw itself as a «revolution» that, took place to restore the order in the country

A revolução se distingue de outros movimentos armados pelo fato de que nela se traduz, não o interesse e a vontade de um grupo, mas o interesse e a vontade da Nação. A revolução vitoriosa se investe no exercício do Poder Constituinte. Este se manifesta pela eleição popular ou pela revolução. Esta é a forma mais expressiva e mais radical do Poder Constituinte. Assim, a revolução vitoriosa, como Poder Constituinte, se legitima por si mesma. Ela destitui o governo anterior e tem a capacidade de constituir o novo governo. Nela se contém a força normativa, inerente ao Poder Constituinte. Ela edita normas jurídicas sem que nisto seja limitada pela normatividade anterior à sua vitória. Os Chefes da revolução vitoriosa, graças à ação das Forças Armadas e ao apoio inequívoco da Nação, representam o Povo e em seu nome exercem o Poder Constituinte, de que o Povo é o único titular. O Ato Institucional que é hoje editado pelos Comandantes-em-Chefe do Exército, da Marinha e da Aeronáutica, em nome da revolução que se tornou vitoriosa com o apoio da Nação na sua quase totalidade, se destina a assegurar ao novo governo a ser instituído, os meios indispensáveis à obra de reconstrução econômica, financeira, política e moral do Brasil, de maneira a poder enfrentar, de modo direto e imediato, os graves e urgentes problemas de que depende a restauração da ordem interna e do prestígio internacional da nossa Pátria. A revolução vitoriosa necessita de se institucionalizar e se apressa pela sua institucionalização a limitar os plenos poderes de que efetivamente dispõe<sup>400</sup> (ATO INSTITUCIONAL No 1, DE 9 DE ABRIL DE 1964).

Another aspect which jumps out at the reader of the document, is the idea that the movement was based in the People's will. In addition to this, the last lines mentioned above indicates the necessity of institutionalization of the new group in power. And was with this goal that the

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<sup>400</sup> «The revolution is distinguished from other armed movements by the fact that it does not translate the interest and will of a group, but the interest and will of the Nation. The victorious revolution invests itself in the exercise of Constituent Power. This manifests itself through popular election or revolution. This is the most expressive and most radical form of Constituent Power. Thus, the victorious revolution, as a Constituent Power, legitimizes itself. It ousts the previous government and has the capacity to constitute the new government. It contains the normative force, inherent in the Constituent Power. It issues juridical norms without being limited by the normativity prior to its victory. The leaders of the victorious revolution, thanks to the action of the Armed Forces and the unequivocal support of the Nation, represent the People and in their name exercise Constituent Power, of which the People are the sole holders. The Institutional Act issued today by the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, in the name of the revolution, which has been victorious with the support of the Nation almost in its entirety, is designed to ensure that the new government to be established has the means necessary for the work of economic, financial, political and moral reconstruction of Brazil, so that it may directly and immediately tackle the serious and urgent problems on which the restoration of internal order and of the international prestige of our Homeland depend. The victorious revolution needs to institutionalize itself and hastens, through its institutionalization, to limit the full powers it effectively has». Available in: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/ait/ait-01-64.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ait/ait-01-64.htm) Access on: 07/07/2021.

second article of the Act defines the indirect election (throughout the National Congress) of the new president.<sup>401</sup> And in its tenth article indicates the possibility of not following the still existing Constitution of 1946 and the institutionalization of the term cassations. Was based on this first Institutional Act that forty deputies were removed from their terms before the election of General Castelo Branco to the office.

Art. 10 - No interesse da paz e da honra nacional, e sem as limitações previstas na Constituição, os Comandantes-em-Chefe, que editam o presente Ato, poderão suspender os direitos políticos pelo prazo de dez (10) anos e cassar mandatos legislativos federais, estaduais e municipais, excluída a apreciação judicial desses atos<sup>402</sup>. (ATO INSTITUCIONAL No 1, DE 9 DE ABRIL DE 1964).

With this was clear then the intention of creating an Institutional apparatus around the new government, in order to legitimate to it. With this goal, on April 11<sup>th</sup>, 1964, after the cassation of forty deputies, the Congress elected the General Castelo Branco to replace the democratic elected João Goulart. At the end, the member of the Armed Forces received 361 votes and witness 72 abstentions (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 65)<sup>403</sup>. With this action the coup was completed, a president elected in a direct and popular way was removed from the power after almost two decades of conspirations. First of moving on, is important to highlight that the coup represented the victory of a conservative country's project

O golpismo de direita, liberal ou autoritária, nunca aceitou o voto popular, o nacionalismo econômico a agenda distributivista, a presença dos movimentos sociais de trabalhadores. A tudo isso chamava de populismo e subversão. Enfim, o golpismo da direita nunca aceitou a presença das massas seja como eleitoras ou como ativistas de movimentos sociais, na Quarta República brasileira, a "República de 46". O golpe de 1964 não foi apenas contra um governo, mas foi contra um regime, contra uma elite em formação, contra um projeto de sociedade, ainda que este fosse politicamente vago<sup>404</sup>. (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 66).

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<sup>401</sup> The new president and vice-president terms should finish on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January of 1966.

<sup>402</sup> «Article 10 - In the interests of peace and national honour, and without the limitations provided in the Constitution, the Commanders-in-Chief, who issue this Act, may suspend political rights for a period of ten (10) years and revoke federal, state and municipal legislative mandates, excluding judicial review of such acts». Available in: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/ait/ait-01-64.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ait/ait-01-64.htm) Access on: 07/07/2021.

<sup>403</sup> It is possible to access the official minutes of the Congress Session in which the election of Castelo Branco was registered. Available in: [http://imagem.camara.gov.br/dc\\_20.asp?selCodColecaoCsv=J&txPagina=95&DataIn=12/04/1964&txSuplemen to=#/](http://imagem.camara.gov.br/dc_20.asp?selCodColecaoCsv=J&txPagina=95&DataIn=12/04/1964&txSuplemen to=#/) Access in: 15/07/2021.

<sup>404</sup> «The Right-wing plotters, liberal or authoritarian, never accepted the popular vote, economic nationalism, the distributivist agenda, the presence of the social movements of workers. It called all this populism and subversion. In short, the coup of the right never accepted the presence of the masses either as voters or as activists of social movements in the Fourth Brazilian Republic, the "Republic of 46". The 1964 coup was not only against a

In the same breath, Toledo (2004b) agrees with this interpretation of what as the coup as a political project that proposes first an opposition to another country's idea than a project itself

Mais apropriado seria então afirmar que 1964 significou um golpe *contra* a incipiente democracia política brasileira; um movimento *contra* as reformas sociais e políticas; uma ação repressiva *contra* a politização das organizações dos trabalhadores (no campo e nas cidades); um estancamento do amplo e rico debate ideológico e cultural que estava em curso no país.

Em síntese, as classes dominantes e suas elites ideológicas e repressivas, no pré-64, apenas enxergavam baderna, anarquia, subversão e comunização do país diante de legítimas iniciativas dos operários, camponeses, estudantes, soldados e praças etc. Por vezes, expressas de forma altissonante e retórica, tais demandas, em sua substância, reivindicavam o *alargamento da democracia política e a realização de reformas do capitalismo brasileiro*<sup>405</sup> (TOLEDO, 2004b, p. 15).

We may now proceed to understand what changes the Military Regime brought to the Brazilian society, and why at end has been composed by five different terms with one indirect president elected for each on.

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government, but against a regime, against a forming elite, against a project of society, even if it was politically vague».

<sup>405</sup> «It would then be more appropriate to say that 1964 meant a coup against the incipient Brazilian political democracy; a movement against social and political reforms; a repressive action against the politicization of workers' organizations (in the countryside and in the cities); a stagnation of the ample and rich ideological and cultural debate that was underway in the country.

In synthesis, the dominant classes, and their ideological and repressive elites, in the pre-64 period, only saw disorder, anarchy, subversion, and comunization of the country in the face of legitimate initiatives by workers, peasants, students, soldiers and soldiers on the streets, etc. Sometimes expressed in a lofty and rhetorical way, these demands, in their substance, demanded *the enlargement of political democracy and reforms of Brazilian capitalism*». Highlighted by this author.

## Chapter 5 – The regime legitimation: AI-5 and its gazes

*1964 - 1968, The military government that turns into a dictatorship*

After his indirect election, the General Humberto Castelo Branco arrived in office with the responsibility of keep the balance and the consensus that existed between the different groups inside the high ranks of the Armed Forces and the needed civil support, especially inside the middle class. In so, there were two main objectives that his term had to achieve: the destruction of an intellectual and political reformist elite; and the repression of any social movement that had a popular base. To accomplish this two goals Castelo Branco was extremely pragmatic in the cassation of his political opposition's trough the «Inquéritos policial-militares».<sup>406</sup> The workers unions and associations were under strict control of the Labor Ministry and in the countryside, was the absence of control that kept under the violent aim of the landowners the social movements. In other words, the repression during these first four years of regime was selective<sup>407</sup>, because the militaries were trying to keep stable the balance between all the sectors that helped to perpetrate the coup; the medium class, the press and other liberal sector in the industry and major cities. These are the main reasons for a repression that in the beginning was concentrated in some sectors of the society and left the artistic and cultural fields with a little bit more freedom, not compromising the two main goals of Castelo Branco's term that we mentioned (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 71).

Has been under Castelo Branco's presidency that, what was in theory a short-time term which would soon give back the democracy to the Brazilian people, became a military dictatorship. The first General that occupied the presidency of the country was the responsible for the great persecution to all the military members of the forces that were not in favor of the movement<sup>408</sup>, but has also been him the one that constructed the institutionalization of the authoritarian regime throughout the expedition of other three «Atos Institucionais»<sup>409</sup>, a Press Law and a new Constitution.

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<sup>406</sup> «Police-military enquiries».

<sup>407</sup> This selective repression helped to the construction of an idea and a memory in which the first four years of the military regime were not a dictatorship in terms of violence and civil restrictions. Napolitano (2020) indicates two examples of this interpretation that are the work of the liberal Elio Gaspari (2002), «A Ditadura envergonhada» and the famous editorial of the *Folha de S. Paulo* on February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2009, in which the regime was called «ditabranda», in a clear allusion to an idea of a weaker authoritarianism and violence by the military. Available in: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/opiniao/fz1702200901.htm> Access in: 16/07/2021.

<sup>408</sup> According to Napolitano (2014, p. 73) during the term of Castelo Branco have occurred 90% of the 1230 military sanctions of the regime.

<sup>409</sup> The so-called AI-2 was published on October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1965; the AI-3 on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1966 and the AI-4 on December 07<sup>th</sup>, 1966. The details of each of the Acts will be presented further on.

There is nowadays, an important historiographical debate which tries to indicate how the regime was constructed and when the coup became an authoritarian regime, for some was the «AI-2», and to others was only with the famous and violent «AI-5» in December of 1968. Is our comprehension that the Institutional Acts were not a mere legal tool created by the regime to legitimated itself and keep the balance with its different supports, but also a form to naturalize a new political practice of persecutions, restrictions, and violence. Beyond that, was a fundamental part of the narrative dispute in which the word «Revolution» is central to the switch of roles. In other words, the coup plotters, with a discourse that always evokes a revolutionary process, insert themselves in a historical event that have not existed in practice as revolutionary, but is discursively constructed in a way that puts its protagonists as a group that was working in favor of a general and popular will. Chirio (2007), discuss the uses of the word «revolution», and proposes a hypothesis in which the idea of revolution was linked with a process of «political revolution» against the democracy and popular vote.

The «AI-2»<sup>410</sup> is a great example of how we interpret in this work the discursive uses of the idea of a revolution, and the way in which the regime uses it as a rhetorical tool to reinforce the need of a strong and authoritarian action. The text that precedes the Act's articles have some constructions in which was clear the persistence with that discursive resource, the paragraphs started with the following phrases «Não se disse que a revolução foi, mas que é e continuará»<sup>411</sup>, or «A revolução está viva e não retrocede»<sup>412</sup> or still

Assim, o Presidente da República, na condição de Chefe do Governo revolucionário e comandante supremo das forças armadas, coesas na manutenção dos ideais revolucionários, CONSIDERANDO que o País precisa de tranqüilidade para o trabalho em prol do seu desenvolvimento econômico e do bem-estar do povo, e que não pode haver paz sem autoridade, que é também condição essencial da ordem; CONSIDERANDO que o Poder Constituinte da Revolução lhe é intrínseco, não apenas para institucionalizá-la, mas para assegurar a continuidade da obra a que se propôs, Resolve editar o seguinte: ATO INSTITUCIONAL N° 2<sup>413</sup> (**ATO INSTITUCIONAL No 2, DE 27 DE OUTUBRO DE 1965**).

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<sup>410</sup> Published on October 27<sup>th</sup> of 1965. Available in: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/ait/ait-02-65.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ait/ait-02-65.htm) Last access: 08/07/2021.

<sup>411</sup> «It was not said that the revolution was, but that it is and will continue».

<sup>412</sup> «The revolution is alive and is not going backwards».

<sup>413</sup> «Thus, the President of the Republic, in his capacity as Head of the revolutionary Government and supreme commander of the armed forces, cohesive in upholding the revolutionary ideals, WHEREAS the Country needs tranquility to work towards its economic development and the well-being of the people, and there can be no peace without authority, which is also an essential condition of order; WHEREAS the Constituent Power of the

The «AI-2» itself was then the institutional and bureaucratic measure that established, besides the concentration of power in the hands of the chief of the Executive power, but also gave to the president and to the «Conselho de Segurança Nacional»<sup>414</sup> the possibility of suspending the politics rights of any citizen for ten years, as well as intervene in the States for a specific time in order to guarantee the execution a federal law. Although, the worst were the Article 18, in which «Ficam extintos os atuais Partidos Políticos e cancelados os respectivos registros»<sup>415</sup> and the Article 31 «A decretação do recesso do Congresso Nacional, das Assembléias Legislativas e das Câmaras de Vereadores pode ser objeto de ato complementar do Presidente da República, em estado de sítio ou fora dele»<sup>416</sup>. Both clearly demonstrated that the term of Castelo Branco, that became known as a well-intended president, in the end was, extremely efficient in consolidate the militaries in power, and at the same time gave the bases for a narrative in which the Armed Forces were fulfilling a mission in the name of the Brazilian People.

Another facet of this discursive maneuvers that the regime used, was the Foreign Policy, in the following pages we will go through some details of this aspect of the Military Regime. In this moment is central to underline the fact that, after the «Independent Foreign Policy» proposed by Jânio Quadros, and the plural attitude of Goulart (especially with the establishment of consolidate diplomatic relations with countries that were part of the Soviet bloc during the Cold War) Castelo Branco arrived in office and quickly promoted a drastic change in the Brazilian diplomacy. Immediately, the relations with USA were reinforced and his term saw an automatic and total alignment with the US Foreign Policy. There was, for that, a democratic justification, but was mainly an economic narrative that supported this new contact with the continent neighbor. In this regard, perhaps the major problem that this relation had during the whole Dictatorship period was the denounces and critics made by the US government, under the presidency of Jimmy Carter in the second half of the 1970s to the violations of Human Rights inside the Brazilian Regime.<sup>417</sup> To that the Itamaraty<sup>418</sup>, had a very effective response

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Revolution is intrinsic to it, not only to institutionalize it, but to ensure the continuity of the work it has set itself, Resolves to issue the following: INSTITUTIONAL ACT NO. 2».

<sup>414</sup> «National Security Council».

<sup>415</sup> «The current Political Parties are extinct, and the respective registrations are cancelled».

<sup>416</sup> «The decree of recess of the National Congress, the Legislative Assemblies and the Council Chambers may be the object of a complementary act of the President of the Republic, in a state of siege or otherwise».

<sup>417</sup> The dissertation that this author presented to the achievement of the master's degree is centered in the Brazilian Diplomacy reaction to these denounces of Human Rights violation during the Military Dictatorship. Available in: <https://teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8161/tde-10032017-142914/pt-br.php> Access in: 19/07/2021.

<sup>418</sup> This is one of the nicknames that the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Policy has. It is connected to the name of the building in which the Ministry it is placed.

in many fields in order to preserve the international image of the country and to keep the narrative dispute of what was the regime and its uses of torture and violence as a political toll (FERNANDES, 2016, p. 65).

Internally, Castelo Branco's term was dedicated to the reorganization of the Brazilian economy and, as we saw, to the institutionalization of the regime. In the first field, it was known even by a part of the conservatives' sectors of the Brazilian politics and society, that a minimum land reform and reorganization was central to boost the food production, control the inflation and insert the country in the modern capitalism. Although even the militaries had problems to move forward with a «Estatuto da Terra»<sup>419</sup> in 1964, showing the clear differences between the new government and the old rural oligarchies. In terms of urban work, the regime was focused in the flexibilization of the labour market, giving to the company's smaller costs to quit employees, creating a great instability in the national employment, with so started a new phase in the Brazilian economy without the need of distributing profits or a minimum of life quality, as was being proposed by the reformist governments so far (NAPOLITANO, 2014 p. 75).

As is possible to see so far, the economic policy, the institutionalization of the regime and the country's project were not a short-term plan. The policy dedicated to the capital accumulation demanded a central and authoritarian regime, with an initial look of not so violent and antidemocratic, but that in the end of the day, annihilated any possibility of distribution of the profits and general reduction of social inequality. And to realize that was needed to deepen the transformations in the Constitution that started with the «AI-1» and «AI-2». On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February 1966, it was published the «AI-3»<sup>420</sup>, completing a major intervention in the democratic process inside the country. The Act stated that the state governor's elections would also be indirect, and the States capital's mayors would be named by the regime.

Art. 1º - A eleição de Governador e Vice-Governador dos Estados far-se-á pela maioria absoluta dos membros da Assembléia Legislativa, em sessão pública e votação nominal.

Art. 4º - Respeitados os mandatos em vigor, serão nomeados pelos Governadores de Estado, os Prefeitos dos Municípios das Capitais mediante prévio assentimento da Assembléia Legislativa ao nome proposto.

§ 1º - Os Prefeitos dos demais Municípios serão eleitos por voto direto e maioria simples, admitindo-se sublegendas, nos termos estabelecidos pelos estatutos partidários. (ATO

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<sup>419</sup> The «Land Law» proposed a progressive taxation, land expropriation with compensation and occupation of idle land. (NAPOLITANO, 2020, p.76).

<sup>420</sup> Available in: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/ait/ait-03-66.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ait/ait-03-66.htm) Access in: 15/07/2021.

**INSTITUCIONAL No 3, DE 05 DE FEVEREIRO DE 1966).**<sup>421</sup>

In the following month were created the two parties that would be allowed during a first political moment of the regime; the «Aliança Renovadora Nacional»<sup>422</sup> (ARENA) and the «Movimento Democrático Brasileiro»<sup>423</sup> (MDB) this was an opposition party, that had the consent of the military. In the same breath, the «AI-4» of December 7<sup>th</sup> of 1966<sup>424</sup> stated that a new Constitution should be written by the National Congress until the end of January of the following year.

Art. 1º - É convocado o Congresso Nacional para se reunir extraordinariamente, de 12 de dezembro de 1966 a 24 de janeiro de 1967.

§ 1º - O objeto da convocação extraordinária é a discussão, votação e promulgação do projeto de Constituição apresentado pelo Presidente da República.

**(ATO INSTITUCIONAL No 4, DE 07 DE DEZEMBRO DE 1966).**<sup>425</sup>

Napolitano (2014, p. 80), points out a characteristic of this movement to create an institutional support to the regime «Os atos eram fundamentais para a afirmação do caráter tutelar do Estado, estruturado a partir de um regime autoritário que não queria personalizar o exercício do poder político, sob o risco de perder o seu caráter propriamente militar».<sup>426</sup> This aspect of the Brazilian dictatorship is a difference to other similar regimes in South America during the same period and, is part of a debate in which the dictatorship aspect of is discussed. In our perspective, this has been another strategy of the regime to compose the narrative dispute around the facts that were being unfold after the coup.

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<sup>421</sup> «Article 1 - The election of State Governors and Vice-Governors shall be carried out by an absolute majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly in a public session and voting by roll call.

Article 4 - Respecting the terms of office in force, the Mayors of the municipalities of capital cities shall be appointed by the State Governors upon prior consent of the Legislative Assembly to the proposed name.

§ 1 - The Mayors of the other Municipalities shall be elected by direct vote and simple majority, sub delegates being admitted, under the terms established by the party statutes. (INSTITUTIONAL ACT No. 5, OF FEBRUARY 5, 1966)».

<sup>422</sup> «National Renewal Alliance».

<sup>423</sup> «Brazilian Democratic Movement».

<sup>424</sup> Available in: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/ait/ait-04-66.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ait/ait-04-66.htm) Access in: 16/07/2021.

<sup>425</sup> «Article 1 - The National Congress is hereby summoned to meet extraordinarily from 12 December 1966 to 24 January 1967.

§ Paragraph 1 - The object of the extraordinary call is the discussion, voting and promulgation of the draft Constitution submitted by the President of the Republic.

(INSTITUTIONAL ACT No. 4, OF DECEMBER 07, 1966)».

<sup>426</sup> «The acts were fundamental to the affirmation of the tutelary character of the State, structured based on an authoritarian regime that did not want to personalize the exercise of political power, at the risk of losing its properly military character».



Nevertheless, the institutionalization of the regime was a form of putting inside the government a systematic persecution to the opposition. Much more visible after the beginning of 1967 with the creation of the «Conselho de Segurança Nacional (CSN)», a new repression instrument that was forged as a reaction to the progressive end of the consensus that covered most of the plotter's sectors inside the Brazilian society. The militaries throughout the «CSN»<sup>427</sup> and the «Doutrina de Segurança Nacional»<sup>428</sup> were able to establish as norm the idea that if the political was a civilian, even moderate, or conservative, it was corrupt. Beyond that, was constructing a general idea of national cohesion that did not allow any kind of opposition (COMBLIN, 1978).

The sum of moralism, authoritarianism and repression provoke the disembarking of the civil right-wing from the military government during Castelo Branco's term. Was then that, in 1966, has been created the «Frente Ampla»<sup>429</sup>, composed by Carlos Lacerda, Juscelino Kubitschek (both former supporters the coup and historical political adversaries) that were then allied with João Goulart, whom as Kubitschek, was living in the exile; the group tried to organize a political civil resistance to the military regime and used the term «dictatorship» in a direct way inside a manifest published in October of that year. To Delgado (2013, p. 163) the manifest summarizes the alliance of diverse political traditions against the new regime, and at the same time, proposes a revision of some members politic orientations and goals.

In the meantime, a year before the left-wing, especially the already illegal «PCB», via the «Resolução de Maio»<sup>430</sup> of 1965, declared its belief in a civil resistance linked with the Liberal opposition. In other words, in that moment, even a major player of the extra parliamentary left wasn't betting in an armed struggle as a way of making opposition and maybe defeating the military regime. With this attitude the Communist Party was indicating that would not support any attempts of organization of left-oriented guerrilla. To Napolitano (2014, p. 85) this fact was cleared stated in 1967 with the condemn of certain actions and the expulsion of historical members of the Party as Carlos Marighella<sup>431</sup> and Jacob Gorender.

Although, yet in that period was seen a first attempt of armed struggled, Leonel Brizola, former member of the «PTB», and organizer of the Resistance in 1961, even in exile was the

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<sup>427</sup> «Conselho Nacional de Segurança / National Security Council».

<sup>428</sup> «National Security Doctrine».

<sup>429</sup> A sort of «National Front», that tried to organize a political civil opposition. Napolitano (2020, p. 84) underlines the fact that both JK and Lacerda only abandoned the military government in the moment when the elections were cancelled, and the authoritarianism affected their own political life.

<sup>430</sup> «May Resolution» Available in: <http://www.fundacaoastrojildo.com.br/2015/2019/03/29/os-comunistas-e-o-golpe-de-1964-declaracao-de-maio-1965-do-pcb/> Access in: 09/07/2021.

<sup>431</sup> Marighella would be the responsible for the later organization of the «Aliança Nacional Libertadora – National Liberation Alliance» (ANL).

inspiration for a group of «brizolistas». In 1967, was then organized the «Movimento Nacional Revolucionário»<sup>432</sup> that with Cuban support tried to replicate a Sierra Maestra experience, however, were easily defeated, giving more strength to the repression system that was been build (ALMEIDA, 2014, p. 120). This case is a good example to point out the lack of cohesion that existed inside the left-wing of Brazilian opposition in the first years of the regime, split between those how believed in a civil opposition and some groups that saw in the armed struggled the only option to bring down the Military Regime; in the following pages we will see how these groups went on with its forms of opposition and how the guerrilla groups grew.

After being elected by the Congress in the end of 1966, the General Artur da Costa e Silva<sup>433</sup> arrived in office in the beginning of 1967 representing what became known as the «linha-dura»<sup>434</sup> inside the of the Armed Forces, even if in a first moment his actions and a term were dedicated to stimulate the economic growth, control the inflation and a non-automatic alignment with the US, helping him to have a less authoritarian face and regain part of the medium class support.

Assim, o objetivo prioritário colocado pela nova administração foi a estabilização do crescimento industrial em torno de sua tendência de longo prazo, erradicando o *stop and go* responsável pelo fracasso em conciliar a desinflação progressiva com a retomada segura do desenvolvimento econômico (MACARANI, 2006, p. 459).<sup>435</sup>

The main issue, albeit was the growing of an internal opposition, pretty much connected with an intellectual elite, students' organizations, and artistic groups, that still was not the main target of the repression. Was during the second semester of 1967 that the repressive face of the

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<sup>432</sup> «National Revolutionary Movement»

<sup>433</sup> He was born in Taquari, Rio Grande do Sul, in 1899. Was enrolled in 1912 in the Military College of Porto Alegre. In 1918, he entered the Realengo Military School in Rio de Janeiro. At the beginning of his military career in the 1920s, was involved in some episodes of insubordination, and was even arrested. In 1932, fought against the Constitutionalist Revolution, after which Costa e Silva served in the Infantry School until March 1935, when he was transferred to the 11th RI, in São João del Rei (MG). In 1938, during the Estado Novo regime, was placed in the office of the Army Chief of Staff (EME). During World War II did an internship at Fort Knox in the USA. In 1962, back to Rio de Janeiro, re-established contact with former colleagues and began to articulate and actively participate in the coup of 1964. On April 9, 1964, Costa e Silva presided over the meeting of the Supreme Command of the Revolution that published AI-1. During Castelo Branco's government (1964-1967) he was Minister of War. In August 1969, Costa e Silva suffered a stroke and was replaced by a military junta. He died on 17th December of that year. Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/artur-da-costa-e-silva> Access in: 21/07/2021.

<sup>434</sup> The so-called «hard-branch» of the Brazilian Armed-forces was the more conservative and right-winged political group inside the forces with a strong connection with the «ESEG – Escola Superior de Guerra do Exército».

<sup>435</sup> «Thus, the priority objective set by the new administration was to stabilise the industrial growth around its long-term trend, eradicating the stop-and-go approach responsible for the failure to reconcile progressive disinflation with the safe resumption of economic development».

military regime exposes itself as a dictatorship throughout the arrest of Hélio Fernandes, new owner of the newspaper «Tribuna da Imprensa», due to a critic to the former president Castelo Branco published in July of that year.<sup>436</sup> This episode served as a clear demonstration of how the institutionalization of the authoritarianism described so far was used to guarantee the objectives of the group that was in power due to the coup. The last months of 1967 were a preamble of what 1968 (the year that did not end) reserved.

With the melting of the political and moral balance that existed between the militaries in power, the ex-supporter parliamentary right-wing and the medium class (after almost four years of the coup), the opposition to the regime was growing. In the first months of 1968 the «Frente Ampla» and the Students Movement, leaded by «UNE»<sup>437</sup> were pressuring the military, in a way that was considered dangerous by the high ranks. In March of that year a key event opened a new season of protests and gave new breath to the opposition; the killing of Edson Luis by the police inside the university's canteen (a student that went from the north state of Pará to Rio de Janeiro) has raised awareness even of the most conservative sectors of the society. The following days, and the events of his funeral and his 7<sup>th</sup> day mess were days of massive demonstrations gathering more than sixty thousand people. But the regime, wouldn't back down, and the repression was building up. The 21<sup>st</sup> of June 1968 became known as the «bloody Friday»,<sup>438</sup> exactly because of the brutality of the repression that occurred in a student's protest in Rio's downtown (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 89).

Four days later, another major demonstration was seen in Rio, the «Passeata dos Cem Mil»<sup>439</sup>, that became the last big protest in that year, and in many years to come; in the following month the regime had forbidden any other student demonstration and started a strong repression. The most brutal example was the military occupation of the «Universidade de Brasília - UnB» with several imprisonments and cassations. Other moments of the repression

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<sup>436</sup> Fifty years after the 1964 coup, the «Amnesty Commission», related to the works of the «National Truth Commission» handed to the Brazilian Ministry of Justice a report indicating that during the dictatorship occurred 129 cases of political persecutions to journalists. In the document the case of Helio Fernandes is quoted as one of the most iconic one's due to the recurrence of the actions. The journalist was arrested three times and lost his political rights for ten years. Available in: <https://www.justica.gov.br/news/comissao-de-anistia-entrega-relatorio-a-federacao-nacional-dos-jornalistas> Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>437</sup> In the first four years of the regime, the «União Nacional dos Estudantes – Students National Union» was able to organize a strong opposition to the military regime even if the government had made important changes in the national organization of the University, aiming structural changes in the courses of study, political organization, and ways of access to the university. The «Lei Suplicy (1964) » and the «Lei de Reforma Universitária (1968) » were key to limit the students' actions and organization.

<sup>438</sup> Inside the subsequent analysis here proposed will be discussed some of the images of this day which gave to the Brazilian iconography some of the most iconic photographs of the dictatorship. Specially those took by Evandro Teixeira, photo reporter of «Jornal do Brasil» in Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>439</sup> «One hundred thousand march».

in 1968, such as the imprisonment of 920 persons during the UNE's congress in August (held in the small town of Ibiúna at the interior of the State of São Paulo); and the «Batalha da Rua Maria Antonia»<sup>440</sup> when students of the «Universidade de São Paulo - USP» and «Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie» fought violently in the middle of São Paulo city center<sup>441</sup>, the sequence of events and the growing repression, gave strength to a part of the students' movement that used to see in the armed struggle the only option to make an effective opposition of the regime, especially from that moment on (VALLE, 1997, p. 190).

In some way, 1968 was capable of gather several ideas and ideals inside the still existing political movements in the Brazilian politics, but at the same time, was also the moment in which the extreme repression was triggered. With the first actions of a guerrilla group taking place still in March of that year, when the so-called «Aliança Nacional Libertadora»<sup>442</sup> of Carlos Maringhella, recalled the bombing of the US Consulate in São Paulo; was public that existed an armed opposition to the regime. Also, the Unions were showing their strength, with a general strike happening in the city of Contagem in the State of Minas Gerais with more than fifteen thousand workers engaged in April of that year; and in the city of Osasco at the metropolitan area of São Paulo, where became know the case of the «Cobrasma» Industry occupation by the employees in July (BUONICORE, 2018, p. 10).<sup>443</sup> To the militaries the scenario was alarming «a radicalização estudantil e operária, alimentada pelo oposicionismo crescente da classe média e pela pregação esquerdista de artistas e intelectuais»<sup>444</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 93). Making things even more complicate to the regime, the parliament was not as docile as expected; during the second semester of 1968, the congressman

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<sup>440</sup> «Maria Antonia street battle» occurred on October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1968.

<sup>441</sup> The USP students, were mostly members of different left-wing movements and part of the Faculty of Human Sciences, at that time located in the same street that University Mackenzie. Meanwhile, Mackenzie's students engaged in the conflict were members of the «Comando de Caça aos Comunistas (CCC) – Communist Hunt Command» and right-wing oriented. According to Santos (2015, p. 168) the CCC was formed in 1963 and after 1964 its actions became more violent, in July of 1968 members of the group invaded the «Teatro Galpão» in São Paulo, in which was held the play «Roda Viva» in the occasion actors were beaten and gas bombs were thrown inside the theater. The author also indicates that during the Maria Antonia street events, the group had the support of the São Paulo's police force. Muller (2019) in «*Ideologia e imaginário na polarização política: a Batalha da Maria Antônia nas páginas de Folha de S. Paulo e O Globo [Ideology and imaginary in political polarization: the Battle of Maria Antonia in the pages of Folha de S. Paulo and O Globo]*». presents an interesting analysis of the press coverage of these events in the pages of «Folha de S. Paulo» and «O Globo».

<sup>442</sup> «National Liberating Alliance».

<sup>443</sup> For more details of this case can be consulted the work of Ari Marcelo Macedo Couto (2001) «Ao soar do apito a greve começou Cobrasma: lutas e resistências (1962-1968)». Available in: <https://repositorio.pucsp.br/jspui/handle/handle/13010> Access in: 30/07/2021. Available in: <https://tede2.pucsp.br/handle/handle/13010> Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>444</sup> «the radicalization of students and workers, fueled by growing middle-class oppositionism and leftist preaching by artists and intellectuals».

Márcio Moreira Alves, criticized the Army and its action in the episode of the invasion of the «UnB». His cassation was asked by the Regime but denied by the Congress.

The last weeks of the year were especially tenses. In the night of December 13<sup>th</sup> after a meeting of the «Conselho de Segurança Nacional», was announced by the Ministry of Justice, the Ato Institucional N°5<sup>445</sup>, maybe the most authoritarian and violent one. It had immediately direct consequences and indirect ones that would be felt inside the Brazilian society throughout the years. We quote below some paragraphs of the text that precedes that Act and a couple of Articles in which are indicated the right gave to the Executive Power to close the National Congress and also suspension of the legal right to *habeas corpus*.

CONSIDERANDO que o Governo da República, responsável pela execução daqueles objetivos e pela ordem e segurança internas, não só não pode permitir que pessoas ou grupos anti-revolucionários contra ela trabalhem, tramem ou ajam, sob pena de estar faltando a compromissos que assumiu com o povo brasileiro, bem como porque o Poder Revolucionário, ao editar o Ato Institucional no 2, afirmou, categoricamente, que "não se disse que a Revolução foi, mas que é e continuará" e, portanto, o processo revolucionário em desenvolvimento não pode ser detido;

CONSIDERANDO, no entanto, que atos nitidamente subversivos, oriundos dos mais distintos setores políticos e culturais, comprovam que os instrumentos jurídicos, que a Revolução vitoriosa outorgou à Nação para sua defesa, desenvolvimento e bem-estar de seu povo, estão servindo de meios para combatê-la e destruí-la;

Art. 2o - O Presidente da República poderá decretar o recesso do Congresso Nacional, das Assembleias Legislativas e das Câmaras de Vereadores, por Ato Complementar, em estado de sitio ou fora dele, só voltando os mesmos a funcionar quando convocados pelo Presidente da República.

Art. 10 - Fica suspensa a garantia de habeas corpus, nos casos de crimes políticos, contra a segurança nacional, a ordem econômica e social e a economia popular. (**ATO INSTITUCIONAL No 5, DE 13 DE DEZEMBRO DE 1968**).<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> «Institutional Act N°5». Available in: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/ait/ait-05-68.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ait/ait-05-68.htm) Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>446</sup> «WHEREAS the Government of the Republic, responsible for the execution of those objectives and for internal order and security, not only cannot allow anti-revolutionary persons or groups to work, plot or act against it, under penalty of being in breach of the commitments it has assumed with the Brazilian people, but also because the Revolutionary Power, upon issuing Institutional Act no. 2, categorically stated that "it was not said that the Revolution was, but that it is and will continue" and, therefore, the revolutionary process in development cannot be stopped; WHEREAS, however, clearly subversive acts, coming from the most distinct political and cultural sectors, prove that the legal instruments that the victorious Revolution bestowed upon the Nation for its defense, development, and the well-being of its people are serving as means to combat and destroy it.

The act itself represents the moment in which the military violence, repression and authoritarianism arrived to the medium class, became more generalized than concentrated, ending with the still existing and possible ways of popular mobilization in the streets. The «AI-5» represent the beginning of the Brazilian «Anos de chumbo»<sup>447</sup>, Napolitano (2014) presents an important synthesis that is worth to quote

O governo de Costa e Silva, que se iniciara em 1967 sob a promessa de liberalização política e de colocar fim ao chamado “terrorismo cultural”, mudava de rumo e reiterava a sombria promessa já contida no Ato Institucional nº 02, de 1965: “Não se disse que a Revolução foi, mas que é, e continuará”. A virada do regime militar no final de 1968 na direção da repressão sistemática e policialesca é explicada menos pela pressão *stricto sensu* da linha dura e mais pela leitura convergente que os vários grupos militares fizeram da “crise política” de 1968. Em outras palavras, ao contrário do que prega uma certa memória (militar e civil) sobre a época, o AI-5 foi mais produto da união do que da desunião militar<sup>448</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 94).

The repression and persecution started to be pointed out not only to the opposition leaders, but also to members of the medium class, artists, journalists; in brief, sectors of the society that were so far preserved by the regime, in the name of the so-called political and moral balance. A little bit more than two weeks after the new Act, on December 30<sup>th</sup>, a first list of deputies’ cassations was published, Marcio Moreira Alves was the main target. Besides this first group several Congressman’s of the «ARENA» and «MDB» lost their positions; overall ninety-five deputies and four senators’ loss their term’s, five higher courts judges lost their

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Article 2 - The President of the Republic may decree that the National Congress, the Legislative Assemblies and the Council Chambers be recessed, by Supplementary Act, in a state of siege or out of it, and they shall only return to work when summoned by the President of the Republic.

Article 10 - The guarantee of habeas corpus shall be suspended in cases of political crimes, crimes against national security, economic and social order and popular economy. (INSTITUTIONAL ACT No. 5, OF DECEMBER 13, 1968)».

<sup>447</sup> «Years of Lead».

<sup>448</sup> «The government of Costa e Silva, which had begun in 1967 with the promise of political liberalization and of putting an end to the so-called "cultural terrorism", changed course and reiterated the somber promise already contained in Institutional Act no. 2 of 1965: "It was not said that the Revolution was, but that it is, and will continue". The swing of the military regime at the end of 1968 in the direction of systematic, police-like repression is explained less by the *stricto sensu* pressure of the hard line and more by the convergent reading that the various military groups made of the "political crisis" of 1968. In other words, contrary to what some (military and civilian) memories of the period preach, AI-5 was more the product of union than of military disunity».

positions, among the new victims of the military were also Juscelino Kubitschek<sup>449</sup> and Carlos Lacerda members of the «Frente Ampla» (GORDILHO, 2015, p. 40).

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As was indicated the several «AIs», the Institutional Acts promulgated by the militaries during the dictatorship were the means founded by those who were in control of the political and military power of the country to institutionalize the diverse authoritarian actions and the repression as a legitime form of social control. In other words, the judicialization and institutionalization of different violent actions gave to the regime's authoritarianism the legitimation and legality that did not exist in the constitution and in the International Tribunals. In so, the «AI-5» promulgated in the night of the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 1968 represented pragmatically and symbolically the peak of this political and discursive strategy. Being the summarization of an authoritarian tripod of surveillance, censorship, and repression.

In the following pages, the present analysis will be dedicated to the immediate reactions and consequences of the «AI-5's» promulgation in the press.<sup>450</sup> The focus will be in the discursive construction and changes in the two newspapers that are under scrutiny and, in the political unfolding facts that were connected to it especially if is traceable a major change of route in how the military government was seen and supported by part of the mass media. As has also been indicated in the precedent chapters, part of our hypothesis relies in the fact that the «AI-5» has been a milestone not only to the repression, but to the start of a new movement inside some social groups that so far were supporting the militaries. Is with the goal of better understanding these elements that the pictures and its interactions will be decoded.

Considering that the «AI-5» has been published in the night of the 13<sup>th</sup> of December, the period that will be under analysis starts on the 14<sup>th</sup> of December until de 17<sup>th</sup> of that same month of 1968<sup>451</sup>. The decision to keep the analysis in the very few days after the Act's publication is connected to the fact that rapidly some consequences of it were visible, and in those first days a major event took place: In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1968 the «Jornal do

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<sup>449</sup> In 2012, a session of the National Senate restored the terms of the Senators that suffered the cassation in 1968. Available in: <https://senado.jusbrasil.com.br/noticias/100257998/oito-senadores-cassados-pelo-ai-5-recebem-de-volta-seus-mandatos> Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>450</sup> In the last decades several debates took place in the Press studies and discussions about the meaning of the «AI-5» to the press, one example can be seen in the «*Observatório da Imprensa*» website with the indication on how the censorship has been institutionalized after 13/12/1968. Available in: <https://www.observatoriodaimprensa.com.br/diretorio-academico/ai5-a-imprensa-acusou-o-golpe/> Access in: 14/06/2022.

<sup>451</sup> In the following tables the information related to the 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1968 it is present as a tool to illustrate the mentioned initial agenda adapting in the press.

Brasil» has not circulated. That is to say, not even one edition of it has been sold or read. According to the «Revista Época»<sup>452</sup> the reason for this has been that one of the newspaper directors, José Sette Camara Filho<sup>453</sup>, was arrested and «JB's» owner, Manuel Francisco do Nascimento Brito, had announced that if something like this happened the «JB» would not be printed. This fact had a main consequence to the present analysis, that is a difference in the number of editions regarding each newspaper. The «FSP» had normally circulated in that period what gives us five editions to be analyzed and on the other hand the «JB» have available in its archives only three editions to the period.

Nevertheless, regarding the imagetic press coverage of the topic is clear a significative difference between both newspapers. If the «FSP» along the five editions framed had published two pictures in its front page and five images in its internal pages, the «JB» instead in only three editions had published six photos in its cover and ten pictures in the pages on the inside. Just the numerical difference indicates a diverse relevance that was given to the images as a discursive tool, in the analysis will be detailed what were the differences in the approaches and how that had contributed to the narrative path of both newspapers. On the other hand, in absolute number, the «FSP» had dedicated more written space to the subject (eight pages), meanwhile the «JB» presented six pages regarding the «AI-5». The written elements also showed to be a fundamental point of interpretation, exactly because of the words and expressions choices that were made in connection if the images editing, but also with the «AI's» texts as has been presented.

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<sup>452</sup> Fabio Altman, *13 de dezembro 1968 – O dia do AI-5*, «Revista Época», online, 13/12/2010. Available in: <http://revistaepoca.globo.com/Revista/Epoca/0,,EMI193321-15518,00.html> Access in: 15/06/2022.

<sup>453</sup> A Brazilian career diplomat borne in the interior of Minas Gerais, in 1940 start to work of Juscelino Kubitschek when he was Belo Horizonte's mayor. In 1945 entered in the diplomatic career, during the next two decades occupied diplomatic posts in the UN, OAS and in the beginning of 1968 asked to be licensed so he could assume of the direction posts in the «JB» board, stayed in the post until 1972. Available in: <https://jk.cpdoc.fgv.br/biografia/jose-sette-camara-filho> Access in: 14/06/2022.



Case / Data	AI-5	TOTAL
<b>Period analysed</b>	14/12/1968 – 18/12/1968 <sup>454</sup>	3
<i>JORNAL DO BRASIL</i>	In the 15th and 16th of December the newspaper did not circulate	
Nº of front pages	1 (14/12); 1 (17/12); 1 (18/12)	3
Nº of headlines	1 (14/12); 3 (17/12); 0 (18/12)	4
Nº front page photos	2 (14/12); 2 (17/12); 2 (18/12)	6
Main headlines	«Governo baixa Ato Institucional e coloca Congresso em recesso por tempo ilimitado» (14/12); «Presidente anuncia novas revoluções se necessário» (17/12); «Governo estuda revisão de todo sistema tributário» (18/12).	
Nº of internal pages	2 (14/12); 2 (17/12); 2 (18/12)	6
Nº of internal photos	6 (14/12); 1 (17/12); 3 (18/12)	10
Main internal tittles	«Ruas do Rio ficaram tranquilas»; «Ambiente no Laranjeiras foi tranquilo durante todo o dia» (14/12) «Nota da 1ª. Região Militar esclarece razões da censura»; «Costa e Silva assegura que revolução se renovará sempre» (17/12) «Exército entrega espadas a novos oficiais-generais» (18/12).	
<i>FOLHA DE S. PAULO</i>	14/12/1968 – 18/12/1968 <sup>455</sup>	5
Nº of front pages	1 (14/12); 0 (15/12); 0 (16/12); 1 (17/12); 0 (18/12);	2
Nº of headlines	1 (14/12); 0 (15/12); 0 (16/12); 1 (17/12); 1 (18/12);	3
Nº front page photos	2 (14/12); 0 (15/12); 0 (16/12); 0 (17/12); 0 (18/12);	2
Main headlines	«Governo baixa novo ato» (14/12); «Obras do metrô já começaram» (15/12); «Começou a contagem da corrida à lua» (16/12); «Desenvolvimento do país será acelerado» (17/12); «Delfim: Política econômica será mantida» (18/12).	
Nº of internal pages	2 (14/12); 1 (15/12); 2 (16/12); 1 (17/12); 2 (18/12);	8
Nº of internal photos	1 (14/12); 0 (15/12); 2 (16/12); 1 (17/12); 1 (18/12);	5
Main internal tittles	«Em regime de prontidão várias guarnições do Exército, Marinha e Aeronáutica» (14/12); «Decorridos 14 minutos de sábado, o Congresso já estava vazio» (15/12); «Presidente continua recebendo manifestações de solidariedade» (16/12); «Gama anuncia em São Paulo, Ato Complementar n.39» (17/12); «O gen. Adalberto aos novos generais: o inimigo interno procura dividir-nos»; «Ministro Delfim Neto afirma que será mantida a política econômica no País» (18/12).	

<sup>454</sup> «Jornal do Brasil, the 14<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1968., Nºs 213, 214, 215 and 216. Ano LXXVIII».

<sup>455</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo, from the 14<sup>th</sup> of December until the 18<sup>th</sup> of December of 1968, Nºs 14.426; 14.427; 14.428 and 14.429. Ano XLVIII».

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Government drops Institutional Act and puts Congress in recess for unlimited time» (14/12); «President announces new revolutions if necessary» (17/12); «Government studies revision of the entire tax system» (18/12).
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Rio's streets remained calm»; «Environment in Laranjeiras was tranquil all day long» (14/14) «Note from the 1st Military Region clarifies reasons for censorship»; «Costa e Silva assures that the revolution will always be renewed» (17/17) «Army hands over swords to new general officers» (18/12).

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo»	«Government drops new act» (14/12); «Metro works have begun» (15/12); «The countdown of the race to the moon has begun» (16/12); «The country's development will be accelerated» (17/12); «Delfim: Economic policy will be maintained» (18/12).
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo»	«On standby various garrisons of the Army, Navy, and Air Force» (14/12); «After 14 minutes on Saturday, Congress was already empty» (15/12); «President continues to receive manifestations of solidarity» (16/12); «Gama announces in São Paulo, Complementary Act no. 39» (17/12); «Gen. Adalberto to the new generals: the enemy within seeks to divide us»; «Minister Delfim Neto affirms that the country's economic policy will be maintained» (18/12).

### *14/12/1968 – Folha de S. Paulo*

A few hours after the government announcement of the «AI-5», in the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> of December 1968 was published the «FSP's» Saturday edition with the main title in caps lock «GOVERNMENT DROPS NEW ACT». This short title was preceded by a little auxiliary title «Decretado o recesso do Congresso Nacional»<sup>456</sup> right under the newspaper heading in the very top of the page; above the title a small introductory text with a short lead on what had happened in the night before.

O ministro da Justiça, sr. Gama e Silva, anunciou ontem cerca das 23 horas, duas medidas adotadas pelo governo da República, consubstanciadas no Ato Institucional n.º 5, que entrou em vigor ontem mesmo, e o Ato Complementar, decorrente do Institucional, que decretou o recesso do Congresso. O Ato Complementar não estipulou o prazo do recesso.<sup>457</sup>

In these first elements of the press coverage proposed by the «FSP» is possible to identify a

<sup>456</sup> «Decreed the National Congress recess».

<sup>457</sup> «The Minister of Justice, Mr Gama e Silva, announced yesterday at about 11 p.m. two measures adopted by the government of the Republic, embodied in the Institutional Act No. 5, which came into force yesterday, and the Complementary Act, resulting from the Institutional Act, which decreed the recess of Congress. The Complementary Act did not stipulate the recess period».

tone and approach that was mainly dedicated to the aspects related to the Institutional politics consequences, as the closing of the National Congress, that is to say, in this first page were absent other important point of the «AI-5», such as the *habeas corpus* suspension and the censorship, this last one, probably has not been cited in an already act of auto censorship. Concerning the three photographs published in that front cover, there is a continuation of the discreet tone of the narrative. Is possible to say that the first two by presenting Costa e Silva's and Sodré's agenda events, used the institutional positions of the «President of the Republic» and São Paulo's state governor to indirectly talk about the main issue of the day.

The first image (*photo 12*) placed right under the main title and short lead on the day's top subject, occupied half of the front cover space dedicated to the pictures and around a 1/8 of the page totality. The shot was made from a medium distance in an overall plan, reinforcing the interaction between the space features and the human elements present on it. Under it, the caption stated: «O marechal Costa e Silva chega à Escola Naval, para presidir a formatura dos novos guardas-marinhas».<sup>458</sup> In so, the photo presents a street scene in which the background brings a wall of what probably is part of the building of the «Escola Naval» in a Brazilian Colonial style, is possible to identify an arch in the entrance of it. Closer to the six persons in the first plan, in the intermediary plan, there was a black car parked, most probably, Costa e Silva's official car. In the first plan, were framed two navy's official with their back to the photo wearing the typical navy's full white uniform, the one on the left seems to be holding a rifle. Both have the gaze in Costa e Silva's direction that, in his turn, was wearing a black suit and has been framed in his walk from the car to the ceremony place. Right after him, there were other three navy officials, in this case seems that, due to their grading in the Armed Force, they were attending Costa e Silva disembark from his car. A strong contrast element was created in the image not only between the Officials and Costa e Silva's clothing, but also by their shadows on the bright white floor. The position and strength of it indicates that was a late-spring sunny day in Rio.

In the inside page n° eight the small story text related briefly the event that celebrate the graduation of new marine guards in the day before, the 13<sup>th</sup> of December, that is to say, hours before the promulgation of the «AI-5». In brief, this first picture published by «FSP» that somehow illustrates the front page refers to an agenda event that happened before the Act's promulgation and even the meeting that decided what would be the final text.<sup>459</sup> Costa e Silva

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<sup>458</sup> «Marshal Costa e Silva arrives at the Naval Academy to preside over the graduation of the new marines. Pag.08».

<sup>459</sup> «13 de dezembro de 1968 – O dia do AI-5». Revista Época, 13/12/2010.

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

ANO XLVIII UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DO BRASIL SÃO PAULO, SABADO, 14 DE DEZEMBRO DE 1968 N.º 14.426

Presidente: Octávio Frias de Oliveira

NC's 0,30

Adm. e of.: Al. Barão de Limeira, 425

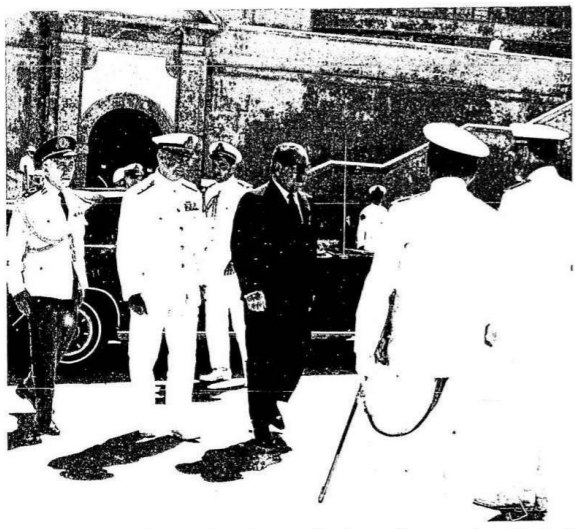
Decretado o recesso do Congresso Nacional

## GOVERNO BAIXA NOVO ATO

O ministro da Justiça, sr. Gama e Silva, anunciou ontem, cerca das 23 horas, duas medidas adotadas pelo governo da República, consubstanciadas no Ato Institucional n.º 5, que entrou em vigor ontem mesmo, e o Ato Complementar, decorrente do Institucional, que decretou o recesso do Congresso. O Ato Complementar não estipulou o prazo do recesso.

### Retes marítimos: Brasil terá mais US\$ 200 milhões

Retes marítimos proporcionados pelos navios de defesa brasileira darão ao país uma receita anual de US\$ 200 milhões, e o nome prognóstico do presidente do Sindicato dos Armadores Alvoros. Essa receita é quase três vezes a que os navios brasileiros obtinham há menos de dois anos e representa o acerto da nova orientação dada pela prática pela Comissão de Defesa Marítima.



O marechal Costa e Silva chega à Escola Naval, para presidir à formatura dos novos guardas-marinhas. Pag. 8

### Faria Lima dá início oficial às obras do Metrô

Uma chuva de pombos, chuva de papéis picados e fogos de artifício estão previstos para o início oficial das obras do Metrô de São Paulo, hoje, às 14 horas, na altura do número 1500 da avenida Jaqueira. Depois de assinar o contrato das obras, o governador Faria Lima acionará o trator que abrirá o primeiro buraco dos trechos 7 e 8 da linha norte do Metrô, que deverá estar pronta dentro de seis meses.

### DET interdita 2.a-feira pista da av. Rebouças

A partir da segunda-feira, a pista cidade-bairro da avenida Rebouças será interditada, entre a av. Eneas de Carvalho e a praça Clemente Ferreira. Os veículos com destino ao bairro utilizarão a pista contrária. Os automóveis com destino a outro lado da av. Paulista utilizarão a Consolação, que dá acesso ao bairro-cidade, a partir da alameda da Consolação.



O governador Abreu Sodré, após ter se reunido com seu secretariado, diz que nada tinha a declarar à imprensa.

### Vietcong pode atacar de novo em Saigon

O governo sul-vietnamita anunciou ontem que seria iminente nova ofensiva do Vietcong sobre Saigon. Fuzileiros navais norte-americanos e sul-vietnamitas empreenderam uma série de operações em torno da capital, que voltou a viver momentos de tensão. Em Paris, a sra. Thi Binh, chefe da delegação da FLN, acusou Saigon de não fazer nada para acabar com as negociações.



Uma missa campal deu início à festa de Natal oferecida pela Assembleia aos filhos de seus funcionários.

### AID emprestará US\$77 milhões a projetos nacionais

Brevemente serão assinados os contratos de financiamento concedidos pela AID a projetos brasileiros de desenvolvimento, no montante de US\$ 77,52 milhões. O subsecretário de cooperação econômica e técnica internacional do Ministério do Planejamento, sr. Sérgio Bath, esclareceu que esses contratos se integram num programa intensivo de financiamentos de agências internacionais ao Brasil.

### Hoje no Maracanã o jogo do Brasil com a Alemanha

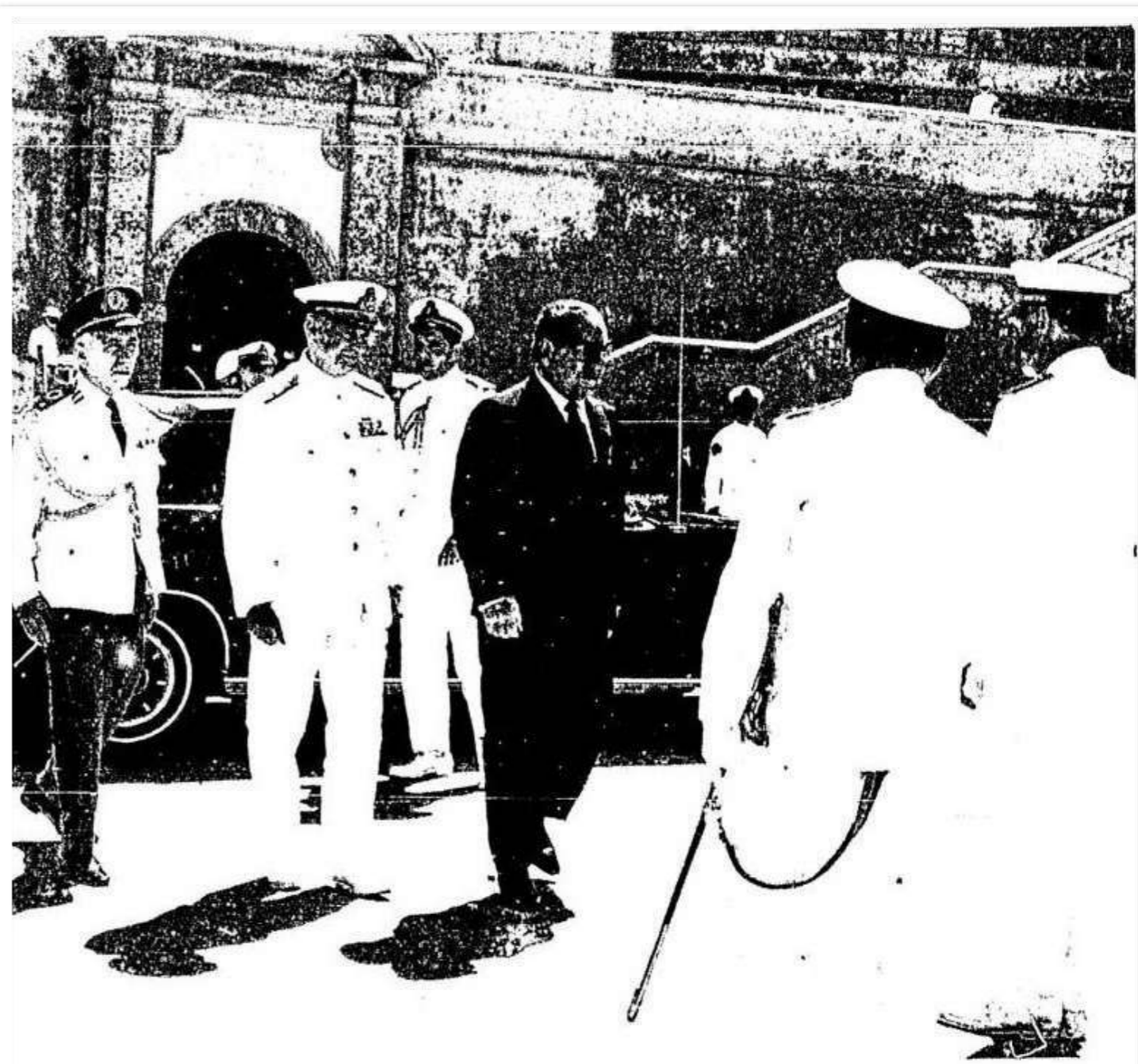
As seleções de futebol do Brasil e da Alemanha Ocidental jogam hoje à noite (21h15) no Maracanã, com teletransmissão direta para São Paulo. Os jogadores brasileiros treinaram ontem cedo, à tarde descansaram e hoje às 10 horas viajam para o Rio, pela Ponte Aérea. Almorçô já formou o time: Piacas; Carlos Alberto, Almirão; Dias e Everaldo; Gerson e Rivellino; Edu, Tosião, Pelé e Paulo Cesar.

### Sodré autoriza meio expediente nos dias 24 e 31

Como nos anos anteriores, os funcionários públicos estaduais vão trabalhar em regime de meio expediente, em todas as repartições do Estado, nas vésperas de Natal e Ano Novo. Com essa finalidade, o governador Abreu Sodré baixou, ontem, resolução que autoriza o funcionamento do expediente especial nas repartições públicas, nos próximos dias 24 e 31, no horário das 9 às 12h30.

### STM vai julgar na 4.a-feira "habeas" para os religiosos

Somente na quarta-feira o Superior Tribunal Militar vai julgar o "habeas corpus" impetrado em favor dos quatro religiosos presos em Belo Horizonte. E isso depende, segundo informou ontem, no Rio, o relator do pedido, ministro Evaldo Gueiros Leite, de que a 4.ª Região Militar envie, até segunda-feira, as informações que lhe foram solicitadas.




O marechal Costa e Silva chega à Escola Naval, para presidir à formatura dos novos guardas-marinhas. Pag. 8

Bom para passeios  
Hoje o tempo vai ajudar o fim de semana paulista. Vai fazer calor e não é certo que chova, dizem os meteorologistas.

**Morreu a "Rasputin" da Holanda**

Os holandeses se livraram de sua "Rasputin" de saia. Greta Hofmans, a quem se atribuíam poderes de "milagre", conseguiu as graças da rainha Juliana e passou a frequentar o palácio real. Sua missão era curar uma princesinha cega. Mas o que ela conseguiu foi colocar em perigo o casamento da rainha e o seu reinado.



Assuntos	Diversos
EXTERIOR	2
POLITICA	3 5 6
NACIONAL	8
LOCAL	10 11
ECONOMIA	12 13
ESPORTE	15 16
TURFE	14 15

that day had chosen as public agenda to appear in an event in which he would comfortable and in the midst of his. At the same time, the choice was an opportunity to tighten the bonds with his Force of provenience, anticipating the need of support from the militaries in an overall.

The second picture (*photo 13*) printed in the very center of the page proposes a more regional and indirect approach to the «AI-5» topic. A horizontal photo, occupying a quarter of the image's space in that front page and approximately 1/10 of the page presents a medium plan, shot from a medium distance of a group of twelve persons (all men wearing suits) in an internal space. In the image the group of people can be divided in the center, in the left part of the image, five men are facing other seven in the right section of it. Is important to indicate that the individual in the middle seems to be talking or in preparation to say something, that can be inferred from the attentive gaze of most of those that were surrounding it, their body language, and mainly from the caption, that under the photo stated: «O governador Abreu Sodré, após ter se reunido com seu secretariado, diz que nada tinha a declarar à imprensa».<sup>460</sup> From this verbo-visual interaction, remains clear that Governor Sodré is the one in the right in the middle of the image with his hand on his throat, black suit and gelled hair, moreover is possible to hypothesize that those men in black suits right behind him are his secretariat and those in front of Sodré are members or the press.

If the comparison is made with the alongside subtitle, «Sodré autoriza meio expediente nos dias 24 e 31»<sup>461</sup> and its following lead text dedicated to detail the information on the fact that in both Christmas and New Year's Eve the public offices will attend in half-time becomes explicit that the «nothing to declare» is not connected to that daily topic, but to the one exposed in the main front page headline. In addition to that, we might add another verbo-visual interaction to the narrative construction of this first page that it was the Governor's «hand on the throat» accompanied by a «nothing to declare» caption. In another context, this aspect might be just a coincidence, although, in this social horizon of interactions presents itself as a conscious and intentional narrative choice of the newspaper.

A quickly overall look to the internal pages of that day's edition indicates that already in page number three the «AI-5» topic has been treated in a long story that under the title «O presidente reúne seus ministros para a decisão».<sup>462</sup> On it Costa e Silva's afternoon, after the event in the «Escola Naval», has been described in details presenting the order of the facts,

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Available in: <http://revistaepoca.globo.com/Revista/Epoca/0,,EMI193321-15518,00.html> Access in: 20/10/2022.

<sup>460</sup> «Governor Abreu Sodré, after meeting with his secretariat, says he had nothing to declare to the press».

<sup>461</sup> «Sodré authorizes part-time on 24 and 31».

<sup>462</sup> «The president gathers his ministers for the decision».



O governador Abreu Sodré, após ter se reunido com seu secretariado, diz que nada tinha a declarar à imprensa

FSP - 14/12/1968  
Photo 13

those who were present in the meetings inside the «Palácio das Laranjeiras» in Rio and the decision of redating the Institutional Act. In the same page there is an indication that the Politics News continues page number five and occupying almost the entire half bottom of the page a big São Paulo's Municipality advertising piece stated: «O metro começa hoje»<sup>463</sup> announcing the beginning of the works to the construction of the city's first metro line. This subject divided the newspaper attention in that edition as is possible to see in the following page, number four. On it was present that day's editorial that had as title «Horas difíceis»<sup>464</sup> with half of it dedicated to the «AI-5» in a text tone making a subtil critique to the need of these exceptional measures from the government and at same time in a comprehensive mood with the government serves almost as a form of justifying it.

O chefe da nação, os ministros militares e as outras altas autoridades da República têm, sem nenhuma dúvida, plena consciência de suas responsabilidades nesta hora grave que a nação atravessa. As medidas de exceção ora adotadas, amargas como são, devem ser usadas antes de tudo para extirpar radicalismo – nunca para torná-los ainda mais atuantes e perigosos.

Desejávamos todos que a caminhada para a normalidade constitucional continuasse. Isso não ocorreu. Esperemos que seja apenas o preço para a manutenção da ordem e da paz no País e para que se reinicie em breve o processo democrático, em bases mais sólidas e duradouras.<sup>465</sup>

In addition to the main political topic of the day, the same editorial presented an illustration in the center of the page, of a man digging a whole with a shovel besides a sign indicating «Metrô» and saying «Agora vai»<sup>466</sup>, in what presents itself as a «FSP's» critic to the long time that the city's administration took to initiate that work and more important, the presentation of local and also important news agenda in alternative to national political newscast from that day on under strict control.

Finally, closing the political coverage of the previous day in page number five, has been published in the center of the page, a small picture (*photo 14*) of the General Silvio Correia de

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<sup>463</sup> «The Metro starts today».

<sup>464</sup> «Difficult hours».

<sup>465</sup> «The head of the nation, the military ministers and the other high authorities of the Republic are, without any doubt, fully aware of their responsibilities in this grave hour that the nation is going through. The exceptional measures now adopted, bitter as they are, must be used above all to eradicate radicalism - never to make it even more active and dangerous.

We all wish that the path towards constitutional normality would continue. That did not happen. Let us hope that this is only the price for maintaining order and peace in the country, and that the democratic process will soon resume on more solid and lasting bases».

<sup>466</sup> «Now it goes».

Andrade, Police Commissioner of the Federal Police. According to the photo caption «O gen. Silvio Correia esclarece à imprensa medidas adotadas ontem<sup>467</sup>» and the story title «Polícia Federal esclarece as medidas de segurança»<sup>468</sup> the tiny picture in the center of the page illustrates the moment of the press conference conceded by Gen. Correia in which he is explaining, already on Saturday, the reasons that led him to take some decision against editorial decisions of different newspapers in town. According to his declaration the intervention was needed

Para manter o sossego da população deliberei moderar o noticiário sensacionalista da Imprensa, Rádio e Televisão. Para tanto entrei em contato com todos os órgãos para atingir esse objetivo. Encontrei boa vontade de todos, embora tenham ocorrido dois incidentes de pouca monta, o primeiro no jornal “O Estado de S. Paulo” em virtude do editorial da página 3 – “Notas e Informações” – sob o título: “Instituições em frangalho”.<sup>469</sup>

This reveals not only how quickly the government had putted in action the «AI-5's» determinations, but also how the press reacted to it. This reaction was presented in General Correia words as «mostly collaborative, with some small problems». The «FSP» attitude in telling this story accompanied by a photo gives us an element to interpreted as if the subject was being emphasized using an image in it. Specially if by looking to the first plan picture, framed in a lateral angle and focused on General's Correia face, is possible to identify in the background two persons, the one on the right, taking notes, as if representing the press that was carefully listening to the explanations to the repressive acts of the day before. A final aspect that must be highlighted once more it is the image's contrast built mostly from the clothing differences between the General and the journalists around him.

#### *14/12/1968 – Jornal do Brasil*

As previous indicated the front cover of «JB's» edition on that day became one of the most famous newspaper pages in the Brazilian recent history and its press history.<sup>470</sup> The «AI-5» was promulgated and immediately putted in practice on the night of 13/12/1968; the result

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<sup>467</sup> «Gen. Silvio Correia clarifies to the press measures adopted yesterday».

<sup>468</sup> «Federal Police clarifies security measures».

<sup>469</sup> «To keep the peace of the population, I decided to moderate the sensationalist news of the Press, Radio and Television. To that end I contacted all the agencies in order to achieve this objective. I found good will on the part of all, although there were two minor incidents, the first in the newspaper "O Estado de S. Paulo" due to the editorial on page 3 - "Notes and Information" - under the headline: "Institutions in tatters"».

<sup>470</sup> Letícia Matheus and Marialva Barbosa (2008) in «O Jornal do Brasil e as noções do tempo histórico no fazer jornalístico» discuss how, on its centenary issue of 1991, the «JB» narrates its own trajectory and the relation of it with the concept of time reinforcing the notion of a builded-up idea of press resistance inside the historical time.



FOLHA DE S. PAULO

HORAS DIFICEIS

O processo de normalização da vida nacional, que bem ou mal vai seguindo o curso do infortúnio interrompido...

Deve-se lamentar, antes e acima de tudo, essa interrupção do processo democrático. Sejam quais forem os padrões que levariam o presidente da República...

O chefe da nação deve ter sido fortíssimos motivos para a opção que tomou. Em numerosas oportunidades anteriores...

É inútil procurar culpados ou responsáveis pela situação. Se culpa e responsabilidades não, é de radicalismo que devemos nos guardar...

Pela sido preferível que o governo absorvesse com naturalidade a corrente parlamentar, apontando-a a si e não aos pais da grave decisão que adotou...

O chefe da nação, os ministros militares e as outras altíssimas autoridades da República têm, sem nenhuma dúvida, plena consciência de suas responsabilidades...

AGORA VAI



CARLUSO

Secretarios

Entre mortos e feridos, salvamos a equipe governamental. Os secretarios de Estado não temem de enfrentar o governador...

O exemplo alemão

Excelente artigo de Jean Franco-Ponsat publicado há dias por este jornal sobre o alto desempenho de algumas das virtudes alemãs Ocidentais...

Mineração

Vasto plano de expansão da Companhia Vale do Rio Doce vai entrar em execução. Importará dois milhões de toneladas de dólares e deverá duplicar nossa produção de minério de ferro...

Sombras e ameaças

Anisio Teixeira

Tenho escrito, nestes artigos, examinar a situação particular do país nesse Getulismo (repetição dos desastres wagneriano, em que não tivemos o tempo necessário para avaliar a situação)

Com efeito, qualquer percepção menos realista de nossa história não permite fazer uma análise adequada que não seja apenas uma descrição de um mundo.

Daí não me surpreender, mas sobretudo me alarmar, a volta ao uso da violência pela autoridade do Brasil. A violência está sempre presente na história do Brasil...

Para além desta realidade, há um outro fato a ser considerado: o período de colonização — sempre foi mais longe do que o período atual.

Antes desse período, contudo, permitia-se a presença aperfeiçoada do princípio de força e violência, que era o grande princípio social da classe dominante portuguesa...

Para além desta realidade, há um outro fato a ser considerado: o período de colonização — sempre foi mais longe do que o período atual.

Cartas à Redação

Unificação dos contabilistas. "Li nesse conceituado jornal, edição do dia 13 de novembro pp., o excelente artigo de nosso colega...

Em tempo de hoje, não se pode falar de decência brasileira, amor à liberdade, capacidade de convivência, brandura de temperamento...

Com relação à questão de Sr. Mario Esteves, Barão Rosa do Vieira, publicado em CARTAS À REDAÇÃO, a respeito da falta de assistência médica na localidade, para os associados do INPS...

Aluguel e Imposto de Renda. Há tempo colho-me uma dúvida sobre o Imposto de Renda, no Brasil, que costava ser declarada ao tempo de entrar o cidadão no Brasil...

Sugestão ao governador. Sou funcionário público, praticante do laboratório de referência "22", salário mensal de MC19 170,80. Sendo eu funcionário, tenho que pagar imposto de renda...

Situação. De "Jornal da Manhã": "A hora não é de cantar vitórias nem chorar derrotas. O desfecho da longa, desnecessária e desproporcionada crise política que o Brasil atravessou durante mais de três meses registra numa reportagem adequada o momento de nossa instabilidade democrática."

De "O Estado de S. Paulo": "Sob o canisano das humilhações sofridas, aquilo que se exalta, o montão de lixo da política pública. (...) Grupos e troianos sentiam que se o Congresso cedesse, estaria marcado, definitivamente, pelo selo da dependência."

Table with financial data for FOLHA DE S. PAULO, including circulation and advertising revenue.

Table with financial data for ALMOÇÃO DE PUBLICIDADE, including advertising rates and subscription information.

Em regime de prontidão varias guarnições de Exército, Marinha e Aeronautica

Na Ponta, o 11.º Batalhão de Polícia Militar de Defesa Urbana e o 11.º Batalhão de Polícia Militar de Defesa Urbana...

Na Ponta, o 11.º Batalhão de Polícia Militar de Defesa Urbana e o 11.º Batalhão de Polícia Militar de Defesa Urbana...

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Na Ponta, o 11.º Batalhão de Polícia Militar de Defesa Urbana e o 11.º Batalhão de Polícia Militar de Defesa Urbana...

es na Guanabara e em SP

O delegado Federal Osório Paulo B. da Costa, chefe do Departamento de Polícia Federal em São Paulo, foi informado que...

Polícia Federal esclarece as medidas de segurança adotadas

O general Sílvio Correia de Almeida, comandante do Departamento de Polícia Federal, esclarece as medidas de segurança adotadas...

Brasil e Ceará

Tudo os jornais cearenses que foram enviados em um trem para o Brasil, para serem vendidos...

Escraches da DFP

Por volta das linhas de comunicação, o Conselho de Administração de Correios e Telégrafos...

Atiproteções

O delegado da Polícia Federal, demonstrando grande interesse, garantiu a impressão de uma cópia de um documento...

Por não ter o general Sílvio Correia de Almeida...

entre os policiais de segurança, em entrevista coletiva concedida às 10 horas, e que...

Atiproteções

O delegado da Polícia Federal, demonstrando grande interesse, garantiu a impressão de uma cópia de um documento...

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Tudo os jornais cearenses que foram enviados em um trem para o Brasil, para serem vendidos...

Bonifácio não convoca a Câmara

O presidente da Câmara dos Deputados, Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, não convocará a Câmara...

Sodré reuniu seu Secretariado

O governador Alceu Sodré reuniu seu secretariado para discutir as medidas de segurança...

Solução política

Antes do término de um período, o governador havia participado, em companhia do governador de Alagoas, Arnanis Filho...

Diálogo

Em diálogo o Palácio dos Bandeirantes, o governador Alceu Sodré, acompanhado de todo o seu secretariado...

Embléa vai reunir-se hoje

O governador Alceu Sodré reuniu seu secretariado para discutir as medidas de segurança...

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A CASA DOS VELINHOS DE ONDINA LOBO

convidam seus amigos para assistir à festa de Natal e show abrangido por Inezito Burro...

Advertisement for VDRARIA PARA LABORATORIO E MEDICINA ASSISTENT. Includes logo and contact information.

HIGIENE E SEGURANÇA INDUSTRIAL DO SESI

Oferece às empresas do Estado de São Paulo: Exames nos Locais de Trabalho, Condições dos ambientes...

MINISTERIO DO TRABALHO E PREVIDENCIA SOCIAL

INPS - SUPERINTENDENCIA REGIONAL EM SÃO PAULO. CONVITE

SECRETARIA DOS TRANSPORTES DO ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO

COMPANHIA MOGIANA DE ESTRADAS FERREAS. Trens para Brasília - "BANDEIRANTE"

Sodré esteve reunido com militares

O governador Alceu Sodré reuniu seu secretariado para discutir as medidas de segurança...

Diálogo

Em diálogo o Palácio dos Bandeirantes, o governador Alceu Sodré, acompanhado de todo o seu secretariado...

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has been the presence of censors inside «JB's» newsroom in a few hours, generating consequences and changes in the following day edition. The first page of the following day's issue was fully dedicated to the fact and presented the editors ability and creativity in dealing with the censorship.

Framing the newspaper title on the very top of the page, in the left side the weather forecast box was still there, but without any connection with the weather condition on that day, the editors decided to publish in the small box a metaphorical weather forecast connecting it to the country's political climate. «Tempo negro. Temperatura sufocante. O ar está irrespirável. O país está sendo varrido por fortes ventos. Máx: 38°, em Brasília. Min: 5°, nas Laranjeiras».<sup>471</sup> On the right corner, a small title presented a story published in an internal page, «Ontem foi o dia dos cegos»<sup>472</sup>, in a reference to the fact that the 13<sup>th</sup> of December, has also been the day of «Santa Luzia», known as the eye's protector. In so, the internal page number 12 has been organized presenting a story that narrated the devotion to the Saint in a church in Rio de Janeiro, and all the other stories of that page were dedicated to the consequences of the «AI-5». That page did not present a photograph, however, had a strong verbo-visual interaction, considering that in placing a small title in the front cover and organizing the page with an interaction that intended to link the «AI-5» justifications or consequences with the day dedicated to an eye's protector saint through the use of the concept of blindness, has a strong symbolic meaning and also visual – that is to say, in referring to the search for the protection to the sight, the «JB» editors were indirectly talking about the lack of transparency that the other actions narrated in that page would generate. The other titles in that page (twelve) were: «Estado de Sítio tem poder total»; «Atos anteriores foram menos fortes»; «Gama e Silva não esqueceu a data»; «Gama justifica o Ato em cadeia»; «Da expectativa ao novo Ato uma história de hora em hora».<sup>473</sup>

Returning to the front cover, the page proposed a simple and direct pagination. In top of the page a main headline state: «Governo baixo Ato Institucional e coloca Congresso em recess por tempo indeterminado»<sup>474</sup>; in the left column the full text of «AI-5» and the Complementary Act N°38. In the right column two small text, in the top three paragraphs with a small lead and resuming the facts of the day before; between some publicity a resume of the

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<sup>471</sup> «Dark weather. Suffocating temperature. The air is unbreathable. The country is being swept by strong winds. Max: 38° in Brasilia. Min: 5°, in Laranjeiras».

<sup>472</sup> «Yesterday was the day of the blind».

<sup>473</sup> «State of Siege has full power"; "Previous Acts were less strong"; "Gama e Silva [Ministry of Justice] did not forget the date"; "Gama justifies the Chain Act"; "From expectation to the new Act an hourly story"».

<sup>474</sup> «Government undermines Institutional Act and puts Congress in indefinite recess».

declarations of the deputy José Bonifácio, National Congress president under the auxiliary title: «Bonifácio declara que Ato resulta de várias crises»<sup>475</sup>. Finally, in the middle column, three pictures were printed each of it under a different title.

The first picture (*photo 15*) occupies 1/6 of the page and presents Costa e Silva in the Navy graduation ceremony in the morning of the day before – is important to mention that this was the only public activity of the president in the day of «AI-5» promulgation, this information helps to understand the reasons that both newspapers had to publish images of this event. The photo made from a distance in a medium plan, presents also a difference on the focus in different parts of the scene. Nevertheless, the same importance of the focus's differences are the interactions between actors and objects in the scene. In the first plan were framed a series of swords that should be addressed to the new navy-guards, that information can be inferred from what has been described in the caption: «O Presidente dirige a entrega de espadas aos novos guardas-marinha».<sup>476</sup> In the very center of the image and of the plans, the president figure was presented slight leaning forward, freeze in a moment in which he seems to be walking and willing to take in his hands one of the swords placed in front of him. The president in a serious face and wearing a black suit was observed by three navy officials' as it is possible to individuate in the image from its uniforms and around ten women, probably civilians and familiarly of those who were graduating, once more this identification emerges from the clothes they were wearing.

The image present also a title, «Tradição que se renova»<sup>477</sup> the idea between the lines of this title and its interactions with the political and pragmatic facts that existed in the navy-guards graduation in a direct meaning and relation, but especially in a critical tone to the government action of promulgating the «AI-5» and renovating the militaries in the control of the political power in the country. A layer can be added to the interpretation by observing that Costa e Silva and the official behind have the gaze pointed to the right, as a movement that intends to continue, in the same direction that the swords are pointed. Finally, a dramatic aspect is added if are observed the faces of those placed in the background, a tension look is aimed and pointed to the president.

The second image (*photo 16*) is much smaller, occupies around 1/10 of the front cover and is smashed between the other two pictures. In a close-up plan, the photo isolates the face expressions of three Military Ministries during a tribute do the Navy at is described in the

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<sup>475</sup> «Bonifácio declares that the Act is the result of several crises».

<sup>476</sup> «The President addresses the handover of swords to the new Navy-Guards».

<sup>477</sup> «A tradition that renews itself».



caption «Os Ministros Militares confraternizam durante a homenagem à Marinha».<sup>478</sup> This kind of picture usually was made with lens that had a focal distance between 90mm and 135mm, a way to preserve some privacy of the person in focus (BONI, 2000, p. 73). In this case, there is also a valorization of the space in which the individuals framed were, especially because this information had a major journalistic value. From the characteristics of the uniforms, in the image are visible three elderly Navy Official's in the first plan, they are gathered in a semi-circle as if were having a small chat. In the background were framed other officials in similar small groups, finally, at the very back of the image, the walls of the room presented a framework that gives a hint to what might be a noble room, after the interaction with the internal pages of the newspapers, the reader have the information that the celebration was being held in the «Palácio das Laranjeiras». The title of the image was «Identidade profunda»<sup>479</sup>, once more in a strong connection with the rest of the page and the political context, indirectly indicating that the reasons and bases of the «AI-5» were in the heart of the Armed Forces.

The third image placed on that day's coverage does not have a straight connection to the AI-5 promulgation. Under the title «Hora dramática»<sup>480</sup> and followed by the caption «Garrincha foi expulso quando o Brasil vencia o Chile na Copa de 62»<sup>481</sup> the photograph chosen was an image of that match during the 1962 World Cup. This indicates that probably the image that was supposed to be placed in that section of the page had been censored as well as the texts that supposedly would be placed where were the classified advertisements in that front page. In addition to it, the «dramatic hour» that has been chosen was the expulsion of a main national team football player in a World Cup match, that might be interpreted as an allegory to the privation of liberty in a national's key moment as that day in December 1968.

On its inside pages the first image (*photo 17*) related to the «AI-5» has been published in page number three. The page once more presented an unusual configuration to what has been so far the first pages of the newspapers. More than half of it has been fulfilled with classified ads. In the top of the page a box with the tittle «A crise»<sup>482</sup> was composed by a seven line text that indicated in its first three «Um policiamento preventivo, a cargo de soldados da PM, esteve desde as primeiras horas de ontem nas ruas do Rio, mas a cidade teve um dia tranquilo».<sup>483</sup>

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<sup>478</sup> «Military Ministers fraternise during the tribute to the Navy».

<sup>479</sup> «Deep identity».

<sup>480</sup> «Dramatic hour».

<sup>481</sup> «Garrincha was sent off as Brazil beat Chile in the 62nd World Cup».

<sup>482</sup> «The crisis».

<sup>483</sup> «A preventive policing, in charge of PM soldiers, was in the streets of Rio since the early hours of yesterday, but the city had a quiet day».

Tempo negro. Tempo... (small text in top left corner)

JORNAL DO BRASIL

Rio de Janeiro - Sábado, 14 de dezembro de 1968

Ano LXXVIII - N.º 213

Ontem foi o Dia dos Cegos

(Página 12)

Governo baixa Ato Institucional e coloca Congresso em recesso por tempo ilimitado

O Ato Institucional n.º 5

Anulado pelo Presidente a República e por todos os Ministros de Estado, é o seguinte o Ato Institucional n.º 5, baixado ontem:

Art. 1.º - São mantidas a Constituição de 24 de Janeiro de 1961 e as Constituições estaduais com as modificações constantes do Ato Institucional.

Art. 2.º - O Presidente da República poderá decretar o recesso do Congresso Nacional, das Assembleias Legislativas e das Câmaras de Vereadores por Ato Complementar, em estado de sítio ou fora dele, ao voltando as mesmas a funcionar quando convocados pelo Presidente da República.

Art. 3.º - Decretado o recesso parlamentar, o Poder Executivo correspondentemente fica autorizado a legislar em todas as matérias previstas nas Constituições ou na Lei Orgânica dos Municípios.

Art. 4.º - Durante o período de recesso, os senadores, os deputados federais, estaduais e os vereadores só poderão a partir de sua sede.

Art. 5.º - Em caso de recesso da Câmara Municipal, a fiscalização financeira e orçamentária dos municípios que não possuam Tribunal de Contas, será exercida pelo do respectivo Estado, entendendo sua ação as funções de auditoria, julgamento das contas dos administradores e demais responsáveis por bens e valores públicos.

Art. 6.º - O Presidente da República, no interesse nacional, poderá decretar a intervenção nos Estados e municípios sem as limitações previstas na Constituição.

Art. 7.º - Os interventores dos Estados e municípios serão nomeados pelo Presidente da República e exercerão todas as funções e atribuições que cabham respectivamente aos Governadores ou prefeitos, e quando das prerrogativas, vencimentos e vantagens fixadas em lei.

Art. 8.º - No interesse de preservar a Revolução, o Presidente da República, ouvido o Conselho de Segurança Nacional e sem as limitações previstas na Constituição, poderá suspender os direitos políticos de quaisquer cidadãos pelo prazo de 10 anos e coarctar mandatos civis, federais, estaduais e municipais.

Art. 9.º - Aos membros dos Legislativos federais, estaduais e municipais que tiverem seus mandatos cassados, não serão dados substitutos, determinando-se o quantum paritário em função dos lugares efetivamente preenchidos.

Art. 10.º - A suspensão dos direitos políticos com base neste Ato importa simultaneamente em: a) cessação de privilégio de voto por prerrogativa de função;

b) suspensão do direito de votar e ser votado nas eleições municipais;

c) proibição de atividades e manifestações sobre assuntos de natureza política;

d) aplicação, quando necessária, das seguintes medidas de segurança:

a) liberdade vigiada;

b) proibição de frequentar determinados lugares;

c) domicílio determinado.

Art. 11.º - O ato que decretar a suspensão dos direitos políticos poderá fixar restrições ou proibições relativamente ao exercício de qualquer outro direito político ou privativo.

Art. 12.º - As medidas de segurança de que trata o item 4.º deste Artigo, serão aplicadas pelo Ministro de Estado da Justiça, de acordo com a aprovação de seu ato pelo Poder Judiciário.

Art. 13.º - Ficam asseguradas as garantias constitucionais, ou legais de vitalidade, inamovibilidade, estabilidade, assim como a de exercício de funções por prazo certo.

Art. 14.º - O Presidente da República poderá, mediante decreto, demitir, remover, apontar ou pôr em disponibilidade qualquer titular das garantias referidas neste Artigo, assim como empregados de autarquias, empresas públicas ou sociedades de economia mista, e demitir, transferir para a reserva ou reformar militares ou membros das Polícias Militares, asseguradas, quando fôr o caso, vencimentos ou vantagens proporcionais ao tempo de serviço.

Art. 15.º - O disposto neste Artigo e seu parágrafo 1.º, aplicam-se também nos Estados, Municípios, Distrito Federal e Territórios.

Parágrafo único - Em caso de recesso do Congresso Nacional, fica dispensada a aplicação comita no § 1.º do Artigo 153 da Constituição.

Artigo 8.º - O Presidente da República, poderá, após investigação, decretar o estado de sítio de todas aquelas tenham empreendido ilicitamente no exercício de cargos ou funções públicas, inclusive de autarquias, empresas públicas e sociedades de economia mista, sem prejuízo das sanções penais cabíveis.

Parágrafo único - Fica em vigor a legislação da aquisição dos bens, fir-se-4 a sua restituição.

Art. 8.º - O Presidente da República poderá baixar Ato Complementar para exemplo deste Ato Institucional, bem como adotar, se necessário, a defesa da revolução, as medidas previstas nas alíneas "b" e "c" do parágrafo 2.º do Art. 102 da Constituição.

Art. 10 - Fica suspensa a garantia de habeas-corpus nos casos de crimes políticos contra a segurança nacional, a ordem econômica e social, e a economia popular.

Art. 11 - Em caso de qualquer apreensão judicial todos os atos praticados de acordo com este Ato Institucional e seus Ato Complementares, bem como os respectivos efeitos.

Art. 12 - O presente Ato Institucional entra em vigor nesta data, revogadas as disposições em contrário. Brasília, 13 de dezembro de 1968.

O Ato Complementar n.º 38

O presente Ato Complementar n.º 38, baixado ontem juntamente com o Ato Institucional n.º 5:

O Presidente da República, no uso das atribuições que lhe confere o Artigo 8.º do Ato Institucional n.º 5, de 13 de dezembro de 1968, resolve baixar o seguinte Ato Complementar:

Art. 1.º - Nos termos do Art. 2.º e seu parágrafo do Ato Institucional n.º 5, de 13 de dezembro de 1968, fica decretado o recesso do Congresso Nacional a partir desta data.

Art. 2.º - O presente Ato Complementar entra em vigor nesta data, revogadas as disposições em contrário. Brasília, 13 de dezembro de 1968.

TRADIÇÃO QUE SE RENOVA



O Presidente dirige a entrega de espadas aos novos guardas-marinha



Os Ministros militares confraternizam durante a homenagem à Marinha



Garincha foi expulso quando o Brasil venceu o Chile na Copa de 62

O Governo, depois de uma expectativa de várias horas, baixou, ontem à noite, o Ato Institucional n.º 5, e, com base nele, o Ato Complementar n.º 38, que decreta o recesso do Congresso Nacional, sem prazo determinado. Durante o dia e a noite de ontem o povo manteve-se calmo e não houve corrida aos bancos, apesar das apreensões de alguns cidadãos que, decidiram permanecer em seus escritórios ou nas ruas, à espera da palavra oficial do Governo através de A Voz do Brasil - e deixaram de chegar ontem às suas casas.

Houve grande movimentação, ontem, nos quartéis do Rio, onde continua rigoroso o regime de prontidão. Na Vila Militar, os ca-

DINHEIRO - CAUTELAS - A falta de meios e meios... (small text columns in the middle section)

Bonifácio declara que Ato resulta de várias crises

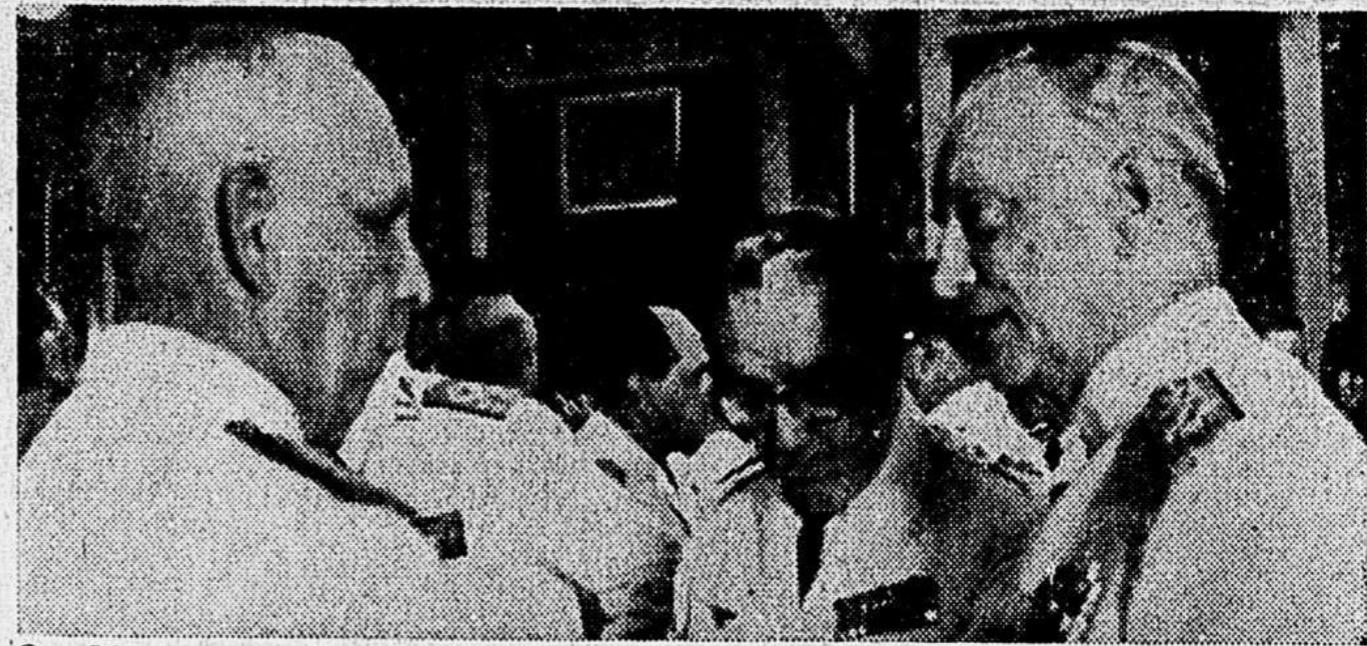
Após tomar conhecimento, pelo rádio, do Ato Institucional n.º 5, o presidente da Câmara, Deputado José Bonifácio, disse que ele "resulta de crises e dificuldades do Governo e do mal-estar do povo. Não é o momento para examinar, mas sim para manifestar ainda uma vez mais a esperança de que crises como esta sejam resolvidas de maneira a possibilitar o desenvolvimento brasileiro."

Acrescentando o Sr. José Bonifácio "duas coisas, que jamais devemos esquecer, e neste país tem sido tradição: perenes têm sido as eleições, e nós, os eleitores, formulamos apelo mais uma vez para que o Brasil permaneça e se transforme numa grande nação, como faz jus pelo trabalho de seu povo. Com essas palavras, e obedecendo ao novo regime, declaro nossa missão encerrada."

O presidente da Arena, Sr. Daniel Krieger, após ouvir, pelo rádio, a leitura do novo Ato, no Rio, dirigiu-se, com alguns parlamentares, para uma residência na zona sul, a fim de examinarem o quadro político. Admite-se a possibilidade de um pronunciamento dos dirigentes da Arena.

TELEFONES - SERVIÇOS - FINANÇAS - OPORTUNIDADES DIV. (small text columns at the bottom)

IDENTIDADE PROFUNDA



Os Ministros militares confraternizam durante a homenagem à Marinha

Other considerations were made about the economic consequences of the «AI-5» and the international repercussion. In the right side of the page a two-column section was dedicated to further details of those topics indicated in the box. The main story was accompanied by a picture and had as title «Ruas do Rio ficaram tranquilas»<sup>484</sup>, in the text was described the preventive organization of a repression apparatus by the Police in Rio's streets and also in other country's state capitals such as Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Recife and São Paulo; was emphasized in the text that the Army did not participate of this preventive action.

The picture placed vertically in the central section of the page, occupying approximately 1/8 of the page was framed by the title «Apenas precaução»<sup>485</sup> and the caption «A PM se encarregou do policiamento preventivo».<sup>486</sup> The photo was captured from a long distance, probably using a tele objective lens, capable of approximating and flattening the plans. This characteristic showed to be central to the enunciative intentions both photographer and editor especially because has been exactly this flattening of the plan that created a scene in which were mixed, in the top of the image was framed a scenography angel that was hanging in the street mostly probably as part of the Christmas decoration in town, and in the bottom part of the photo a group of policemen gathered under the shadow of the three that compose the center of the image. Once again, the balance and contrast between bright and dark have a central role, while the angel was seen bright and, in the top, the policemen were in the darkest part of the image, in the bottom almost hidden. Is important to mention that in the background are visible a concrete staircase and some other parts of a concrete building, that in connection with the information in the text indicating the preventive policing in some central avenues of the town lead the reader to the interpretation that it might be some of the government buildings in that part of Rio de Janeiro.

In the page number five a group of five pictures was used to build the narrative enunciation of what has been the final celebrations of the Navy Week. The format was similar to page number three, a box in the top of the page with the title «The crisis» having on the inside a small lead text resuming what has been the day inside of the «Palácio das Laranjeiras», the government head office in Rio de Janeiro, the focus of it was on the tranquility that the celebrations of the Navy Week had undergone in the previous day, without any hint that the «AI-5» was about to be published. The main page headline «Ambiente no Laranjeiras foi

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<sup>484</sup> «Rio's streets remain calm».

<sup>485</sup> «Just a precaution».

<sup>486</sup> «The PM took charge of preventive policing».

Um policiamento preventivo, a cargo de soldados da PM, esteve desde as primeiras horas de ontem nas ruas do Rio, mas a cidade teve um dia tranqüilo. A taxa de câmbio no mercado paralelo se elevou acima de NC\$8 400 por dólar e a rede bancária não sofreu nenhuma pressão dos depositantes. Em Washington não houve reação oficial sobre a crise brasileira, e em Buenos Aires, observadores do Palácio San Martín se negaram a comentá-la.

**A crise**

**CLASSIFICADOS**

**IMOVEIS - ALUGUEL**  
ZONA CENTRO

Imobiliária de aluguel de apartamentos e casas em zonas nobres. Contato: [illegible]

Perdido um livro de contabilidade... [illegible]

em lançamento  
3 e 4 quartos em condomínio  
**João Miro**  
LUGAR DE FÉRIAS  
barão da torre, 260  
GOMES de ALMEIDA, FERNANDES

**Ruas do Rio ficaram tranqüilas**  
[illegible text]

**Taxa de câmbio sobe a NC\$8 400 por dólar**  
[illegible text]

**Washington não faz comentário da crise**  
[illegible text]

**APENAS PRECAUÇÃO**



**A PM se encarregou do policiamento preventivo**

**Ruas do Rio ficaram tranqüilas**

Foi tranqüilo o dia de ontem nas ruas do Rio. A cidade amanheceu com policiamento preventivo nas ruas, a cargo de soldados da Polícia Militar, armados de revólveres, bombas de gás e cassetetes.

O Exército não saiu às ruas. Em torno dos quartéis, porém, o ambiente era de tensão porque foram incomuns as medidas de segurança. O quartel dos marinheiros, na Avenida Brasil, foi vigiado por cinco homens armados de fuzis-metralhadoras.

**PREVENÇÃO**

As ruas do centro foram policiadas por grupos de PMs, principalmente a Avenida Rio Branco.

O movimento de caminhões na Vila Militar, às 11h30m, foi grande em direção ao quartel-general e as demais unidades.

Tropas do Batalhão de Comunicações permaneceram durante todo o dia de prontidão no pátio interno do Ministério, mantendo contato com os Estados e os comandos militares.

**PRONTIDÃO**

**Belo Horizonte (Secural) —** A Polícia Militar, cujo contingente é de 26 mil homens, entrou em regime de prontidão.

As guarnições federais aquarteladas no Estado continuam em prontidão.

O Governador Israel Pinheiro permaneceu toda a manhã de ontem no Palácio das Mangabeiras, permanentemente informado a respeito da crise e recusando-se a fazer declara-



tranquilo durante todo o dia»<sup>487</sup>. The story text indicates that the celebrations had started right after the president had left to the Navy Graduation event, is important to underscore the second paragraph which gives elements on how the pictures in the right side of the page were made «A partir das 9hs começaram a chegar alguns jornalistas e fotógrafos e os funcionários do portão avisavam que caberia ao Assessor de Imprensa resolver se eles entrariam ou não quando o presidente regressasse».<sup>488</sup> That is to say, this information indicates that the images were made before the president return, or the «JB» photographer had full access to the celebration event that was being held in the Laranjeiras palace.

All of the pictures can be interpreted as a pictorial reading made by the photographer in a «Candid photograph» key. In other words, even if, as indicated in the text there was no surprise to the Armed Forces of who were those that had access to the celebrations, the discursive intention and images construction made by the photographer and the editor, proposes a series of american plan and close-up scenes, commoner in social-life magazines rather than in journalistic stories, this shots were focused in the individuals expressions and details and mainly in identifying who were those present in that day's event. In so, the first two images (*photos 18 and 19*) occupying 1/6 of the page under the title «Um dia de muita conversa»<sup>489</sup> and over the caption «Na festa da Marinha, os generais Lira Tavares, Adalberto dos Santos e Fragoso»<sup>490</sup> in the left, and «Generais Lira Tavares e Adalberto dos Santos»<sup>491</sup> in the right. The image of the left presents the three generals reunited in a small circle, the three of them in their uniforms, the General Adalberto dos Santos was pictured wearing sunglasses even if in a closed room and seemed to be looking to the camera in the moment of the shoot. The following image on the right was composed as continuation of the scene, in which now only the generals Lira Tavares and Adalberto dos Santos talking, in this case, is possible to see only the face of Gen. Lira Tavares, that has an expression of disagreement with something that Gen. Adalberto dos Santos was telling him, also in this case both have a different body posture, much closer denoting a closer relation.

Right in the middle of the page, the third picture of the series (*photo 20*) framed another small group of high ranks official, the caption indicates the name of only two of them «Ao

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<sup>487</sup> «The atmosphere at Laranjeiras was calm all day».

<sup>488</sup> «From 9am some journalists and photographers began to arrive and the gate staff advised that it would be up to the Press Officer to decide whether or not they would enter when the President returned».

<sup>489</sup> « A day of intense talk».

<sup>490</sup> «At the Navy party, Generals Lira Tavares, Adalberto dos Santos and Fragoso».

<sup>491</sup> «Generals Lira Tavares and Adalberto dos Santos».

A tranqüilidade que houve ontem, durante o dia, no Palácio das Laranjeiras, não parecia indicar que o Governo procuraria solucionar a crise política com o Ato n.º 5. À tarde, os três Ministros militares estiveram em reunião cordial no Ministério da Marinha, onde se festejava o encerramento da Semana da Marinha.

**A crise**

**Ambiente no Laranjeiras foi tranqüilo durante o dia todo**



A tranqüilidade que houve ontem, durante o dia, no Palácio das Laranjeiras, não parecia indicar que o Governo procuraria solucionar a crise política com o Ato n.º 5. À tarde, os três Ministros militares estiveram em reunião cordial no Ministério da Marinha, onde se festejava o encerramento da Semana da Marinha.

**UM DIA DE MUITA CONVERSA**



Na festa de Marinha, os Generais Lira Távares, Adalberto dos Santos e Frogo

Generais Lira Távares e Adalberto dos

centro, os generais Bizarria Mamede and Siseno Sarmiento»<sup>492</sup>, the format and proposal of the picture showed to be the same than the first two, identifying those who were in the celebrations and their expressions. In this image the four officers pictured are apparently listening to the General Mamede that holds his army hat with the left hand. The following pictures (*photos 21 and 22*) are the narrative continuation of the scene that insert other two characters into the party and into the high ranks encounters and talks of that day. Both images present the same construction a close-up plan in a slight deepening angle in which one part of the pair whispering something to the other ears. The photo of the left had picture «General Siseno Sarmiento e Ministro Rademaker» and the one on the right «General Mamede e Almirante Carvalho Jordão» the four of them are wearing their gala uniforms and is possible to identify that the Admiral Jordão was holding his Navy hat. Although, the most interesting aspect of this page is the way on how the idea of a secret or a classified information was being shared inside the high ranks groups during that morning celebration or even in contrast to what was indicated in the top page box «A tranquilidade que houve ontem, durante o dia, no Palácio das Laranjeiras, não parecia indicar que o governo procuraria solucionar a crise política com o Ato n° 5»<sup>493</sup>. This interaction might indicate that the «JB's» already in the first day of censorship saw on the pictures a possibility of narrating something else other than what was written, nevertheless this is a hypothesis that must be confirmed in the following editions. An extra layer of interpretation might be inserted indicating a new preference (maybe forced) of the newspaper in narrating the institutional government agenda in light tones.

### *15/12/1968 – Folha de S. Paulo*

In the first Sunday edition after the «AI-5» publication a new standard in the decision-making process of news selection presented its first characteristics. With the presence of censors in the newsrooms and the growing difficulty to talk about the internal political agenda of the country, many newspapers adopted the strategy of dedicate their editions mostly to economic topics and also to the international newscast. In that day's edition the first page presented itself as a good example of it. The main headline was a continuation of the Metro agenda, an important local topic, and a good escape route to the increasing repression. «Obras do metro já começaram»<sup>494</sup> this title followed by a small lead text and a photo of the city's

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<sup>492</sup> «In the centre, Generals Bizarria Mamede and Siseno Sarmiento».

<sup>493</sup> «The tranquillity at the Palácio das Laranjeiras during the day yesterday did not seem to indicate that the government would seek to resolve the political crisis with Act No. 5».

<sup>494</sup> «Metro work already started».

A tranquilidade que houve ontem, durante o dia, no Palácio das Laranjeiras, não parecia indicar que a crise estivesse prestes a solucionar a crise política com o Ato 171.

A tarde, os três Ministros militares estiveram em reunião no Palácio da Marinha, onde se tratou o encerramento da Sesenta da Marinha.

### A crise

#### Ambiente no Laranjeiras foi tranqüilo durante o dia todo

Em dia de muita conversa



Est. de Rio passa o controle militar



#### Duas décadas de crises



A tranquilidade que houve ontem, durante o dia, no Palácio das Laranjeiras, não parecia indicar que a Geórgia apresentaria alguma crise política com o Alcaz? A tarde, no sala Mesquita militares reuniram-se em reunião no Ministério da Marinha, onde se discutiu o movimento da Brigada da Paraíba.

### A crise

*Ambiente no Laranjeiras foi tranqüilo durante o dia todo*

*Em dia de muita conversa*

*Em dia de paz e controle militar*

*Doas décadas de crises*



mayor, Faria Lima in the construction site determined the discursive sense of that day's edition. In addition to this, the others eight subtitles in the front cover, three of them were dedicated to the economic news report, two to sports, other two the international newscast and one to an education agenda. In other words, any other repercussion or consequence of the «AI-5» was absent in that «FSP's» first page.

Nevertheless, in the internal pages the subject was retaken in three different pages. On page number three, the page has been divided by two main descriptive stories under the titles «Decorridos 14 minutos de sábado, o Congresso estava vazio»<sup>495</sup> and «A situação em São Paulo e em todo o país é de normalidade e tranquilidade pública»<sup>496</sup>. The first one presented an overall narrative of the first moments of Congress closure and some details of the congressmen departure. The second story was dedicated to the details from the regional – São Paulo – to the national of the social repercussions of the Act's publication, emphasizing the aspect of tranquility in the main country's cities. At this point is mandatory to indicate that, following the same logic presented in the first page no image was published regarding these stories.

On page number five, was placed a smaller story under the title «Presidente Costa e Silva recebe mensagens de solidariedade»<sup>497</sup>, the text occupying approximately 1/6 of the page informs that several national and international institutional offered their solidarity to the «president need of promulgation of the act», the argument present was almost the same that was seen in the «FSP» editorial text in the day before, the need to combat the radicalisms. Above this first story other two under the titles «General Justino explica as razões que levaram à decretação dos Atos»<sup>498</sup> and «Assembleia Legislativa encerra os trabalhos legislativos do corrente ano»<sup>499</sup> presents small texts dedicated to important unfolding's of the «AI-5», once more no photos were published related to the texts.

Finally, the «FSP» had dedicated half of page number eight to the publication of the integrity of both, «AI-5» and Complementary «Act-N°38», texts. The Acts were published right above a small note of explanation indicating that due to the late hours of publication of both acts, the newspaper was able to publish the complete text of them only in its Sunday edition, bellow it a small paragraph presents the most important points of the Acts. Also in this case, the page does not present any photo, the other half was dedicated to the international newscast.

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<sup>495</sup> «After 14 minutes on Saturday, the Congress was empty».

<sup>496</sup> «The situation in São Paulo and throughout the country is one of normality and public tranquillity».

<sup>497</sup> «President Costa e Silva receives messages of solidarity».

<sup>498</sup> «General Justino explains the reasons that led to the decreeing of the Acts».

<sup>499</sup> «Legislative Assembly closes the legislative work of the current year».

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

ANO XLVIII UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DO BRASIL SÃO PAULO, DOMINGO, 15 DE DEZEMBRO DE 1968 N.º 14.427

## OBRAS DO METRÔ JÁ COMEÇARAM

Capacete de tratorista na cabeça, o prefeito Faria Lima acionou, ontem de manhã, a máquina que deu início às escavações do Metrô de São Paulo, debaixo de uma chuva de papéis picados e aclamação popular. Aos gritos de "pique-pique" ao prefeito, cerca de três mil pessoas levando bandeiras e faixas, desfilaram pela av. Jabaquara até o número 1.500, onde foi montado um palanque, e não se falou de política. (Pag. 20)

## Operações serão mais amanhã rede bancária

Delfim Neto, da Fazenda, declarou ontem que a rede bancária vai funcionar normalmente. O ministro disse que não há motivo para qualquer alteração nas instituições financeiras. As instituições financeiras também opõem resistência. O ministro disse que não há motivo para qualquer alteração nas instituições financeiras. As instituições financeiras também opõem resistência. O ministro disse que não há motivo para qualquer alteração nas instituições financeiras.

## Posto de Renda: as pessoas vão fazer declaração

Haverá até 5,2 mil cruzeiros novos por ano e 400 cruzeiros novos por mês para a preparação de renda no próximo exercício. O ministro disse que não há motivo para qualquer alteração nas instituições financeiras.

## S. Paulo obteve US\$ 12 milhões portando carne

O Estado de São Paulo obteve US\$ 12 milhões em créditos internacionais para a compra de carne. O ministro disse que não há motivo para qualquer alteração nas instituições financeiras.

## Reabertura de novo as provas do exame de admissão

O exame de admissão para o curso de Matemática, Português e Estudos Sociais será reaberto em dezembro. O ministro disse que não há motivo para qualquer alteração nas instituições financeiras.



Só um trator, o prefeito Faria Lima acionou para o início, nas comemorações do início das obras do Metrô.



Apesar do calor, o movimento de vendas em um comércio da cidade continuou bom e deverá continuar nas próximas dias.

## Dia 21 a luta de Edmundo Leite no Luna Park

O campeão brasileiro do xico-medios Edmundo Leite, por seu estilo, fará o mesmo jogo de seu adversário argentino, o campeão sul-americano Ramon La Cruz, dia 21, no Luna Park, na disputa de título continental. Ambos têm jogo quase idêntico, forte e de curta distância; o brasileiro, porém, torna uma série de cuidados para evitar a principal arma de La Cruz, a esquerda sem, em suas mãos, o mesmo poder que este brasileiro.

## Iugoslavia chega hoje ao Rio para jogar terça-feira

O selecionado da Iugoslavia chega hoje à Guanabara para um desfilado terça-feira com o Brasil, no Maracanã. Nos cinco jogos disputados até hoje pelos dois países, a Iugoslavia ganhou dois (1930 e 1934) e o Brasil também (1934 e 1958). O Brasil venceu o jogo do Mundial de 1958, por 1 a 0. Os jogadores trazem na delegação e malas "curetas" de seu futebol, o jovem Djizic. (Seção de Esportes)

## Delegação da FLN em Paris recebe reforço

Amanhã desembarca em Paris a segunda parte da delegação da FLN em conversações de paz, que ainda não tem data marcada para seu início porque ainda não se chegou a um acordo sobre o papel que os representantes do vietnã terão. Em Saigon todas as unidades militares e policiais estão em estado de alerta esperando nova ofensiva vietnã.

## Rumor busca agora o voto de confiança

O primeiro-ministro italiano, Mariano Rumor, iniciou ontem uma série de conversações com líderes políticos para tentar conseguir um voto de confiança para seu gabinete de colação antes do Natal. Apesar da oposição da extrema esquerda e da extrema direita, acredita-se que Rumor conseguirá o voto de confiança, pois os partidos da colação, Democracia Cristã, Socialista e Republicano são maioria na câmara.

### Assuntos Diversos

EXTERIOR	2 8
POLÍTICA	3 5 8
NACIONAL	10 11 12
INTERIOR	13 14
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ESPORTE	29 30 44 45 46
TURFE	27 28
INF. GERAIS	12

15 de dezembro de 1968

### SUMÁRIO

#### Passará Motel em Brasília

Plano do Planalto informou ontem que o projeto de construção de um novo motel em Brasília está sendo analisado pelo Ministério do Turismo.

O chefe de Gabinete do Planalto, general de brigadeiro Carlos de Aguiar Neto, declarou que o projeto de construção de um novo motel em Brasília está sendo analisado pelo Ministério do Turismo.

O ministro do Turismo, José Maria de Albuquerque, declarou que o projeto de construção de um novo motel em Brasília está sendo analisado pelo Ministério do Turismo.

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# Decorridos 14 minutos de sábado, o Congresso já estava vazio

Nas primeiras sessões de trabalho do Congresso Nacional, o presidente da Câmara, Maurício de Lacerda, declarou que o Congresso já estava vazio aos 14 minutos de sábado.

O líder da maioria, deputado Orlando Gebral, declarou que o Congresso já estava vazio aos 14 minutos de sábado.

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### PARA SUA NAMORADA

MIONELLA PÊLO DE ACRÍLICO  
A MAIS ALTA NOVIDADE

### Encerrada reunião dos Conselhos de Educação

As reuniões dos conselhos de educação em São Paulo encerraram-se ontem.

### CASA LUONICO

Loteria Federal

24 1120	NT4 500.000
25 1120	NT4 500.000
26 1120	NT4 500.000
27 1120	NT4 500.000
28 1120	NT4 500.000
29 1120	NT4 500.000
30 1120	NT4 500.000

### Ginásio "Nuno de Andrade"

1969 - EXTERNATO e SEMI-INTERNATO

CURSOS:	Latim, Francês, Inglês, Português, Matemática, História, Filosofia, Ciências, Esportes.
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### NATAL FELIZ PARA 15% DAS CRIANÇAS BRASILEIRAS

Podem preparar-se rapidamente para um Natal feliz em um aquário com uma estátua de Natal para um jardim.

### Assuntos Diversos

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### *15/12/1968 and 16/12/1918 – Jornal do Brasil*

As already mentioned above, in these days the «JB» was not published as a protest from its owner, directors and newsrooms direction to the arresting of the newspaper's directors.

### *16/12/1968 – Folha de S. Paulo*

This day's edition followed the same strategy presented the day before, the politically «hotter» issues were left out of the first page, this instead presented an even lighter agenda. The main headline was «Começou a contagem da corrida à lua»<sup>500</sup> followed by a small lead text informing the start of the countdown to the Apolo-8 launch. Regarding the other four subtitles of the front cover, two of them were dedicated to the daily news agenda, with one of them targeting the change of prices in the Christmas fruits; the other two one was centered in the football agenda and the last one, placed in the bottom of the page, although with letters as big as the main headline, was dedicated to the born of the second son of the famous singer Roberto Carlos. The images occupied an important amount of space in that first page, approximately half of it. In total, there were published three images, two of them related to the sports agenda, nationally and regionally, the bigger one (1/4 of the page) shows the Swimming State Championship, the smaller one instead, presented Pelé during the match against Western Germany the night before. The photo placed in the center of the page presented the singer, Roberto Carlos, holding his newborn son and his mother whit her back to the camera. Is important to emphasize that this first page represents a clear example of the newspaper production and how decision-making process was being reorganized because of the increasing repression and the presence of censor in the newsroom. At this point was not clear if the absence of a «hot» agenda in the first page was a choice of the editors or a determination of the censors.

Again, the «FSP» reserved the internal pages to develop the newscast on the unfolding of the «AI-5» and in the case of this edition, three pictures were used in those pages. After the two first pages of the «1º Caderno» dedicated respectively to the International News and to two new sections placed in substitution of the editorials that were no longer published, the «Vai Acontecer»<sup>501</sup> and «Veja o Brasil»<sup>502</sup> presented a week event agenda and a chronical of

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<sup>500</sup> «The countdown to the moon race has begun».

<sup>501</sup> «It's gonna happen».

<sup>502</sup> «See Brazil».



## COMEÇOU A CONTAGEM DA CORRIDA À LUA

**CABO KENNEDY, 15 (UPI-APF)** — Começou hoje a contagem regressiva para o lançamento da cabine "Apollo-8" que, depois de dar duas voltas em torno da Terra, deverá passar o Natal na órbita de Lua com três cosmonautas norte-americanos a bordo. Apesar dos riscos dessa histórica empreza, reconhecidos inclusive por dirigentes do Programa Apollo e da NASA, este organismo revela que todas as dificuldades em terra, para o lançamento, estão superadas e a cosmonave partirá definitivamente, no próximo sábado, impelida pelo gigantesco foguete Saturno. — Pág. 2

### Frutas de Natal: Já estão em vigor os novos preços

Entra hoje em vigor o tabelamento das frutas de Natal em São Paulo, por decisão da CADEP. O preço máximo desses artigos, nos estabelecimentos ligados ao orgão, inclusive supermercados, é de NCr\$ 5,00 para a amendoa; NCr\$ 5,00 para a avellã; NCr\$ 5,00 para nozes e de NCr\$ 2,95 para a castanha, quando compradas em quilo; figo, pacotes de melo quilo, e passas, pacote de 400 gramas, NCr\$ 1,80. Tais artigos também estão tabelados no atacado, para entrega aos varejistas, nos seguintes níveis: amendoa, NCr\$ 4,80; avellã, NCr\$ 5,00; nozes, NCr\$ 5,90; figos, pacote de melo quilo e passas, pacote de 400 gramas, NCr\$ 1,50, e castanhas, quilo, NCr\$ 2,50. A lista da CADEP será válida até o dia 31. O preço das castanhas foi sensivelmente reduzido, pois vinha sendo vendida até a NCr\$ 5,00, em grandes casas do varejo.

#### Bonificação de Natal

Hoje também entra em vigor a bonificação que os estabelecimentos ligados à CADEP concederão ao público visando a redução de 5% para o alho estrangeiro, que passa de NCr\$ 4,00 para NCr\$ 3,80; azeite argentino, lata de 700 ml, de NCr\$ 0,34 para NCr\$ 0,32; espárrago, mesma medida, de NCr\$ 0,42 para NCr\$ 0,40; bacalhau graúdo, de NCr\$ 4,80 para NCr\$ 4,50; medio, de NCr\$ 4,50 para NCr\$ 4,25, e miúdo, de NCr\$ 4,00 para NCr\$ 3,80; gordura de coco, lata de um quilo, de NCr\$ 2,07 para NCr\$ 1,97; lata de dois quilos, de NCr\$ 3,92 para NCr\$ 3,70; macarrão, semola, pacote de 400 gramas, de NCr\$ 0,79 para NCr\$ 0,75; feijão da COBAL: chumbinho, sem maquiñar, de NCr\$ 0,28 para NCr\$ 0,25; maquiñado a granel, de NCr\$ 0,31 para NCr\$ 0,28; maquiñado e empacotado, de NCr\$ 0,32 para NCr\$ 0,29; opaquinho, sem maquiñar, de NCr\$ 0,28 para NCr\$ 0,25; maquiñado a granel, de NCr\$ 0,34 para NCr\$ 0,31; maquiñado e empacotado, de NCr\$ 0,36 para NCr\$ 0,32. Essa lista será válida até o dia 31, ao passo que os demais produtos da CADEP manterão os preços já divulgados.



Cleonice — a mãe — mostra à imprensa Roberto Carlos II, que nasceu sábado

### Partos e tumulto na espera do "Sapato Branco"

A espera de presentes que seriam distribuídos pelo deputado Jacinto da Figueira Junior, o "Homem do Sapato Branco", vinde mil pessoas transformaram ontem, por varias horas, a rua das Palmeiras em palco de festival de miséria e tumultos. Com a intervenção da Polícia, a confusão que já era grande, sumiu. Balanço: 5 partos, 48 crianças perdidas, 70 casos atendidos no pronto-socorro da Barra Funda, desmãos, choros e a frustração dos presentes que não vieram.

pagina seis

### Iugoslavos estão no Rio para o jogo de amanhã

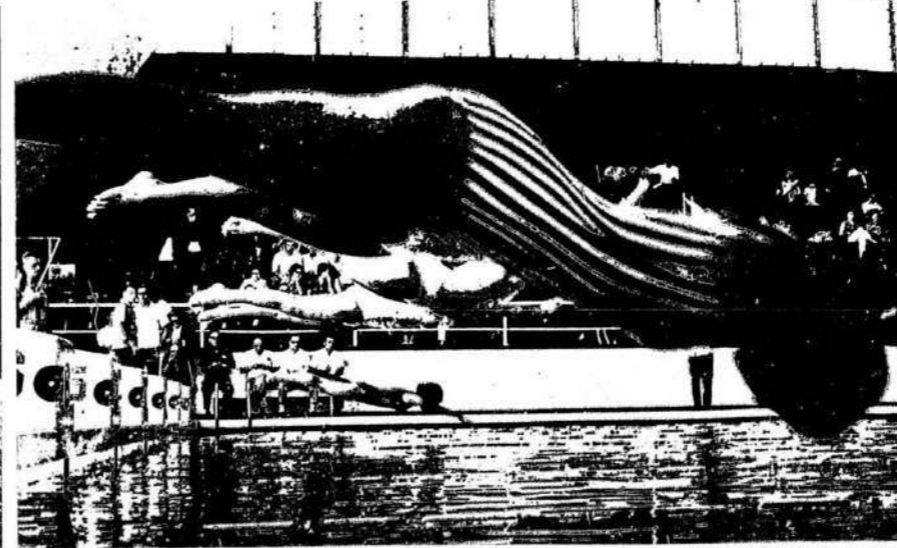
A seleção de futebol da Iugoslavia chegou ontem à Guanabara, para o jogo de amanhã à noite, no Maracanã, contra o selecionado do Brasil. Este poderá ser alterado em sua formação, como consequência do empate (2 a 2), de sábado à noite, contra o escrete da Alemanha Ocidental. Em virtude da contusão sofrida pelo porteiro esquerdo Paulo Cesar, foi convocado Luis Carlos, do Flamengo, que se apresentou ontem, na concentração das Palmeiras. SEÇÃO DE ESPORTES.

## NASCEU ROBERTO CARLOS BRAGA II

Roberto Carlos Braga II (em algarismos romanos como quer o pai) é o nome dado ao filho do cantor Roberto Carlos e de sua esposa Cleonice. O primeiro filho do cantor veio à luz às 19h10 de sábado, e foi apresentado à imprensa ontem à tarde, no quarto numero 317 da Maternidade Pro Matre, à porta do qual foi colocada uma guitarra de brinquedo. — Leia na pagina 5



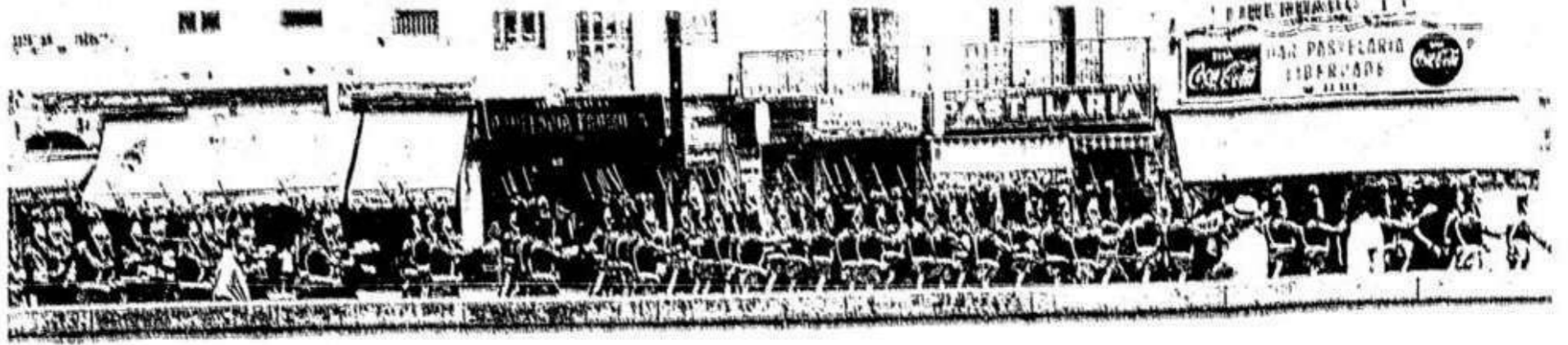
Pelé aplica perfeta "bicicleta" contra a meta da Alemanha Ocidental. A bola foi defendida pelo goleiro Meier.



O Pinheiras sagrou-se ontem cedo campeão do Campeonato Estadual do Matoque, classe de Juniores, ficando em 2.º lugar a equipe do Corinthians. Nada menos de 36 recordes foram superados, nas categorias masculina e feminina. O certame foi disputado na piscina coberta do DEFE. — SEÇÃO DE ESPORTES

MELHOR EXEMPLAR ENCONTRADO

# Presidente continua recebendo manifestações de solidariedade



O presidente da República, segundo informou a Agência Nacional, continua recebendo manifestações de solidariedade dos mais diversos pontos do País, principalmente de governadores, por sua decisão de expedir o Ato Institucional nº 3.

Telefonaram pessoalmente ao presidente Costa e Silva por esse motivo os governadores Israel Pinheiro, de Minas Gerais, Abreu Sodré, de São Paulo, João Agripino, da Paraíba, Negrão de Lima, da Guanabara e Percebi Barcelos, do Rio Grande do Sul.

### TELEGRAMAS

Enviarão telegramas ao chefe da Nação, os governadores Jorge Kalund, do Acre, Ivanhoé Martins, do Amapá, Jeremias Fontes, do Estado do Rio, Placido Castelo, do Ceará, Alceid Nunes, do Pará, Ivo Silveira, de Santa Catarina, Olavo Lage de Godas, Cristiano Dias Lages, do Espírito Santo, Elvildo de Barros, do Piauí, Nilo Coelho, do Pernambuco.

Aparentemente a Agência Nacional que todas as mensagens aplaudem a decisão do governo, definindo-a como corajosa e necessária a fim de conter a agitação que tentava desmoralizar a revolução de 64 e impedir o progresso do País.

Informações enviadas à Agência Nacional

## Presidente continua recebendo manifestações de solidariedade

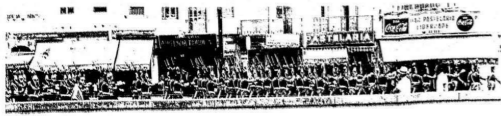
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Informações enviadas à Agência Nacional



Fora, uma arvore, deito, presente, mesa, cileiro, arcos, espelhaes artífices. Milares e seis famílias comemoram o Natal.

De 2.500 homens da Força Pública de Minas, comemoram seu 137.º aniversário.

### Força Pública celebra seu 137.º aniversário com 2.500 soldados

Comemoração do aniversário da Força Pública de Minas Gerais, no dia 12 de dezembro, com a participação de 2.500 soldados. O evento foi realizado no Palácio da Assembleia Legislativa, com a presença do governador Costa e Silva e de outros membros do governo. O programa incluiu uma cerimônia solene, com discursos e a execução de músicas patrióticas. O governador destacou a importância da Força Pública para a segurança e a ordem pública do Estado.

### Cao Ky, o homem que veio do Norte

Relato sobre o político Cao Ky, conhecido como 'o homem que veio do Norte'. O texto descreve sua trajetória política e sua atuação durante o período da revolução de 1964. Cao Ky é apresentado como uma figura importante na cena política brasileira da época, com destaque para suas ideias e suas ações em prol da democracia e da liberdade de expressão.

### Muitos presentes no Natal dos militares no UG do Exército

Relato sobre a celebração do Natal dos militares no UG do Exército. O texto menciona a presença de muitos presentes e a atmosfera festiva da ocasião. Destaca-se a importância da família e da comunidade militar durante o período natalino.

### Recife: DOPS promete solução para o atentado nesta semana

Relato sobre o atentado em Recife e a promessa de solução por parte do DOPS. O texto informa que as autoridades competentes estão trabalhando para esclarecer os fatos e identificar os responsáveis pelo crime. A população é tranquilizada com a promessa de uma rápida resolução do caso.

### Semana da Marinha em S. Sebastião

Relato sobre a Semana da Marinha em S. Sebastião. O texto descreve as atividades realizadas durante o evento, incluindo desfiles, jogos e outras celebrações em homenagem à Marinha do Brasil. A cidade ficou cheia de vida e alegria durante a semana.

### Mulher ataca onibus a tiros na via Anchieta: estava com pressa

Relato sobre um incidente em que uma mulher ataca um ônibus a tiros na via Anchieta. O texto relata os detalhes do ocorrido e as consequências para a vítima e o veículo. A polícia está investigando o caso para determinar as razões do ataque.

### Fora, uma arvore, deito, presente, mesa, cileiro, arcos, espelhaes artífices. Milares e seis famílias comemoram o Natal.

Relato sobre a celebração do Natal em uma comunidade rural. O texto descreve as tradições e os costumes locais durante o período natalino, destacando a importância da família e da comunidade.

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### FOURA DE S. PAULO

PROFESSORES DE AGRICULTURA	100
PROFESSORES DE PEDAGOGIA	100
PROFESSORES DE CIÊNCIAS	100
PROFESSORES DE LINGUAGEM	100
PROFESSORES DE HISTÓRIA	100
PROFESSORES DE GEOGRAFIA	100
PROFESSORES DE MATEMÁTICA	100
PROFESSORES DE FÍSICA	100
PROFESSORES DE QUÍMICA	100
PROFESSORES DE INGLÊS	100
PROFESSORES DE FRANCÊS	100
PROFESSORES DE ESPANHOL	100
PROFESSORES DE ARTE	100
PROFESSORES DE MÚSICA	100
PROFESSORES DE EDUCAÇÃO FÍSICA	100
PROFESSORES DE PSICOLOGIA	100
PROFESSORES DE SOCIOLOGIA	100
PROFESSORES DE ECONOMIA	100
PROFESSORES DE DIREITO	100
PROFESSORES DE MEDICINA	100
PROFESSORES DE ENFERMAGEM	100
PROFESSORES DE ODONTOLOGIA	100
PROFESSORES DE FARMÁCIA	100
PROFESSORES DE VETERINÁRIA	100
PROFESSORES DE ZOOLOGIA	100
PROFESSORES DE BOTÂNICA	100
PROFESSORES DE ZOOLOGIA	100
PROFESSORES DE BOTÂNICA	100
PROFESSORES DE ZOOLOGIA	100
PROFESSORES DE BOTÂNICA	100

FSP - 16/12/1968  
Photo 23

generalities; in so, on page number four appeared the first main headline connected to the «AI-5» and following the path indicated in the day before. The title «Presidente continua recebendo manifestações de solidariedade»<sup>503</sup> followed immediately by the story text in the left-column of the page in which are described and listed all those political leaders that had sent a telegram to Costa e Silva endorsing his decision of promulgating the «AI-5»; and followed also by a horizontal panoramic photo of a military parade (*photo 23*). The image, probably made with a wide-angle lens, has as main goal capturing the context, more than the specificity of the persons in scene. In so, with the help of the verbo-visual interaction with the caption under it, «Os 2.500 homens da Força Pública desfilam no Anhagabaú, comemorando o 137º aniversário»<sup>504</sup>, the reader is stimulated to make a connection between the page main headline and its story with the rest of the page dedicated to the political-military agenda in a tone that expresses itself in a descriptive format. The title connected to the picture was «Força Pública celebra seu 137º aniversário com 2.500 soldados»<sup>505</sup>, almost a copy the image's caption right above it, reinforcing the idea of do not displease the censors at that moment.

Returning to the picture, it has been made in the Vale do Anhagabaú, an iconic square in São Paulo's city center and that in that occasion was chose to be the place for the military parade. The image horizontally captured the square creating a frame with the cement wall close to the floor. Then, from the bottom to the top are present a large group of militaries (around one hundred) marching in formation and several commercial businesses in the background identifiable thanks to the signs. Is possible to individuate three civilians in the first plan, the one on the left corner of the photo is not looking to the parade, the other two instead have the gaze in the direction of the militaries. This image and the smaller one placed in the center of the page, picturing in a medium plan a Christmas tree in front of a white building with vertical windows, followed by the caption «Fora, uma árvore. Dentro, presentes, música, crianças, sorrisos, espetáculos artísticos. Militares e seus familiares comemoram o Natal»<sup>506</sup> right under a small text emerges from the auxiliary title «Muitos presentes no Natal dos militares no QG do II Exército»<sup>507</sup>.

This page composition allows the interpretation of the oriented building of a discursive sense dedicated to, in first place, please the censors, and in second place to create a narrative

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<sup>503</sup> «President continues to receive expressions of solidarity».

<sup>504</sup> «The 2,500 men of the Public Force parade in Anhagabaú, celebrating the 137th anniversary».

<sup>505</sup> «Public Force celebrates its 137th anniversary with 2,500 soldiers».

<sup>506</sup> «Outside, a tree. Inside, presents, music, children, smiles, artistic shows. Military personnel and their families celebrate Christmas».

<sup>507</sup> «Many presents at Christmas for the military at the II Army HQ».



and story of an Armed Forces in connection with Costa e Silva and his objectives in promulgating the «AI-5», at the same time that is being reinforced an idea of the militaries as good and reliable citizens. In other words, this whole page seems more to be a press release of the government and the Armed Forces rather than a newspaper page. In the afternoon edition of that day, the same story was updated with a new title «Governadores manifestam sua solidariedade ao Presidente Costa e Silva»<sup>508</sup>, although both the images connected to the militaries are no longer printed, in its place instead was placed a large picture (*photo 24*) that occupied approximately 1/6 of the page that in an overall plan shot from a long distance framed the construction work of a new viaduct in São Paulo's city center, in the image are visible diverse buildings in the corners, framing the construction site scene in the middle; the photo title was «Quase pronto o viaduto»<sup>509</sup> organizing a enunciation building that divides the reader's attention between the agendas – the national political events and the local urban transformations. In here is mandatory to sign that this kind of subject connected to the works in progress in the city star to be more frequent in the newspaper choices, especially those related to the images.

### *17/12/1968 – Folha de S. Paulo*

From this date on a new agenda becomes part of the «FSP» editions. An even bigger attention is now dedicated to the economic aspects of the military government. As already presented this choice was a way that some newspapers had found to keep in their pages a political element of the daily life without generating dissatisfaction first with the censors and with the government in general. In so, in that day's edition placed in the top of the first page right after a small introduction that stated: «Delfim Neto revela que a política economica vai ser aperfeiçoada com decretos-lei e garante:»<sup>510</sup> the main headline was «Desenvolvimento no país será acelerado»<sup>511</sup>. With the same pagination as seen in the previous days, the headline was followed by a small lead paragraph that informed how after the «AI-5» and the «liberalization» of the Congress, several economic aspects of that agenda would now be putted in practice by Costa e Silva's administration. The introductive text had also presented quotations of the finance's minister and indicated that in the page thirteen of that edition the subjected would be unfolded, however, in that page no pictures were published.

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<sup>508</sup> «Governors express their solidarity with President Costa e Silva».

<sup>509</sup> «Viaduct almost finished».

<sup>510</sup> «Delfim Neto reveals that the economic policy will be improved with decree-laws and guarantees:».

<sup>511</sup> «Development in the country will be accelerated».

Delfim Neto revela que a política econômica vai ser aperfeiçoada com decretos-leis e garante:

## DESENVOLVIMENTO DO PAÍS SERÁ ACELERADO

Um decreto-lei a ser baixado pelo presidente da República, nestes próximos dias, deverá conter "importantes decisões ligadas ao campo econômico-financeiro", anunciou ontem o ministro Delfim Neto, da Fazenda, depois de uma audiência com o presidente Costa e Silva. O ministro esclareceu que as medidas a serem anunciadas "visam a corrigir e acelerar o desenvolvimento econômico do País". O sr. Delfim Neto comentou que "projetos ligados a programas de desenvolvimento e que se encontravam emperrados no Congresso, serão agora concretizados através do decreto-lei do presidente da República". Revelou por último que é de absoluta normalidade, em todo o País, a situação nas áreas das finanças, da indústria e do comércio. (Pag. 13)

### Professores fazem concurso de ingresso hoje

8 mil professores farão hoje, das 8 às 11h30, em todo o Estado, as provas do Concurso de Ingresso no Magistério Primário, promovido pela Secretaria da Educação por intermédio do Serviço de Seleção e Orientação do Pessoal do Ensino — SESCOPE. As provas consistirão de 50 questões de Cultura Geral e 50 de Cultura Especializada. Os candidatos devem levar lapis n.º 2 e borracha.

### De Gaulle age contra ocupação das faculdades

O governo francês, afirmando que não tolerará mais as ocupações de universidades e atividades políticas nas escolas, deu plenos poderes aos reitores para reprimir a agitação estudantil. Forças policiais cercaram ontem a Universidade de Nanterre, foco principal das manifestações de maio, que está em greve e ocupada pelos alunos há uma semana.

Pag. 5

### Universitários fazem pesquisa para supersônico

Universitários estão realizando pesquisas nos aeroportos de Guarulhos, Minas, São Paulo e Paraná, para recolher dados que possibilitem ao Ministério da Aeronáutica decidir sobre a localização mais conveniente do aeroporto supersônico. Passageiros respondem a um questionário que inclui perguntas sobre origem e destino do viajante, veículos usados, tempo gasto no aeroporto, e outras.

Pag. 8

### Mudanças do DET na av. Rebouças deram resultado

As modificações que o DET introduziu ontem no início da av. Rebouças não provocaram transtornos ao trânsito. Os veículos que trafegam pela av. Rebouças, no sentido bairro-cidade, são desviados pela alameda França e rua da Consolação, para chegar à av. Paulista. Entretanto, os caminhões e ônibus continuarão trafegando pela Rebouças, por entre as obras da Prefeitura. Pag. 12



No praça da República, com um calor de 32 graus e sombra, a torneira de água fresca é muito procurada. — Pag. 10



A compositora Clóccia pediu e ganhou do mestre de obras na Rebouças um tronco de "floc" que foi derrubado. Pag. 12



Mais de 6 mil estudantes inscreveram-se até ontem para os vestibulares de Filosofia na PUC e na USP. — Pag. 16

### Brasil contra Iugoslávia hoje à noite com TV

As 21h30 de hoje, no Maracanã, com teletransmissão direta para São Paulo, defrontam-se as seleções do Brasil e da Iugoslávia. Aimoré Moreira já formou o time brasileiro, que como novidade terá o flamenguista Luis Carlos na ponta-direita, passando Edu para a esquerda. Eis o quadro: Falcão; Carlos Alberto, Juranidir, Dias e Everaldo; Gerson e Rivelino; Luis Carlos, Tostão, Pelé e Edu.

Esportes

### Preparativos do vôo lunar continuam bem

Os astronautas Frank Borman, Jim Lovell e Bill Anders foram considerados em perfeitas condições para a viagem em torno da Lua que será iniciada sábado. Os três foram inoculados com uma raríssima vacina contra a "gripe de Hong-Kong" que já matou quase 700 pessoas nos EUA. A contagem regressiva para o lançamento da "Apollo-8" prossegue sem maiores contratempos.

Pag. 2

### Cao Ky acusa o governo dos EUA: negociações

Nguyen Cao Ky, vice-presidente do Vietnã do Sul, que chefiava a delegação de seu país às conversações de paz em Paris, acusou ontem o secretário de Defesa dos EUA, Clark Clifford, de "dizer as coisas mais impróprias nos momentos mais inoportunos". Ky referia-se às declarações de Clifford no sentido de que Saigon é a responsável pelo atraso nas negociações.

Pag. 2

### China prepara seu foguete intercontinental

Diplomatas da Europa Oriental revelaram que a China deverá experimentar em 1969 um foguete balístico intercontinental. Se a experiência for bem sucedida, os chineses terão condições de atingir os principais centros industriais dos Estados Unidos e da União Soviética. Mas isso somente dentro de três ou quatro anos quando for iniciada a produção em massa dos foguetes.

Pag. 2

#### MENOS CALOR

Hoje muda o tempo, para alegria do paulistano, que está sofrendo com o calor. O dia vai estar nublado, e deve chover e esfriar um pouco, dizem os meteorologistas.

**MERCADO DE VALORES**  
Dólar no Câmbio Oficial: NCR 2,005 para o compra e NCR 2,83 para o venda.  
A Bolsa de Valores de São Paulo atingiu ontem o fechamento de NCR 1.072.000,23 e o de Rio NCR 581.900,55.  
O Índice Bovespa registrou alta de 0,6 pontos e o Médio 54 cota 18 pontos.

#### A grande corrida para a Lua

A Folha dedicará domingo o seu Caderno Especial à maior proeza espacial já tentada pelo homem: a conquista da Lua.



#### Assuntos Diversos

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Um decreto-lei a ser baixado pelo presidente da Republica, nestes próximos dias, deverá conter “importantes decisões ligadas ao campo econômico-financeiro”, anunciou ontem o ministro Delfim Neto, da Fazenda, depois de uma audiência com o presidente Costa e Silva. O ministro esclareceu que as medidas a serem anunciadas “visam a corrigir e acelerar o desenvolvimento econômico do País”. O sr. Delfim Neto comentou que “projetos ligados a programas de desenvolvimento e que se encontravam emperrados no Congresso, serão agora concretizados através do decreto-lei do presidente da República”. Revelou por último que é de absoluta normalidade, em todo o País, a situação nas areas das finanças, da indústria e do comércio. (Pag.13).<sup>512</sup>

Regarding the images in that first page, once more the issues related to the political daily life of the country were not present and the pictures were dedicated the student's enrolment in the State's universities, the urban refurbishments, and the wheatear forecast. The same logic had been applied to the other titles printed in the first page, out of eight titles, one was dedicated to the sports agenda, another one to the urban works and two of it to educational subjects, finally, four of the titles referred to the international newscast. In the same breath, on page number four an editorial box was replaced to the newspaper, however, the subjects treated were related to the Metro's construction in São Paulo, economic aspects of the merchant shipping and educational features that were connected to the country's economic development such as the need of more agronomic engineers.

Nevertheless, in page number three, reappears the use of a photo in a story dedicated to the political unfolding of the «AI-5». Under the title «Gama anuncia, em São Paulo, o Ato Complementar n.39»<sup>513</sup> was placed a rectangular picture (*photo 25*), the shot made in a medium distance in American Plan, focusing the reader's attention on the individuals that were framed in the picture presented seven men in a meeting while discussing something. In the image is possible to identify the military uniforms in five of them – the three on the first plan and the other two standing. On the left corner there is a clear distinction in the uniforms, the white uniform of the I Naval District's stands out in contrast with the brown uniforms of the Army.

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<sup>512</sup> «A decree-law to be issued by the President of the Republic, in the next few days, should contain "important decisions linked to the economic-financial field", the Minister of Finance, Delfim Neto, announced yesterday, after an audience with President Costa e Silva. The minister explained that the measures to be announced "are aimed at correcting and accelerating the country's economic development". Mr Delfim Neto commented that "projects linked to development programmes and which were being held up in Congress will now be put into effect by means of a decree-law issued by the President of the Republic". Finally, he revealed that the situation in the areas of finance, industry and commerce throughout the country is absolutely normal (Page 13)».

<sup>513</sup> «Gama announces, in São Paulo, Complementary Act 39».

FSP - 17/12/1968
Photo 25

24-fevere, 17 de dezembro de 1968

FOLHA DE S. PAULO

1.º caderno - 3

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FOLHA DE S. PAULO

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NOVAS PRISÕES

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Em Guaratuba, novas prisões foram realizadas ontem, pela DOPB, Polícia Federal e Serviço Brasileiro de Defesa Jurídica...



Finally, in the background there were other two men standing, the one on the right was framed taking notes. It is important to emphasize that the images had to freeze a moment of the meeting in which there was movement, and the individuals were discussing something that was on the table – this photographer and editor choice reinforces the narrative building that the Armed Forces were actively «working for the country». The caption of the image informed «O gen. Sisenio Sarmento e o comandante do I Distrito Naval na reunião de ontem no Ministério do Exército».<sup>514</sup>

Even if it is not explicit in the main titles and captions, it is possible to infer that the photo was taken somewhere else rather than São Paulo, expanding the newspaper reach. In the text placed in the middle of the page the information was detailed indicating that the encounter took place in Rio de Janeiro. The story's text also stated that the goal of the Complementary Act was given to the Executive Power the control of the future punishments and political cassations. In the right column of the page, under the title «Novas prisões efetuadas»<sup>515</sup> was brought the information on several politicians, artists and journalists that were imprisoned in those days as a result of the «AI-5», between the names were the deputies Henrique Henkin (MDB), Paulo Campos (MDB) and Carlos Guerra (ARENA), in addition to these names has been confirmed the prison of Carlos Lacerda, ex-Guanabara governor and former supporter of the military. A small box has been printed in the top right corner of the page with the title «STM considera prejudicados todos os pedidos de habeas-corpus»<sup>516</sup>, informing that in accordance with the new Act, none of the requests for habeas-corpus were accepted by the by the «Superior Tribunal Militar».<sup>517</sup> In an overall, it is possible to interpret once again that this page, even presenting the lists of arrests made by the repression, seemed more to a government press release rather than a newspaper edition, in so, the verbo-visual interaction between the picture and the texts in this case, different from the one on the previous day, showed to be less connected, that is to say the image fulfill an illustration role rather than a narrative conductor.

### *17/12/1968 – Jornal do Brasil*

In the fourth day of press coverage after the promulgation of the «AI-5» the «JB» has returned to circulation and presented a first page that had 2/3 of it filled with the consequences

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<sup>514</sup> «Gen. Sisenio Sarmento and the Commander of the 1st Naval District at the meeting yesterday at the Army Ministry».

<sup>515</sup> «New arrests made».

<sup>516</sup> «STM considers all requests for habeas corpus to be overruled».

<sup>517</sup> «Superior Military Court».

and repercussions of the governmental Act; among the verbal elements of the page, two pictures were published in that front cover related to this agenda. Besides the main headline, «Presidente anuncia novas revoluções se necessário»<sup>518</sup> in that first page were published other seven auxiliary titles, of which two were linked to the main agenda of the day<sup>519</sup>, two were related to the international newscast<sup>520</sup> and three connected to events that took place in the Guanabara State and the city of Rio de Janeiro<sup>521</sup>. In addition to this, there was a big notice in the middle of the page indicating that the classified ads that were not published in the earlier Sunday edition would be published on that day in a special section of the newspaper.

The picture placed right under the headline (*photo 26*) was framed in the top by the title «Primeira fala»<sup>522</sup> and in the top by the caption «No seu primeiro ato público, após a crise, o Presidente Costa e Silva paraninfou 27 novos diplomatas».<sup>523</sup> The image occupies approximately 1/5 of the page and presented Costa e Silva in a sideways american plan, from the waist up, this photojournalistic tool was mostly used to keep the attention of the reader in the person framed. In this case, the american plan was mixed in a multiple plan composition, given the fact that other three individuals are visible in the scene, although without the focus and sharpness that Costa e Silva and the microphone in front of him obtained. Is possible to identify that all of them were wearing dark civilian suits and the ones in the first plan and in the background had their gaze directed to the President. Putting the image in interaction with the verbal elements already presented and with the text place on the top-right column is also possible to observe a tendency of the narration building proposed by the «JB» of concentrating in Costa e Silva the decision and responsibility of the «AI-5» promulgation, besides that in the text is present again the strategy of emptiness of the concepts, in that day, the concepts of democracy and revolution were the main target once more.

O Presidente Costa e Silva declarou ontem, em discurso na Escola de Comando e Estado-Maior do Exército, que a Revolução é irreversível “e, sempre que imprescindível, como agora, faremos novas revoluções dentro da Revolução”. – A Revolução – disse ele – prossegue pelo caminho certo que levará o país rumo ao desenvolvimento rápido e seguro. Mas a

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<sup>518</sup> «President announces new revolutions if necessary».

<sup>519</sup> «Riqueza ilícita é apurada - Illicit wealth is investigated; QG cita razões da censura - HQ cites reasons for censure».

<sup>520</sup> «Divergências de aliados atrasa reunião de paz - Allies' differences delay peace meeting; Tchecos expulsam jornalista - Czechs expel journalist».

<sup>521</sup> «Explosão mata cinco meninos - Explosion kills five boys; Calor de 40.2 enche praias e desidrata 471 - Heat of 40.2 fills beaches and dehydrates 471; Bahia deixou Casa Civil pelas letras - Bahia left Civil House for the letters».

<sup>522</sup> «First speech».

<sup>523</sup> « In his first public act after the crisis, President Costa e Silva paranointed 27 new diplomats».

## Presidente anuncia novas revoluções se necessário

FERRÊRA FILA



No ato público da manhã, em 17 de dezembro, o Presidente Gomes da Silva prometeu "novas revoluções" se necessário.

ÁREA DE MONTANHA



Alunos em 17 de dezembro assistem ao ato público em uma das salas do Colégio da Lapa.

O Presidente Gomes da Silva, ao anunciar as novas revoluções, afirmou que o Brasil não se contenta com a atual situação política e econômica, e que se necessário, novas revoluções serão anunciadas. Ele mencionou a necessidade de uma reforma constitucional e de uma nova constituinte para discutir a possibilidade de uma nova constituição. O ato ocorreu no Colégio da Lapa, em São Paulo, no dia 17 de dezembro.

### Riqueza ilícita é apurada

As autoridades brasileiras estão apurando a riqueza ilícita de diversos brasileiros. O Ministério da Justiça, por meio do Departamento de Polícia Federal, está investigando a origem dos recursos de várias pessoas. O processo envolve a identificação de bens e valores que não foram devidamente declarados. O objetivo é combater a corrupção e a apropriação indébita de recursos públicos.

### QG cita razões da censura

O Ministério da Justiça, por meio do Departamento de Polícia Federal, está citando as razões da censura de certos materiais. O QG (Quadrado Geral) está analisando documentos e informações que foram considerados ofensivos ou contrários aos interesses nacionais. As razões citadas incluem a falta de veracidade e a possibilidade de causar danos à segurança do país.

Os materiais censurados foram encontrados durante uma operação de fiscalização. O QG está trabalhando para identificar os responsáveis pela divulgação desses materiais e para tomar as medidas adequadas para evitar a repetição de tais atos.

### Divergência de ideias atrasa tratado de paz

A divergência de ideias entre os representantes das partes envolvidas está atrasando o processo de negociação de um tratado de paz. Os negociadores não conseguem chegar a um consenso sobre pontos fundamentais, como o reconhecimento da soberania e a definição das fronteiras. A situação é considerada delicada e requer uma intervenção diplomática para evitar o colapso das negociações.

### Explosão mata cinco meninos

Uma explosão ocorreu em uma escola, matando cinco meninos e ferindo outros. O acidente aconteceu durante uma aula prática de química. Um dos alunos deixou um recipiente contendo uma substância inflamável ao alcance do fogo, o que desencadeou a explosão. As autoridades estão investigando as causas do acidente e tomando medidas para evitar a recorrência de eventos semelhantes.

### Têxteis expulsos jornalistas

Os jornalistas foram expulsos de uma fábrica de têxteis por não apresentarem credenciais adequadas. Os funcionários da fábrica alegaram que os jornalistas estavam realizando uma atividade não autorizada dentro das instalações. Os jornalistas afirmaram que estavam apenas realizando uma reportagem e que não tinham intenção de causar qualquer dano. O episódio gerou críticas por parte da imprensa e da sociedade.

### Calor de 40,2 enche praças e desidrata 471

O calor intenso atingiu São Paulo, com temperaturas chegando a 40,2 graus Celsius. O calor fez com que milhares de pessoas se deslocassem para as praças e parques em busca de sombra e frescor. Além disso, o calor causou desidratação em 471 pessoas, algumas das quais foram hospitalizadas. As autoridades recomendam o uso de roupas leves e a ingestão de água constantemente.

### Bahia destras Casa Civil pelas letras

A Bahia destras a Casa Civil pelas letras, em referência à luta pela educação e cultura. O movimento é liderado por estudantes e intelectuais que reivindicam melhores condições de ensino e a valorização da cultura local. Eles estão pressionando o governo estadual a tomar medidas concretas para melhorar a qualidade da educação pública e a promover atividades culturais em todo o estado.

JB - 17/12/1968

Photos 26

*PRIMEIRA FALA*



*No seu primeiro ato público, após a crise, o Presidente Costa e Silva permitiu 27 novos discursos*

Revolução também estará alerta contra quaisquer tentativas que visem a impedir a ordem e a derrubar a democracia.<sup>524</sup>

The «JB» editor's choice of placing this part of Costa e Silva's speech in the first two paragraphs of the main front cover's text indicates not only the relevance of the information, but the emphasizes given by the newspapers to that information, especially if considered the connection with the main headline. In addition to this, the mix between direct and indirect discourse when quoting the President, reveals the will of emphasizing the possibility indicated by him of others «revolution» within the «Revolution» that the military made four years before. Is important to underscore this rhetorical tool that was repeatedly present in this case, in naming the military coup of «Revolution» and in naming a military regime (from that week on) even more authoritarian and violent as a «Democracy», in a discursive construction that is based in a bureaucratic legitimization process which needed new Institutional Acts to legitimize itself as «legal»; at the same time this rhetorical organization of the dictatorship discourse build is being ready to place the ideological and political enemies of the regime as those who were against the entire nation and its values. Returning to the picture, the image framed the President wearing glasses in a moment of pause during his speech with hands and fingers crossed in a serious but calm but firm posture.

The second image of that front cover (*photo 27*) was placed right under the first one and between the title «Área de segurança<sup>525</sup>» and the caption «Reunião do I Exército acerta novas medidas para manter a ordem na região do Estado da Guanabara»<sup>526</sup>. The small lead text beside the picture explains in the first paragraphs that the censorship was installed aiming to forbid the divulgation of «subversive information» that would disrupt the calm in the country, in addition to it, the following paragraphs are dedicated to explain the decision made by the Armed Forces of prohibiting all kind of civil protest as a form of keep the calm and avoid the repression, a sequence of declaration that are presented in a contradictory form, whereas if the calm exists there would be no need of both actions. The photograph was shoot in a medium distance and in a medium plan due to its elevate descriptive capability, in so, the image in a deeping angle, shows a large dark wood table in which at least eleven men were seated around

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<sup>524</sup> «President Costa e Silva declared yesterday, in a speech to the Army Command and General Staff School, that the Revolution is irreversible "and, whenever necessary, as now, we will make new revolutions within the Revolution". - The Revolution - he said - proceeds along the right path that will lead the country towards rapid and safe development. But the Revolution will also be on the alert against any attempts to impede order and overthrow democracy».

<sup>525</sup> « Security area».

<sup>526</sup> «I Army meeting agrees on new measures to maintain order in the region of Guanabara State».

it in also dark wood chairs. All of them are wearing a brown Army uniform, half of the group was with their back to the camera, the other half were facing it although their gaze was directed to the official that was seated at the corner of the table and was wearing a reading glass.

In the table are identifiable some paper sheets and an ashtray, the photograph composition and shooting choices gave more relevance to the meeting registering rather than to making visible who were those in the room, probably was for that reason that in the alongside text, only the name of General Siseno Sarmiento has been mentioned. In the background of the image a large window door was pictured slightly open and allowed the entrance of a good quantity of light in the room, the brightness helps the reader of the photo to see that the two officials in the right top corner of the image were laughing in the moment of the shot. Finally, the sharpness of the picture is mostly uniform with a small blur in the first plan.

The internal pages of that «JB's» edition presented some differences in its organization, from the page number three until page number seven, with the newspaper editorial placed on page number six, although the «AI-5» was not mentioned in this section of the newspaper divided in four sections, the main one dedicated to the mechanisms of TV and Radio concessions in the country, a second one related to a naval military exercise conducted in the Mediterranean Sea, the third one was connected to the Universities reforms in France and finally, the last one reflects on the smoking habit in Brazil. Regarding the use of images, that edition presented a pictured only in page number three.

This image (*photo 28*) is under the title «Segurança em estudo»<sup>527</sup> and brings under it an infographic in which from the silhouettes each one of those present were identified. On the left side of the picture was placed the story title «Siseno reúne comandos para analisar medidas adotadas e coordenar sua execução».<sup>528</sup> The text details who were those high ranks officers in the meeting, what would be the measures that should be implemented; the rest of the page is dedicated to other unfolding's of the «AI-5», detailing the information that were already exposed in the front cover such as the reasons for the censorship.

According to the caption, twenty-one officers were present in the picture, eight of them seated, the other were standing in a row behind of the chairs. This image has a main difference to all the others that were published so far in the occasion of the «AI-5» crisis, was a posed photo. In what seem to be a continuation of the scene pictured in the first page image, this one instated have an «official» aspect, as if the Armed Forces intended to register the meeting and

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<sup>527</sup> «Security under study».

<sup>528</sup> «Siseno brings together commands to analyse measures adopted and coordinate their execution».

ÁREA DE SEGURANÇA



Reunido na 1.ª Esquadra acertam novas medidas para manter a ordem na região do Estado da Guanabara

the official agenda of its officials. The mid-aged men are, except for the General Luis de França Oliveira, wearing a brown Army uniform, some of them have also a tie, and other their identification badge; in the photo is possible to see that some of the high ranked officials are smiling, even if the subject of the meeting was the security and repression measures. In addition to this, is important to highlight that this image was framed in a Medium Plan, from a medium distance, presenting a very serious and direct format. In the first plan there was a dark wood table again with some paper sheets and ashtrays; in the background are visible a wooden part of the wall, a blackboard and two fans. In the continuation key of the previous image, placed in the front cover, this one seems to be made in the opposite corner of the same room, close to the glass window, trying to prevent a counter-light effect.

The direct and serious format of the picture contrasts with what «JB's» was presenting so far, in a multi layered interpretation photos, giving a strong attention to aesthetics and discursive strength beyond the basic information transmission, this elements might indicate a strong influence of the censorship in the decision process of choosing the images to that day's edition, generating as a consequence a press photo coverage that results very similar to what the «FSP» has presented, a newspaper page that seems more like a press release of the government rather than a page of an autonomous press organ.



SEGURANÇA EM ESTUDO



Reunião do Generalissimo Sarmento com os comandantes das Grandes Unidades da Exército e da Arma de Engenharia na área do I Exército. 1) Gen. Cavaliê Arruda; 2) Gen. Assunção Cardoso; 3) Gen. Sandro Gasparini; 4) Gen. Laio Carlos de Freitas; 5) Gen. Carlos Alberto; 6) Gen. Augusto de Oliveira; 7) Gen. Arnaldo José Luiz Caldeira; 8) Gen. Osvaldo Ferraes; 9) Gen. César Montagna de Souza; 10) Col. Arlindo Viana; 11) Col. Celso Coimbra; 12) Col. Silveira; 13) Col. Roub. 14) Gen. Dória de Castro; 15) Gen. Luiz de França Oliveira; 16) Gen. Juarez Sarmento; 17) Gen. Assis Bordini; 18) Gen. Adolfo Balleira de Araujo; 19) Col. Paulo Carlos Bordini; 20) Gen. Waldemar de Araujo; 21) Gen. Álvaro Carneiro.



SEGURANÇA EM ESTUDO



Reunião do Generalissimo Sarmento com os comandantes das Grandes Unidades da Exército e da Arma de Engenharia na área do I Exército. 1) Gen. Cavaliê Arruda; 2) Gen. Assunção Cardoso; 3) Gen. Sandro Gasparini; 4) Gen. Laio Carlos de Freitas; 5) Gen. Carlos Alberto; 6) Gen. Augusto de Oliveira; 7) Gen. Arnaldo José Luiz Caldeira; 8) Gen. Osvaldo Ferraes; 9) Gen. César Montagna de Souza; 10) Col. Arlindo Viana; 11) Col. Celso Coimbra; 12) Col. Silveira; 13) Col. Roub. 14) Gen. Dória de Castro; 15) Gen. Luiz de França Oliveira; 16) Gen. Juarez Sarmento; 17) Gen. Assis Bordini; 18) Gen. Adolfo Balleira de Araujo; 19) Col. Paulo Carlos Bordini; 20) Gen. Waldemar de Araujo; 21) Gen. Álvaro Carneiro.

Nota da 1a. Região Militar esclarece razões da censura

O Quartel-General do 1º Exército Militar esclarece, por meio de uma nota, as razões da censura aplicada a uma reportagem publicada no jornal "O Estado de S. Paulo" sobre o funcionamento da 1ª Região Militar. A nota afirma que a censura não se trata de uma censura política, mas sim de uma censura técnica, baseada em razões de segurança e de ordem pública. A nota também menciona que a reportagem em questão continha informações que poderiam ser prejudiciais à defesa nacional.

**BOTAFOGO**  
APARTAMENTOS PRONTOS  
Rua Lauro Müller, 46  
SALA • QUARTO SEPARADO

Siseno reúne comandos para analisar medidas adotadas e coordenar a sua execução

O Generalissimo Sarmento reuniu na tarde de ontem, em seu gabinete, os comandantes das Grandes Unidades e Chefes de órgãos de segurança e providências na sua área. A fim de ser procedida a análise das medidas de segurança já tomadas e a oportunidade de avaliação das que se encontram em estudo para a preservação da ordem pública.

No final da reunião, que durou 15 minutos, foi atribuído a todos os comandantes um documento com as medidas a serem tomadas para a manutenção da ordem pública e a ser executadas em primeira instância pelas Divisões policiais do Estado. O relatório do Exército determinou "que os comandantes do Exército e Comando Militar da Armada tenham instruções por escrito, assinadas pelo Generalissimo Sarmento, sobre as medidas a serem tomadas para a manutenção da ordem pública.

"Diário Oficial" publica o AI-5 e o AC-38 sem a exposição de Gama e Silva

Brasília (Brasil) — O Diário Oficial de hoje publica o Decreto de Segurança Pública nº 11.161, de 17 de dezembro de 1968, e o Decreto de Segurança Pública nº 11.162, de 17 de dezembro de 1968, sem a exposição de motivos de Gama e Silva, conforme anunciado anteriormente.

As duas medidas foram publicadas no Diário Oficial sem a exposição de motivos de Gama e Silva, conforme anunciado anteriormente. A medida nº 11.161 trata da criação de uma Comissão de Segurança Pública e a medida nº 11.162 trata da criação de uma Comissão de Segurança Pública.

**NOTAS FISCAIS**  
De acordo com as novas modalidades oficiais, apresentadas com urgência, Serviço gráfico em geral "Off-set" e tipografia serigrafada, tabelas, livros, revistas, inclusive composição em linotipagem, GRÁFICA AGRVORDE, Rua Barão de São Félix, 182 (junto à Estação)

CGI vai confiscar bens de quem em atividade pública enriqueceu de modo ilícito

O Presidente da República baixou decreto, em data de ontem, criando, no Ministério da Justiça, o Conselho Geral de Investigações, a quem caberá investigar assuntos para o controle de bens de todos aqueles indivíduos empregados, diretamente, no exercício de cargo ou função pública.

Considera-se apropriação ilícita a aquisição de bens, detentores ou valores por quem não dispuser de idoneidade financeira, à vista da declaração de rendimentos, ou que, embora dispuser dessa idoneidade, à época da aquisição, não tenha a comprovar sua legitimidade perante o Conselho.

O decreto estabelece que o Conselho Geral de Investigações terá competência para investigar os bens de todos aqueles indivíduos empregados, diretamente, no exercício de cargo ou função pública. O Conselho também terá competência para investigar os bens de todos aqueles indivíduos empregados, indiretamente, no exercício de cargo ou função pública.

**PRIN**

## Chapter 6 – The shots. Killing in the name of?

Before entering in a new section of analysis some extra information on the historical and political context of the country in the unfolding of the military regime is central to give a better panorama of how the situation changed and in what social layers were the mains transformation and actions of the regime.

*After 1968 and the «Anos de chumbo»*<sup>529</sup>

After 1968 – the year that did not end<sup>530</sup> - and the «AI-5», the Brazilian society came to know the authoritarian tripod: surveillance, censorship, and repression. This synthesis of what has been transformed the Brazilian society and its regime resumes a political, institutional, and practical structure that took some years to be totally implemented. Due to a stroke, the General Costa e Silva, was removed from office in August of 1969, before the schedule data for the official change in government. A Military Junta has been in power for almost two months until the election of a new general president; that process tried to re-equilibrate the balance inside the Armed Forces, there were groups that saw in the increase of the repression the right answer to the political instability that we described and other, mostly closer to the formers presidents Castelo Branco and Costa e Silva that were more in favor of a «democratic normality», in which the authoritarianism would be each day more institutionalized.

Emílio Garrastazu Médici<sup>531</sup> was elected by the Armed Forces in October of 1969 and his arrival in office was seen as the first military move to solve the internal crises, caused mainly by the more frequently guerrilla actions. With a paradoxical speech, in which Médici retake the idea of a democracy as a national aspiration, he took the office on October 30<sup>th</sup> of

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<sup>529</sup> «Years of lead».

<sup>530</sup> This expression became known in the Brazilian historiographic due to its force in summarize the liberties that pushed part of the population to new social goals, but that at the end were abruptly ended by the repression.

<sup>531</sup> Born in Bajé (RS) on 4 December 1905, Médici entered the Military School of Porto Alegre in 1918. In 1924 was enrolled in the Military School of Realengo, in Rio de Janeiro. In 1930 joined the revolutionary movement led by Getúlio Vargas. As military fought against the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932. Throughout his military career held various posts until, in July 1953, reached the rank of colonel and in September he was appointed commander of the Centre for the Preparation of Reserve Officers (CPOR) in Porto Alegre. In February 1960, he was appointed sub-commander of the «Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras» (AMAN). In 1961, he supported Goulart's inauguration and the so-called parliamentary solution. After the coup of 1964 was named military attaché in Washington, in 1967, after the inauguration of Costa e Silva, became head of the «SNI». In 1969, he competed with five other military candidates for the succession of Costa e Silva, in the most democratic process within the system of indirect elections, with votes from several arms. He died in Rio de Janeiro in 1985. Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/medici-emilio-garrastazu> Access in: 21/07/2021.

1969, reopening the National Congress, closed for almost a year after the «AI-5», in the economic field his term boosted the goal of an authoritarian national reformism, even if with some critics (CODATO, 1998). But the main issue to the militaries in power were the growing guerrilla movements, they were seen as a threat to the power that has been taken in 1964, and to end with it, the repression gained force, equipment, and endorsement by the government (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 121).

We will quickly indicate what were the main political groups that composed the armed struggle in Brazil during that period. Some of them had a clear Cuban inspiration and the «foquismo», based on the idea that once triggered the struggle, by one small focus, the masses of population would join the fight, considering the force of the daily oppression of the everyday life. That was the case of some of the «PCB» dissident groups, leaded by Carlos Marighella and Joaquim Câmara Ferreira as the «Ação Nacional Libertadora (ANL)», an important guerrilla group which had strong connections with Havana that was trying to be less dependent to the influence of Moscow. The «Movimento Nacional Revolucionário», already mentioned, was composed mainly by ex-military expelled from the Forces after the coup. In a first moment they didn't have any success, instead were arrested in the interior of the state of Minas Gerais; in the same year was born also the «Política Operária (Polop)» with a clear Marxist orientation. Although, in 1967, the ex-militaries would form the «Vanguarda Popular Revolucionária (VPR)» that in 1969 would be reinforced by Carlos Lamarca, an Army captain that has deserted from a barrack near São Paulo and took with him 63 rifles joining the «VPR». Months later, with additions that came from the «Comando de Libertação Nacional (Colina)» was created the «Vanguarda Armada Revolucionária – Palmares (VAR-Palmares)», becoming one of the most active and effective group in that period. «Ação Popular», another relevant group was connected to the «PCBR» and was more active in the Northeast of the country. Is important to mention that and the end of the 1960, these groups had two main goals: collect money for its own structuration and organize the propaganda against the regime to the majority of the population (SALES, 2020).

Trying to achieve these two objectives the initial actions were bank robbing and bombing institutions that represented the conservative movement in power. In the second half of 1969 a new strategy was added to most of the group's repertoires, the kidnaping of foreign ambassadors. With that they would be able to trade the diplomat's freedom with the freedom of members of the groups that had been arrested. In September of that year the first victim has been the US ambassador, who's freedom has been traded for fifteen prisoner's liberties (FERNANDES, 2016, p. 41). Although its development has not been linear, the guerrilla

actions and killings were also used against it, by the government propaganda, besides that, the repression was heating up, in the end of 1969, Marighella has been killed by the forces of the government, two years later would be the turn of Lamarca (MAGALHÃES, 2013, p. 416).

All the groups had the objective of achieving a new phase of the struggle in the rural areas of the country. The «PCdoB» was already working on this idea since 1967 in the Araguaia region, at the very center of the country, inspired in the Chinese model of strategic organization and «long popular war». They had some small victories against the Army in the first years, but between 1972 and 1974 the group has been destroyed by the Special Forces of the Army sent to the region. According to Napolitano (2014, p. 127), the repression perpetrated by the Armed Forces in this moment of the Brazilian history has been made in a different way that has happened so far, usually the main leaders were spared, but with the opposition guerrilla groups there has not been any mercy, all the members, were killed or severely tortured.

First of moving on, there are two aspects that are central to comprehend the meaning of the armed struggle in this moment of the Brazilian Military Regime. In first place, the effects of the quick fall of Goulart's government and the reformist project forced the left-wing to think and ask himself what had gone wrong. Hastily, two main guilts were found, Goulart himself and his excessively political concessions and the «PCB», with a political line linked with a peaceful way to the social change. In so, the synthesis made by several groups was «Se moderação, reformismo e pacifismo não tinham conseguido acalmar os reacionários, então a esquerda tomou o caminho lógico. Ir à guerra, na forma do combate armado ao regime»<sup>532</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 122). In the same breath was also central inside the groups and to the left oriented sector of the society, the debate dedicated to discussing and try to understand what essence the fight would have, in terms of utopias, and political ideals (SALES, 2020).

From the government theoretical point of view, the war against the guerrillas was putted in the concept of an «internal war», in other words, a fight against an invisible enemy inside the country's territory, in which all the citizens are suspects until their innocence is proved. Was based in this idea of the National Security Doctrine that a major repressive system was organized; we already saw one piece of the tripod; we may now move to the other two. Although, existing since 1946, the censorship, after 1968, became much more common and stronger within the Brazilian «normal» life. The Laws n°5.526 of 1968<sup>533</sup> and the Decret n°

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<sup>532</sup> «If moderation, reformism and pacifism had failed to calm the reactionaries, then the Left took the logical path. Go to war, in the form of armed combat against the regime».

<sup>533</sup> This law proposed an addition to the already existing law, inherited from the «Estado Novo», giving new tools to the repression overall of Theaters plays and movies.  
Available in: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/leis/1950-1969/l5536.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/1950-1969/l5536.htm) Access in: 19/07/2021.

1.077 of 1970 gave still more power to the regime in this sense. Finally, in 1972 was created the «Divisão de Censura do Departamento de Polícia Federal».<sup>534</sup> It is mandatory to underline that the censorship work, was pretty much connected with actions of the several Intelligence Agencies of the government. With the «AI-5», has been installed the previous censorship, proposing a much more explicit action against what was considered undesired by the regime. Until that moment, this repression movement was pretty much dedicated to the theater plays – major focus of resistance to the regime (GARCIA, 2018)

One of the main concerns of the leaderships of Médici's term was to avoid misjudgments in the censorship work, because they knew the importance that the cultural industry had in the project of modernization of the country; has been this main goal that also conduct the censorship works within the press. Was a delicate process to impose orders to part of the press that helped to give legitimacy to the coup, as was the case of the newspaper «O Estado de S. Paulo» that, between 1972-1975 has been under previous censorship, the control of the press was always an issue that divided the Armed Forces, some groups, especially those closer to Castelo Branco preferred when the self-censorship happened without major embarrassments to the government (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 130). On the other hand, the alternative or left-oriented press was censored and repressed without any constraints by the Regime. The third part of tripod was the surveillance system. That started to be organized in the first months of the regime throughout the «Serviço Nacional de Informações»<sup>535</sup>, this institution had other parts inside the State: «Divisões de Segurança e Informação (DSI)»<sup>536</sup> and «Assessoria de Segurança e Informação (ASI)»<sup>537</sup> all of them worked based on «informs» that had a classification according to the source and reliability of the information. Besides that, each Armed Force had its own information system<sup>538</sup> (FIGUEIREDO, 2015).

After the «AI-5» and the growing repression to the armed struggle a new asset was created, in order to unify and bring more efficiency to the surveillance system, the «DOI-Codi» (Destacamentos de Operações e Informações-Centro de Operações de Defesa Interna).<sup>539</sup> This new organization was inspired in the «Operação Bandeirante»<sup>540</sup> (Oban) which gave the methodological tools to a new phase of the repression. With the leadership of the police

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<sup>534</sup> «Censorship Division of the Federal Police Department».

<sup>535</sup> «National Information System».

<sup>536</sup> «Security and Information Division».

<sup>537</sup> «Security and Information Advisory».

<sup>538</sup> The «Centro de Informações da Marinha – Navy Information Centre (Cenimar)»; «Centro de Informações da Aeronáutica - Aeronautical Information Centre (Cisa)» and «Centro de Informações do Exército – Army Information Centre (CIE)».

<sup>539</sup> «Operations and Information Detachments-Centre for Internal Defence Operations».

<sup>540</sup> «Bandeirante Operation».

delegate Sergio Paranhos Fleury, the operation used the methods of the police death squads that already existed, especially in São Paulo from the beginning of the 1960s. Later on, all the «DOI», in the different States of the country used a similar methodology of capturing, interrogating, and killing members of the guerrillas or any other member of the opposition to regime. Yet the high leaders of the regime were not in total accord with these methods due to the political attrition of it, especially in the Foreign Policy, from 1971 on the disappearing of individuals became a new tool of these agencies and torture became systematic inside the repression. At this point is important to mention that there were major private contributors to the repression systems<sup>541</sup> and, the high ranks of the regime always had control of the repression, surveillance, and persecution of its opponents, even if there was a period in which the extermination of the so-called subversives became the rule of the work in this organizations (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 137).

Despite the National Security Doctrine analyzed by Comblin (1978), the torture as a method was inspired in the French uses of it in the Algerian war<sup>542</sup>, has been tough as a tool efficient not only to extract crucial information from the enemy, but also to humiliate the individual. In the Brazilian case, the torture showed itself extremely useful to the construction of fear inside the civil society and those who were willing to join the direct opposition actions to the regime, alongside the figure of the «political disappeared» was constructed a collective trauma in which the absence-presence of the persons result extremely mean as strategy<sup>543</sup>. To that, can be added as a consequence of the institutionalization and naturalization of the torture, the militarization of the public security, «Se a violência policial, que incluía a tortura, informou os métodos de combate do regime, a militarização da segurança pública socializou a lógica e a estrutura da repressão política para todo o tecido social»<sup>544</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 143).

The illegal and clandestine methods were in use until 1976, when some years after the defeat of the guerrilla groups, the whole complex of repression started to be dismantled.

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<sup>541</sup> One of the most well-known cases of private financing to the repression systems was presented in the movie «Cidadão Boyle». Available in: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yGxIA90xXeY> Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>542</sup> Martins Filho (2012, p. 532) exposes how the French torture methodology arrived and became part of the Brazilian Armed Forces repertoire during the dictatorship. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/vh/a/vBtvSpvpTPXdh95w5yqQ3ks/?format=pdf&lang=pt> Access in: 17/07/2021. Recently other examples were published in the Brazilian press. Available in: <https://apublica.org/2014/04/um-torturador-frances-na-ditadura-brasileira/> Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>543</sup> The National Truth Commission recognized in 2014 that 434 were killed or disappeared during the Brazilian Dictatorship. The final report of the «CNV» is available in: <http://cnv.memoriasreveladas.gov.br/index.php/outros-destaques/574-conheca-e-acesse-o-relatorio-final-da-cnv> Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>544</sup> «If police violence, which included torture, integrated the regime's methods of combat, the militarization of public security socialized the logic and structure of political repression into the entire social tissue».

Nevertheless, until there, were seen cases of excess, as the killing of Vladimir Herzog that led to big changes inside the Forces<sup>545</sup> (FERNANDES, 2016, p. 126). There is an important debate that is dedicated to the social problems related to the systematizing of the violence as a political and official tool inside Brazilian society, as well as the psychological consequences of it. Inside this debate, is central the considerations and actions that took place in the recent years that were dedicated to understanding the trauma and the crucial role of the State, in order to propose a historical reparation to the victims of the Dictatorship and its actions, the two main examples are the «Comissão Nacional da Verdade» and «Comissão da Anistia».<sup>546</sup> Ending this section, is a matter of great importance to emphasize how the lack of Justice that the Brazilian transition process back to democracy in the 1980s helped to keep this wound open until nowadays in the Brazilian society. In the pages to come other aspects of the authoritarian tripod that we mentioned will be handled and deepened, giving a greater coverage to the comprehension of what has been the arrival of the repression to the medium class and the mainstream press.

#### *The 1970s and the «economic miracle»*

Apart from the unleashing of a systematic and violent repression, the year of 1968 marks also the beginning of the so desired growth in the Brazilian economy. One of the reasons to the coup; solve the crisis of Goulart's term, alongside the reinforcement of the insertion of foreign capital in the country, were some of the main goals listed by the military government – but, as we seen so far, this solution came with the end of a reformist and distributive policy, giving clear preference to the international dependency. In the same breath, the statal stimulus in economy was seen as important tool to consolidate a material base in the country that showed to be extremely important inside the ideological dispute ongoing, especially with the rising of the left-oriented armed struggle. Although, is important to mention that the economic development that was seen throughout the years occurred in an unequal mode, with the benefits arriving to a limited portion of the population.

In order to deepen the comprehension of these issues, the historiography identify three main phases in the economic field of the Military Dictatorship, always highlighting that the differences didn't change the run for industrialization and insertion of the country in the global capitalistic organization, in addition to that, the high levels of employment and the relative inflation control in some way mitigate the effects of the income concentration

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<sup>545</sup> Herzog's killing became a major internal issue to the regime, making public to the society the differences between the militaries on how the vigilance and repression should work. In the following pages this specific case will be detailed.

<sup>546</sup> «National Truth Commission» and the «Amnesty Commission».

(NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 149). The first moment was seen during Castelo Branco's term, when a strict tax adjustment, high interests' rates, less expenses, and a salary control policy were putted in motion to slow the inflation.<sup>547</sup> The result was a retreat in the economic activity and a consequent prices reduction, however even with the changes made in the 1962 Law of profit remittances that allowed international companies to transfer bigger amounts outside the country – permitting the renegotiation of the external debt, added to the creation of the «Instituto Nacional de Previdência Privada (INPS)»<sup>548</sup> and a harder anti-strike Law; the national scenario was still recessionary. The «Plano de Ação Econômica do Governo(Paeg)»<sup>549</sup> created already in the second half of 1964, showed itself useful to reorganize the fiscal structure, and allowing a tax raising.<sup>550</sup> In the same year, was created the «Banco Central do Brasil»<sup>551</sup> triggering new forms of credit extension based in the creation of a new debt with the private sector; another structural reform proposed by Castelo Branco has been the creation of the «Fundo de Garantia do Tempo de Serviço (FGTS)»<sup>552</sup> in 1966 – an almost compulsory savings account system organized to raise funds to a nation habitational program, in practice was a kind of unemployment insurance paid by those who were working, at the same time helped to make easier the demission's and the obligations between employees and its workers (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 155).

With the beginning of Costa e Silva presidency, new strategies took place, trying to get the good aspects of the economic change finally reaching most of the population, so far, the majority share of it had suffered with its negative points. Delfim Netto, the new Economy Minister tried to reduce the cost of workforce, in his view the main issue that was holding high the inflation and the back the growth. The «Programa Estratégico de Desenvolvimento (PED)»<sup>553</sup> was born as an attempt to stimulate the food production and other strategic points that were key to reduce the workforce cost. From 1969 on, Netto also proposed fewer fiscal

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<sup>547</sup> At this point is interesting to indicate the work of Adriano Codato (2005) in which the author debates the different participations of civilians and military in relation to the economic decisions. Available in: [https://lemp.historia.ufrj.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/O\\_processo\\_decisorio\\_de\\_politica\\_economica.pdf](https://lemp.historia.ufrj.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/O_processo_decisorio_de_politica_economica.pdf) Access in: 18/07/2021.

<sup>548</sup> The creation of the «National Private Welfare Institute» unified different institutes that existed so far.

<sup>549</sup> «Government Economic Action Plan».

<sup>550</sup> According to Veloso (et. Al) there are some economic indicators that show how the later effects of the «Paeg» werer significant to the so-called «economic miracle» some years later. (VELOSO et. Al, 2008, p. 243). Available in: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0034-71402008000200006> Access in: 18/07/2021.

<sup>551</sup> «Brazilian Central Bank».

<sup>552</sup> «Guarantee Fund for Time of Service».

<sup>553</sup> «Strategic Development Programme».



taxes to the private sector and stimulus to the capitals market – the industrial elite was happy, on the other side the nationalists’ militaries were not.<sup>554</sup>

During the first half of the 1970s, Brazil witness the so-called «economic miracle», with high growth rates (around the 10% a year in between 1968-1973) and the inflation under control, the State was investing in major infrastructure projects, the «Conselho Monetário Nacional (CMN)»<sup>555</sup> was responsible for establishing a direct relation between the government and different sectors of the Industry and Commercial elites favoring its interests; at the same time, the adjustment of the «miracle axis» - incrementing the development of the agriculture, with commodities exportation high, the encouragement of the national market and consume of durable goods, an important share of the population was able to reach levels of consume and income that gave to Médici’s term the moment of most tranquility in all the dictatorship. Between 1971 and 1973 were launched the I and II «Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento»:<sup>556</sup> the first one dedicated to stimulating the internal consume; the second, instead, aimed the structural problem related to the energy supply.

Nevertheless, the kind of economic growth chosen by the militaries as the path to be followed had a price. The preference gave to international interests created an intentional income concentration and significant social costs<sup>557</sup>; the rural exodus was deepened once the main issues in the field hasn’t been solved so far, especially the land concentration. Cities had grown with a chronic habitational deficit, as well as significant problems in the organization and access to the educational<sup>558</sup> and health care system.<sup>559</sup>

Mesmo com a momentânea sensação de melhoria de renda e de qualidade de vida, logo os efeitos da migração desenfreada e do inchaço urbano se fizeram patentes entre as populações mais pobres. A desorganização familiar, visto que não havia escolas ou creches públicas suficientes para cuidar dos filhos dos

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<sup>554</sup> Macarini (2006, p. 463) indicates how the economy policy of Costa Silva’s term, conducted by Delfim Netto had two different periods, a first one marked by its heterodoxy in methods and, a new one, that started after the «AI-5 and proposed the return to more conservatives’ methods of controlling the inflation. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/rec/a/dQ5cdqYvK3ZDqHQqQgTXBWP/?format=pdf&lang=pt> Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>555</sup> «National Monetary Council».

<sup>556</sup> «National Development Plan».

<sup>557</sup> According to Napolitano (2014, p. 164) this intentional attitude was a way that the regime had found to maintain the salaries in a low level, reducing the cost of the workforce.

<sup>558</sup> To see more in this topic, we suggest the work of (ASSIS, 2012) which is dedicated to the changes in the basic education in Brazil during the dictatorship. And also the report of the «Truth Commission of the State of São Paulo» which indicates how the changes made in all levels of the educational systems produced problems that are still reflected in the Brazilian education.

Available in:

[https://www.pucsp.br/comissaodaverdade/downloads/movimento-estudantil/documentos/I\\_Tomo\\_Parte\\_1\\_O- legado-da-ditadura-para-a-educacao-brasileira.pdf](https://www.pucsp.br/comissaodaverdade/downloads/movimento-estudantil/documentos/I_Tomo_Parte_1_O- legado-da-ditadura-para-a-educacao-brasileira.pdf) Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>559</sup> The «Sistema Único de Saúde (SUS) – Healthcare Universal System» has been created with the new Constitution in 1988.

trabalhadores enquanto eles estavam fora de casa, explodiu, expressando-se na tragédia social dos menores abandonados que vagavam pelas ruas roubando ou pedindo esmolas. A percepção da desigualdade, menos sentida na primeira geração de migrantes, tornou-se mais dramática para seus filhos e netos, sendo uma das causas ainda pouco estudada da explosão da criminalidade. A ausência de poder público, a não ser pelo controle social violento das policiais, transformou os bairros populares em territórios de violência banal entre vizinhos, ligados diretamente a disputa por espaço ou por recursos materiais precários. O velho alcoolismo e as drogas recém-chegadas, como a cocaína, a partir dos anos 1980 completariam esse quadro<sup>560</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 168).

These problems became more latent to the general population especially after the «oil chock» in 1973 and the major Brazilian dependency to the international market, from 1974 on the trade balance entered in constant debt, and although the country had grown until the end of the decade, social crisis and inflation were once more creating problems to the militaries. Ernesto Geisel arrived in office in the beginning of 1974 in a moment when the military cupula was already aiming a loosening process to the country, and for that the economy should be in balance, one of the alternatives was the chase of new commercial partners around the world. In the Brazilian Foreign Policy this new movement inside Geisel's presidency became known as «Responsible Pragmatism» (FERNANDES, 2016, p. 24).

Closing this item, we must cite two important debates that surround the economic subject within the Military Dictatorship. At first, the participation of several civilian technicians' employees in this sector of the government and how is used by part of the historiography to reclassification the regime as a civil-military one, and not only military. Napolitano (2014) argues that even if a large participation of civilians and an academic elite in parts of the regime, is not possible to rename the regime, especially because of the fact that the main decision-making forums were still in the hands and under military control, even if some civilians had great influence. In the following chapters, our comprehension of this debate will be cleared and explained. Another common and less academic debate related to the economic

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<sup>560</sup> «Even with the momentary sensation of improved income and quality of life, the effects of unbridled migration and urban swelling soon became evident among the poorest populations. Family disorganization, since there were not enough public schools or crèches to look after the workers' children while they were away from home, exploded, expressing itself in the social tragedy of abandoned minors who wandered the streets stealing or begging. The perception of inequality, less felt in the first generation of migrants, became more dramatic for their children and grandchildren, and is one of the causes of the explosion of criminality that has been little studied so far. The absence of public power, except for violent social control by the police, transformed working-class neighborhoods into territories of banal violence between neighbors, directly linked to disputes over space or precarious material resources. The old alcoholism and the newly arrived drugs, such as cocaine, from the 1980s on would complete this picture».

development of the regime is the nostalgic idea related to it. The Brazilian 1970s, especially for those, who were not engaged an active opposition to the militaries was a period of improvements in the immediate day to day life, especially if in contrast with the 1980s and first half of the 1990s, were a series of political and economic crisis helped to forge an image of the period of the «economic miracle» as a special and no problematic problem of the country's recent history.

### *Three oppositors, three moments and three murders*

Although minorities were not the main target of the analysis, they emerge from the corpus<sup>561</sup> and in this section we propose to observe three different moments of the dictatorship repression and how they can be explained through the prisms of minorities. In this sense, the existence of a social distinction into minorities in that period can be interpreted as the materialization of the universalizing process that the coup d'état represented. In other words, the authoritarian deepening of a political, economic, and social model of social organization that has as its proposal the homogenization of individuals in order to make them equal from the need of selling their labor force. In the same breath, serve also as a form to reinforce a subalternity that, as part of the process of maintaining privileges, deepens exploitation through a process of individuals reifying. Dialectically, minorities help to consolidate the idea of a supposed diversity in subalternity being, at the same time, the materialization of oppression and new possibilities for social reorganization. In so, depending on the historical moment, certain minority groups suffer the most immediate material (political, cultural, individual) consequences. Is then crucial to understand how hegemonic extracts had defined and narrated certain groups and its insertions in the Brazilian society.

In the case of the dictatorship in Brazil, the repression aimed for certain groups in different moments. However, there is a minority element that transversally runs through all the three cases we will see: the political minority; in specific the communism or alleged communism of the three individuals that are the target of this part of our analysis. The anti-communist ideology was fundamental to the regime as a unifying factor in the legitimization process, in the defense of state monopoly capital and in repression, since the regime had created a legal apparatus that justified it as presented in the previous sections of this chapter. Beyond

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<sup>561</sup> A part of the analysis that is exposed in this section, has been presented during the final Seminar of the «Narra-Mi» project, entitled «Re-thinking minorities: national and local narratives from divides to reconstructions» inside the Session «Subalternity as a minority». The seminar was carried between 3-7 February, 2022 at the Università degli Studi di Cagliari.

this, in this discursive movement, the words «communist» and «revolution» were put into new guises, hollowing out its meanings or reorganizing them according to the regime's interests in reshaping the historical narrative.

The press coverage and photo analysis of three events related to individuals representing three minorities: the ethnic-social (the student Edson Luis), the political (the 'terrorist' and ex-deputy Carlos Marighela), the religious (the journalist Vladimir Herzog) gives to us the opportunity to understand and, at the same time represents part of the construction of the discursive meaning of the mass media. Also assists to see how these private apparatuses of hegemony used and interpreted these individual political elements in an attitude that, in a general way, tried to maintain themselves in the defense of the hegemonic order - even if at some point they had to distance themselves from the military's regime. We must, however, bear in mind that there are always anti-hegemonic gaps and alternatives in social relations (even in the organs of the mass media). These cases represent also the expression of these gaps, being sometimes presented in a more explicit way and in some others under layers of camouflage.

Edson Luis was an ordinary student who moved from Pará (one of the states that are part of Brazil's North Region) to Rio de Janeiro to attend the University. He lived with his aunt in a modest house on the outskirts of the city. On 28/03/1968 he was shot dead by the police in a clash in the center of Rio, Edson was inside the university student's canteen when it was invaded by the police. A first example of the coverage to the case was the front cover of the «FSP» of the following day;<sup>562</sup> there was only a large headline reading «Estudante morto em choque no Rio».<sup>563</sup> The event took place in Rio and not in São Paulo, a fact that created technical and editorial problems at that time, since the newspaper was not yet a national relevant daily paper even if in the period between 1945-1962 its influence and printing range were growing fast, resulting also in a nationwide journalistic interest (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 70). Five images were published on the cover on that day, none of them dedicated to the case. The second cover of the day, published in the early afternoon, was different. At the top was printed a quite different headline: «Polícia de Negrão chacina estudantes»<sup>564</sup> in a reference to Guanabara State Governor Francisco Negrão de Lima. As far as photographs are concerned, four images can be seen, of which three are dedicated to this event. In the following pages the coverage of the three murders will be deepened, at this stage we keep on presenting the cases and the individuals.

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<sup>562</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo, 29/03/1968, Nº 14.166, Ano XLIII, pages, 30».

<sup>563</sup> «Student dead in clash a Rio».

<sup>564</sup> «Negrão's police massacre students».

A second study case regards Carlos Marighela, one of the main communist figures in the country, Marighela has been a politician, ex-federal deputy of the «PCB», member of the armed struggle group «ANL», and poet. In 1936, after abandoning his studies in engineering, joined the «PCB», organized part of the left-wing resistance to Vargas' «Estado Novo» and during the military dictatorship was the founder of the «Aliança Nacional Libertadora», responsible for an armed opposition to the military regime. Marighela was arrested four times before being killed by the «Operação Bandeirantes» on 04/11/1969. In this case, once more the coverage of the «FSP» gives us the first examples, becoming more interesting only three days later, on 07/11/1969.<sup>565</sup> Until that day, no cover photo on the subject was published. A picture related to Marighela reappears in the newspaper on page number eight of that day, which dedicates half a page to his burial in the «Villa Formosa» cemetery as an indigent. The text states that «Policiais armados ficaram nos muros do cemitério impedindo fotografias próximas do local».<sup>566</sup> However, the same publication presents an image of the moment of the burial, described with the caption «Carlos Marighela foi sepultado ontem pela manhã».<sup>567</sup>

The third case that will be seen in this chapter is the killing of Vladimir Herzog, in the press coverage of «Herzog's case» we must underscore several elements. Herzog was a renowned journalist and editor in chief of «TV Cultura» the State of São Paulo statal TV. On October 24th of 1975 he was called to testify in the «DOI-Codi» headquarters, and in the following days, has been tortured and died under the custody of the Brazilian Army in São Paulo. In this context, the most famous and symbolic photograph of this case was only published on 20/12/1975<sup>568</sup>, almost two months from the day of his death on 26<sup>th</sup> October. Due to several elements, his killing repercussions gained a lot of space in the press through the weeks. The first aspect has been the regime's official version: «Herzog committed suicide» presented two days after his death, which is why this photo became so famous, as the conclusion is obvious and remains in the own photo, how could have Herzog hanged himself practically on his knees? Must be indicated that at this time of the dictatorship, the militaries were beginning to propose a gradual path to the restoration of democracy, so at least in the discourse, the repression was supposed to be downplayed.

At that time, due to his working position and in having several acquaintances and friends in other press organs as well as in the journalists' Union of São Paulo (DANTAS, 2012).

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<sup>565</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo, 07/11/1969, N° 14.754, Ano XLIX, pages, 28».

<sup>566</sup> «Armed police officers in the cemetery walls prevented close photographs».

<sup>567</sup> «Carlos Marighela was buried yesterday morning».

<sup>568</sup> «Jornal do Brasil. 20/12/1975. Year: LXXXV, n. 256».

Moreover, Herzog was part of the Jewish community of São Paulo, his death triggered an immediate reaction from his loved ones and the civil society, in a few days several events were organized in his memory; both on the side of the Jewish community, but also a large ecumenical ceremony in the «Catedral da Sé» in the center of São Paulo. And had been at this ceremony that the press focused its coverage and even photographs devoted to the subject. Once more the first examples come specially the «FSP» that of the eight photographs in the inside pages of the newspaper on 01/11/1975, three were dedicated to the interior of the cathedral in São Paulo. We draw attention to the fact that in previous days, on October 27<sup>th</sup>, a passport photo of Herzog was published on an inside page with a headline announcing the suicide version, and on the following day an alleged note written by him has also been published.<sup>569</sup>

However, there is a very interesting element in the edition of 01/11/1975; on the cover of the newspaper, a photograph was published picturing the heavy traffic on the avenues in the city center of São Paulo, the auxiliary title indicated: «Giant traffic jam» and the subtitle:

Uma operação de trânsito realizada ontem à tarde nas principais avenidas de São Paulo que passam pelo centro causou um enorme engarrafamento de trânsito que perturbou a vida na cidade. A operação começou pouco antes das 16h. Foi relatado que um dos objetivos da operação era evitar incidentes na Praça da Sé. (FOLHA DE S.PAULO, 28/10/1975, Ano LV, n.º17.030).<sup>570</sup>

The fact that several police blocks were set up in that area of the city, in theory to control traffic, but ultimately also controlled the movement of people in the central area of the city where the ecumenical ceremony was to take place.<sup>571</sup> The newspaper, perhaps trying to escape the Press Laws and censorship, did not publish a photo of the event on its cover, but rather of the traffic related to it. This whole discursive movement can only be seen and perceived if in the dialogue in between the photos and texts it is done. In addition to this, is important to underline the fact that in 1967 had been re-launched the «Folha da Tarde» as a different communication product inside the Folha Group. According to Taschner (1992, p. 187), the new daily had varied from a leftwing position in its first years to an extreme right-wing discursive proposition after 1969, becoming a speaker of the Police community and other repression institutions. In brief, the owners of Folha's conglomerate had made a consciousness choice of having and financing at the same time two different papers with different editorial and opinion

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<sup>569</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo 27/10/1975, Ano LV, n.17.030 and 28/10/1975 Ano LV, n.17.031».

<sup>570</sup> «A traffic operation carried out yesterday afternoon on the main avenues in São Paulo that run through the center caused a huge traffic jam that disrupted life in the city. The operation started just before 4pm. It was reported that one of the objectives of the operation was to avoid incidents in the Praça da Sé».

<sup>571</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo 01/11/1975, Ano LV, n.17.035».

guidelines; this strategy gave to the group a bigger margin to avoid major problems of political compromising of censorship during the dictatorship.

Connected to Herzog's case there are three other documents that help us understand the context and the movement between repression institutions. The «Livro de Registros»<sup>572</sup> of the «DEOPS»<sup>573</sup> indicates the entrance and the presence of the police commissioner Sergio Paranhos Fleury in the repression institution at the city center of São Paulo on the following days: 24/10/1975 and 27/10/1975. It also registered the presence of a medic, known as «Dr. Damasco», on 27/10/1975. These are the exact same days in which Herzog was in custody of the Brazilian Army; according to the officials' sources and documents that register his case, he was arrested inside the «DOI-Codi» installations nearby the 2nd Army Headquarters of São Paulo.<sup>574</sup> The police commissioner Fleury was the head of the «Operação Bandeirantes», responsible for the hunting of all the armed struggle groups that existed in the country at that time (especially in the state of São Paulo). The «Oban» had worked alongside other «DOI-Codi» operations sharing information and tactical organization. Both institutions have their origins in the early days of the regime and the so-called «Death Squadron» groups, which murdered people in vulnerable situations, political dissidents, or any other kind of opponents to the regime. Fleury has been one of the first leaders of these paramilitary groups that were later legitimized and absorbed by the dictatorship under the «Oban» and «DOI-Codi» institutionalization. The actions of these paramilitary groups in the first decade of the dictatorship were denounced by Salvatore Senese in a report delivered by a group of Bolognese lawyers to the «Bertrand Russell II Tribunal» in Rome in 1974 – that is to say, some months before Herzog's case an international tribunal had the acquaintance of Fleury's participation in tortures and murders, and the «DEOPS» documentation indicates that during 1975 he was still

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<sup>572</sup> The «Book of registers» was a document produced by the Public Security Secretary of São Paulo registering all the entrances and exits of «DEOPS» headquarters at Largo General Osório in the center of São Paulo. Besides the already mentioned presences, are indicated that members of the Industry Federation of São Paulo (FIESP) and other politicians used to attend the place.

<sup>573</sup> «Departamento de Ordem Política e Social - Political and Social Order Department. This document is stored in the archives of «Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo». Available in: [http://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/web/digitalizado/textual/portaria\\_deops](http://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/web/digitalizado/textual/portaria_deops) Access in: 20/05/2022.

<sup>574</sup> It is important to underscore the fact that if the «DEOPS» installations in São Paulo's city center are nowadays the «Memorial da Resistência», a museum dedicated to the history and memory of those who were persecuted, tortured, or killed by the Military Dictatorship: on the other hand, the «DOI-Codi» headquarters - the place in which Herzog and other political prisoners were tortured and killed, was transformed into a regular police station still operating at Rua Tomás Carvalhal, 1030, Vila Mariana. In addition to this, most of the «DOI-Codi» documents related to Herzog's case are still under confidential protection.

acting as a police commissioner and his presence was registered in one of the prison and tortures centers of the military regime at that time<sup>575</sup>.

In addition to these two documents, in the first days of February 1976, the «SNI» had produced a confidential report, dedicated to internal use of the Armed Forces and «DOI-Codi» with the subject: «O Judeu e o Comunismo».<sup>576</sup> This report with twelve pages brings in its first two pages a small text dedicated to solving what has been signed as a miscommunication problem inside the Brazilian Armed Forces that had difficulty to believe on the existence of communists Jews in the country, especially after the reactions to Herzog's death, as is possible to see in the first paragraphs

Reiteradas vezes, oficiais do DOI/ II Ex. são interpelados por companheiros de farda, sobre a presença de judeus em organizações comunistas. Argumentam que o judeu, mundialmente conhecido como elemento voltado exclusivamente para as finanças, em busca do lucro ávido e incessante, seria a última pessoa a, esposar a 'ideologia marxista - propunhadora da socialização dos bens de capitais e contrária ao lucro (Teoria da mais-valia).

Assim ocorreu quando do recente suicídio do jornalista judeu - WLADIMIR HERZOG, em que foi colocada em dúvida a afirmação dos órgãos de informações a sua condição de militante atuante do Partido Comunista Brasileiro.<sup>577</sup>

In the following eight pages of the document are listed 52 names of presumed Jewish communists, and Herzog's name is still present with the information that he has committed suicide in prison, reinforcing the official version of his death circumstances that was publicized by the Armed Forces. Is important to mention as well that this document is a good example of how the communist influence and presence was seen and narrated inside the Armed Forces, in this case with significative traces of antisemitism in the document text.

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<sup>575</sup> The document entitled: «La Dittatura Militare in Brasile - Gli aspetti istituzionali della dittatura / Relazione presentata da Salvatore Senese alla prima sessione del Tribunale Russell II tenutasi a Roma dal 30 marzo al 5 aprile 1974» it is available at the «Biblioteca Almicar» Cabral in Bologna on its page n. 173 is mentioned the current situation and actions of the police commissioner Sergio Fleury».

<sup>576</sup> «The Jew and Communism». The document was recently published by the «Documentos Revelados» website, a journalistic production dedicated to publicize and diffuse information about what has been the military regime in Brazil. Available in: <https://documentosrevelados.com.br/judeus-brasileiros-acusados-de-comunismo-e-perseguidos-pela-ditadura/> Access in: 15/06/2022.

<sup>577</sup> «On several occasions, DOI/II Ex. officers are questioned by fellow officers about the presence of Jews in communist organizations. They argue that the Jew, known worldwide as an element exclusively focused on finance, in search of avid and incessant profit, would be the last person to espouse the "Marxist ideology - proponent of the socialization of capital goods and contrary to profit (Theory of surplus value). Such was the case with the recent suicide of the Jewish journalist - WLADIMIR HERZOG, in which the affirmation of the information agencies regarding his condition as an active militant of the Brazilian Communist Party was placed in doubt».



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A first look to the press coverage, into the newspaper pages and photographs published, indicate that the way in which certain minority elements were framed in the newspapers varied according to the historical moment of the regime - with a bigger or smaller presence of the repression elements and censorship depending on the individual relations and the way these intersected with the interests of the newspapers and its leaders with the regime. On one side, Marighela as former communist congressman and guerrilla, killed by the state during the «years of lead», had a press coverage to his death dedicated to the silence, demonstrating a preference to report the minimum about the murdered partisan. Or when reporting in it, building a narrative of his death with so much explicitly and graphic (as shown in the pictures) that would carry a direct message to other oppositors. On the other side, Vladimir Herzog, murdered by the State at the beginning of the democratic reopening process, had a coverage from the newspapers that gained more and more strength along the weeks and months connected to the new political moment of reopening, also to its religious relations; and yet to a corporativism of its colleagues. Finally, Edson Luis, an unknown student from the lower middle classes, who was shot dead by the police at the moment in which the coup d'état became a dictatorship regime, was pictured in the media coverage in a way dedicated to exposing the abuses of the military but also as a presentation to what could be the faith of the opponents of the regime. All three cases are helpful to understand that the moments captured by photographs gain relevance when we put them in historical perspective, in relation to the history around them. In the following pages each one of these press coverages will be detailed.

**TABLE 06**

<b>Case / Data</b>	The student Edson Luís	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>Period analysed</b>	29/03/1968 – 03/04/1968	
<i>JORNAL DO BRASIL</i> <sup>578</sup>		5 issues
Nº of front pages	5	
Nº of headlines	5	
Nº front page photos	2 (29/03) 4(30/03) 2 (31/03-01/04) 3 (02/04) 4 (03/04)	15
Main headlines	«Assassinato leva estudantes à greve nacional» (29/03); «Estudantes organizam manifestações de rua que Governo manda reprimir em todo o País» (30/03);	

<sup>578</sup> «Jornal do Brasil, from 29/03/1968 to 03/04/1968, N° 304,05, 06,07,08 Ano LXVIII, pages 38».

	«Negrão não permitirá nova passeata» (31/03-01/04); «Estudantes fazem caos e anunciam nova passeata» (02/04); «Governo prepara medida enérgica contra agitação» (03/04).	
Nº of internal pages	1 (29/03) 3 (30/03) 5 (31/03-01/04) 7 (02/04) 6 (03/04)	22
Nº of internal photos	3 (29/03) 7 (30/03) 5 (31/03-01/04) 12 (02/04) 4 (03/04)	31
Main internal tittles	«Polícia mata estudante em choque no Calabouço» (29/03); «Cortejo canta hino nacional após queimar bandeiras norte-americanas» (30/03); «Tropas tomam a cidade à noite»; «Repressão com vigor» (02/04); «Fuzileiros ocupam agora o Centro da cidade»; «Dois estudantes são baleados dentro da catedral de Goiânia» (03/04).	
<i>FOLHA DE S. PAULO</i> <sup>579</sup>		6 issues
Nº of front pages	6	
Nº of headlines	6	
Nº front page photos	2 (29/03) 2 (30/03) 1 (31/03) 1 warning (01/04) 2 (02/04) 2 (03/04)	10
Main headlines	«Polícia de Negrão chacina estudantes»; «Estudante morto em choque no Rio» (29/03); «Violento conflito entre polícia e estudantes em Brasília; Edson sepultado» (30/03); «Uma grande multidão no sepultamento» (30/03 - Ed. Tarde); «Há calma no país, mas protestos prosseguem» (31/03); «O EXÉRCITO VAI MANTER A ORDEM A TODO CUSTO» (01/04); «S.Paulo tranquilo, conflitos no Rio» (02/04); «Governo poderá adotar medidas mais rigorosas» (03/04).	
Nº of internal pages	2 (29/03) 2 (30/03) 3 (31/03) 3 (02/04) 2 (03/04)	12
Nº of internal photos	3 (29/03) 4 (30/03) 5 (31/03) 7 (02/04) 1 (03/04)	20
Main internal tittles	«Polícia da Guanabara mata estudantes » (29/03) [P.03 / Ed. Tarde]; «Brasília: soldado espancado e estudante baleado » (30/03); «Centenas de presos depois dos conflitos em Brasília »; «Aspirante acusado nega disparo que matou estudante »(31/03) [P.17 e 19]; «Costa: Governo manterá paz sem violência » (01/04); «Governo não decretou cogitou decretar sítio»; «Negrão obrigado a pedir ajuda ao Exército» (02/04); «Sodré adverte que governo não vai mais admitir tentativa de agitação»; «Admite-se a decretação de sítio como remédio constitucional para a agitação» (03/04).	

<sup>579</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo, from 29/03/1968 to 03/04/1968, N° 14.166, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71 Ano XLVIII. Pages. 24».

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Killing leads students to national strike» (29/03); «Students organize street demonstrations that the Government orders to repress all over the Country» (30/03); «Negrão will not allow another march» (31/03-01/04); «Students make chaos and announce new march» (02/04); «Government prepares strong measure against agitation» (03/04).
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Police kill student in clash in Calabouço» (29/03); «March sings national anthem after burning American flags» (30/03); «Troops take the city at night»; «Repression with vigour» (02/04); «Marines now occupy city centre»; «Two students are shot inside Goiânia cathedral» (03/04).

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo»	«Government drops new act» (14/12); «Metro works have begun» (15/12); «The countdown of the race to the moon has begun» (16/12); «The country's development will be accelerated» (17/12); «Delfim: Economic policy will be maintained» (18/12).
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo»	«Negrão's police slaughter students»; «Student killed in clash in Rio» (29/03); «Violent conflict between police and students in Brasília; Edson buried» (30/03); «A large crowd at the burial» (30/03 - Late edition); «There is calm in the country, but protests continue» (31/03); «THE ARMY WILL MAINTAIN ORDER AT ALL COSTS» (01/04); «Government may adopt more rigorous measures» (03/04).

In a first overall observation of the main discursive elements present in the coverage done by the two newspapers, was possible to identify that during the six days chosen (from March 29th, 1968, until April 3rd of the same year), only in one first page, the «JB», the one from the first day of April, the killing of Edson Luís was not present on the cover. In addition to this, has been printed a significative and equilibrated number of images in the first pages of both journals; if on one side «JB» published a total of fourteen images in five issues, the «FSP» on its turn edited six daily editions that accumulated ten images related to the case.

In respect to the main headlines of those first pages, some differences in between the papers emerges, the Rio's publication had chosen a narration line more dedicated to the emphasis of the student's protests triggered by the Edson's death, focusing in the words: «greve», «manifestações», «protestos»<sup>580</sup>, only on April's 3rd that «JB» come closer to the line chosen by «FSP» when both were announcing that the regime was preparing strong measures against the political agitation. The newspaper from São Paulo, on its turn, made a choice that gave more importance to the idea of a conflict that has been generated from the

<sup>580</sup> «strike», «demonstrations», «protests».

student's death for this reason the words conflict, violence, police and clashes are used. A strong demonstration of the emphasis in the repression was the headline published on April's 1st<sup>581</sup>, stating in capslock: «O EXÉRCITO VAI MANTER A ORDEM A TODO CUSTO».<sup>582</sup>

Another element of this first overall into the coverages to this important event of 1968 is the size of the repercussion inside the newspapers. Taking in consideration that, in the first half of the year, even if the repression was growing day after day, there was still not in place a strong Press Law and Censorship that later that year had imposed severe limitations to the press work, even the major communication conglomerates such as the two papers we are reading. Being that said, in those six days, the «JB» published a total of twenty two pages into Edson Luis stories printing thirty one pictures related to the topic and its consequences, in the same breath and considering that the «FSP» was still in a phase of self-consolidation as a nation-wide paper, were edited twelve pages and printed thirty images connected to the student's murdering. In the following pages will be refined the interactions in between the textual element of some pages and the meaning construction inside the sense of the narrative in the specific newspaper's coverage.

*29/03/1968 - Folha de S. Paulo*

On the first morning cover of the «FSP»'s edition in the day after the clashes in square, only a large headline stating «Estudante morto em choque no Rio»<sup>583</sup> was published without any photo. In the second cover of the day sold in the afternoon, as was already mentioned, the newspaper presented a different headline «Negrão's police massacre students», accompanied by four other subtitles published in the middle right section of the page, offering the editorial framing of the events from the newspaper's gaze. They stated from top to bottom: «Costa exige rigor para os culpados»<sup>584</sup>, in a reference to General Costa e Silva who occupied the post of president of the republic at the time. «DOPS atira bombas»<sup>585</sup>, «Velório na Assembleia»<sup>586</sup>, a vigil for the dead companion was organized by the students in the building of the State Assembly of Deputies. «Tiro à queima-roupa»<sup>587</sup>, this last subtitle declares that the shot was taken at point-blank range and is complimented by the small text underneath in which two facts

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<sup>581</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo, 01/04/1964, Nº 13.708, Ano XLIV. Pages. 24».

<sup>582</sup> «THE ARMY WILL KEEP THE ORDER AT ALL COSTS».

<sup>583</sup> «Student killed in clash in Rio».

<sup>584</sup> «Costa demands rigor for the guilty».

<sup>585</sup> «DOPS dropping bombs».

<sup>586</sup> «Funeral at the Assembly».

<sup>587</sup> «Point-blank shooting».

CORR 14  
S. PAULO

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO Edição da Tarde

ANO XLVIII UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DO BRASIL SÃO PAULO, 6.ª-FEIRA, 29 DE MARÇO DE 1968 N.º 14.166  
Adm. e of.: Al. Barão de Limeira, 425 Diretor Presidente: Octávio Frias de Oliveira M/R\$ 0,30

## POLICIA DE NEGRÃO CHACINA ESTUDANTES



O estudante Nelson Luis Souto, de 16 anos, morto no choque com a Polícia carioca

### COSTA EXIGE RIGOR PARA OS CULPADOS DOPS ATIRA BOMBAS VELORIO NA ASSEMBLÉIA TIRO À QUEIMA-ROUPA

RIO, 29 — URGENTE — O tenente Alcindo Costa, apontado como o matador do estudante Nilton Luis foi preso.  
O resultado da autópsia realizada no cadáver do estudante revelou que o tiro foi desfechado à queima-roupa. A bala levou para o coração pedaços da camisa de Nilton.

Pags. 3 e 6



Silenciosos da FMI invadiram o restaurante do Colobuco e passaram a distribuir pancadas, ferindo estudantes e rasgando suas roupas



Fotografos não escaparam das violências

### MOTIM NEGRO DE VOLTA: VIOLENCIAS EM MEMPHIS

Pag. 2

### CONTATO DE PAZ ENTRE EUA-HANÓI

Pag. 2

### CRUZADAS: NA PAG. 6 — F. ILUSTRADA

### TURFE: QUADROS E AMPLO NOTICIÁRIO

Pags. 8 e 9

### SÃO PAULO MUDA CORINTIANS NÃO

### PAULISTAS VS. RUSSOS À NOITE

### NATAÇÃO HOJE NO CORINTIANS

### PALMEIRAS NO CHILE: TAÇA

Seção de Esportes

### ASSALTADOS HÔJE DOIS MOTORISTAS

### INUNDAÇÃO DEIXA MIL SEM ABRIGO

### CASOU NA TV E FICOU SEM ROUPA

### SOLDADOS CAUSAM TUMULTO NO BAR

Pag. 12



### CASA-SE IEDA VARGAS, EX-MISS U

PORTO ALEGRE, 29 (FOLHA) — Vestida de gaze estampada em tons de azul, Ieda Maria Vargas tornou-se ontem à noite (21h25) a sra. José Carlos Arnonazio. O ato, realizado na residência da noiva, teve caráter restrito, estando presentes, além dos padrinhos, representantes da imprensa local, nacional e internacional, amigos e parentes mais íntimos. A cerimônia religiosa será realizada hoje, às 18 horas, na igreja São José, nesta capital.

EDSON LUIS  
FSP - 29/03/1968  
Photo 29

are informed: the arrest of Lieutenant Alcindo Costa allegedly responsible for the killing of the student and the autopsy's results in which pieces of Edson's shirt were found inside his heart.

Regarding the photographs, there are four pictures in the evening cover, three of which are dedicated to this event. The image (*photo 29*) occupying approximately half of the top of the cover was accompanied by the caption «O estudante Nelson Luis Souto, de 16 anos, morto no choque com a Polícia carioca».<sup>588</sup> In this first page is identifiable an error in the publication since the student's name was Edson and not Nelson as in the caption. Taken at a medium distance, in an american plan; besides the dead student lying on a table, six people can be identified, all young men with serious faces. The framing offers the reader an important play of light and dark from the left to the right of the photograph. Is possible that the photo was taken using a telephoto lens due to the small flattening of the planes that can be seen.

Very pronounced are the gazes and glances on this photo. Observing the details, is possible to identify only see the eyes of a young man probably kneeling looking to the camera, these are at the same height as Edson Luis's closed eyes. A little further up, in the right-hand corner of the photo, another men's gaze also goes towards the camera. Must be emphasized that the black-and-white photograph helps us to perceive the difference in tone and color between the clothes and skin color of the subjects taken. In the center of the picture are two young men looking up at something, probably listening to someone talking. The one in the center is sitting on the table where lies Edson Luis's body. The other is standing leaning on the table. Both are wearing open white shirts, most likely the result of the tension and agitation of the day's confrontation with the police. Finally, in a sort of background, there are two other men who have their eyes lost 'in the horizon'. It may be that this was just a photographic coincidence, however is worth emphasizing the dramatic force that these gazes can bring to the image, adding an extra layer of what the emotions and interpretations of that event were by those who experienced it from the inside.

The inside pages of this edition contain an in-depth coverage of the previous day's events. The entire page n° three of the «Cotidiano» section is dedicated to the account of the events. In addition to the page title «Polícia da Guanabara mata estudantes»<sup>589</sup>, there are another ten subtitles dedicated to the account of the events, the aftermath, reactions and justifications on the side of the police. We must point out a few elements: a small note at the foot of the page linked to the subtitle «Fotógrafos feridos»<sup>590</sup> was published on which there is

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<sup>588</sup> «Student Nelson Luis Souto, 16, killed in clash with Rio police».

<sup>589</sup> «Guanabara police kill students».

<sup>590</sup> «Photographers injured».

information and the name of the three photographers who, according to the newspaper, were injured by the police. They are José Vidal (*Diário de Notícias*) having been shot in the foot; Francisco Dias Pinto (*O Cruzeiro*) with part of his body burnt as consequence of the police bombs; Osmar Gallo (*Correio da Manhã*) who was beaten by the police and rescued by colleagues. Attention must be paid to the fact that the three photographers worked on press organs that made a more open opposition to the military regime than the «FSP». However, the note is another sign that the mainstream press was beginning to have concerns in becoming a target of the regime.

Even if two photographs were also published on the page, our focus will be in the first photo (*photo 30*) printed in the middle third of the page in a vertical position. Immediately below the headline, showing an american close-up shot of the incident, the focus is obviously on the wounded student, is visible the contrast, especially noticeable in the clothing of those in the photo. In the picture, besides an injured student lying on what appears to be a canteen bench, six people (only one woman/girl) are identifiable around the injured colleague. Once again in this case the gazes play a central role. If in the first one cannot be seen the face of the injured person, however on the faces of the others there are elements of tension and concern. Four of the other students look with concern at the one who is lying down, another one (in the foreground at the same time holding the hand of the injured one) looks towards another direction that was not captured by the photograph, can be deduced that is the entrance door of the canteen since the caption does not offer any information on where the photo was taken «Estudante ferido, é socorrido por seus companheiros».<sup>591</sup> The sixth young man, placed in the middle of the group, looks towards the camera. The recurrence of this attitude makes us think that this element as a demonstration of tension, a sort of constant distrust that the photographers of no way could register also because they were a fundamental part in the creation of this tension.

Still in the same edition, half of page fourteen was dedicated to the events following the killing of the student. Out of the five sub-headings, two were dedicated to the organization of the student strike in the coming days, two others to the political speeches of the rulers and one to the injured in hospital. Only one photograph was published on this page with the following caption: «Os estudantes velam na AL da Guanabara, o corpo do colega morto».<sup>592</sup> This photograph have a very poor quality making very difficult to accurately identify those

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<sup>591</sup> «Injured student rescued by fellow students».

<sup>592</sup> «Students mourn the body of the dead colleague at at the Guanabara's AL».

EDSON LUIS  
FSP - 29/03/1968  
Photo 30

# Polícia da Guanabara mata estudantes



Estudante ferido, é socorrido por seus companheiros



Depois de batido, Nelson Luis foi carregado pelos seus companheiros

RIO, 29 (FOLHA) — Dois mortos e vários feridos é o saldo, até agora, dos graves acontecimentos ocorridos na noite de ontem, envolvendo estudantes e policiais, que entraram em choque no momento em que se iniciava uma concentração do protesto contra o descaso do governo da Guanabara em relação ao término das obras do novo restaurante dos estudantes, no Calabouço. Enquanto os estudantes reclamam que a Polícia investiu contra os alunos, agredindo-os a cassetetes e atirando a gás dos manifestantes, as autoridades policiais apressaram-se em dar explicações aos deputados reunidos extraordinariamente na Assembleia Legislativa para analisar os graves acontecimentos e verificar a sua extensão.

O advogado Sobral Pinto, que há dias se empenha contra o acamado, e é o defensor dos estudantes no caso da construção de um novo restaurante universitário, foi avisado dos graves incidentes e, imediatamente, na própria cama tomou providências para assistir juridicamente, os estudantes.

## ESTUDANTE CONTA QUE CAPITÃO MANDOU O CHOQUE ABRIR FOGO

Contestando declarações do representante do secretário de Segurança, contra versão está sendo enviada pelos estudantes segundo a Polícia chegou ao local da concentração e iniciou o choque sobre os manifestantes, com o uso dos cassetetes e gás lacrimogêneo, o estudante Nelson Luis, de 21 anos, e de profissão estudante de Direito, em uma das salas do edifício do IUPERJ, que fica em frente ao local das comemorações do feriado e renovado há semanas para a Santa Cruz de Maracá, enquanto um grupo que se achava no interior do edifício do IUPERJ, sob o nome de "Luzes", se deslocou para o Hospital Souza Aguiar, de onde depois foi levado para a residência.

Morou o estudante Nelson Luis, com companheiros arrastados o corpo, e com ele sobre os ombros, rumaram em direção para a Praça Friburgo e entraram na Assembleia Legislativa onde reuniram os deputados e começaram a narrar os acontecimentos.

Imediatamente, o Legislativo estadual foi chamado por ordem da Polícia Militar, que impediu a entrada e saída. A ordem da Polícia revolveu os deputados.

Com a chegada do general Niemeyer, que entrou na noite da Legislatura, houve nervosismo e desconforto entre a reunião dos deputados e o representante dos estudantes. O general Niemeyer, que a Polícia Militar não invadiu a Assembleia e que o choque ocorreu no edifício do IUPERJ, com a finalidade de impedir a formação de grupos para evitar a ocorrência de novas vítimas.

Morte e feridos

O estudante, acusado o capitão-comandante do choque da Polícia de ter sido o autor do disparo de munição de arma de fogo, disse que matou o estudante Nelson Luis. O disparo ocorreu no momento em que os estudantes estavam em frente ao edifício do IUPERJ, e o estudante Nelson Luis, que estava em frente ao edifício do IUPERJ, foi atingido por um tiro de arma de fogo e morreu.

Quando a presença dos estudantes passou pela imprensa da Guanabara, foram chamados para o Hospital Souza Aguiar, de onde depois foi levado para a residência.

Os fatos ocorridos no edifício do IUPERJ, com a finalidade de impedir a formação de grupos para evitar a ocorrência de novas vítimas.

Morte

O estudante Nelson Luis, que foi morto, estava em frente ao edifício do IUPERJ, e o estudante Nelson Luis, que estava em frente ao edifício do IUPERJ, foi atingido por um tiro de arma de fogo e morreu.

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## TEATROS DA GUANABARA PARAM: SOLIDARIEDADE AOS ESTUDANTES

Manifestando um grupo de artistas de Teatro, Deryer Gonçalves, que vive na Assembleia Legislativa para hipotecar aos estudantes, manifestando solidariedade aos alunos, e considerando que não há de ser a única maneira de construção dos estudantes, os estudantes, em uma das salas do edifício do IUPERJ, que fica em frente ao local das comemorações do feriado e renovado há semanas para a Santa Cruz de Maracá, enquanto um grupo que se achava no interior do edifício do IUPERJ, sob o nome de "Luzes", se deslocou para o Hospital Souza Aguiar, de onde depois foi levado para a residência.

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## EM BRASÍLIA, GREVE GERAL

BRASÍLIA, 29 (FOLHA) — A Federação dos Universitários de Brasília decretou hoje greve geral em sinal de protesto aos alunos de Direito, em uma das salas do edifício do IUPERJ, que fica em frente ao local das comemorações do feriado e renovado há semanas para a Santa Cruz de Maracá, enquanto um grupo que se achava no interior do edifício do IUPERJ, sob o nome de "Luzes", se deslocou para o Hospital Souza Aguiar, de onde depois foi levado para a residência.

PARA GENERAL, POLÍCIA ESTAVA 'EM INFERIORIDADE DE FOGO'

Durante a sua presença na Assembleia Legislativa, o general Cavaleiro Niemeyer, detida das forças de segurança da Polícia Executiva, afirmou:

A Polícia agiu assim porque estava em inferioridade em termos de fogo.

A isto indagou o deputado Marcos Alves:

Resposta do general:

«É tudo aquilo que nos agride, era pedra. Foram muitos tiros de fogo».

Indeclinável o deputado:

«Foram muitos tiros?».

Respondeu o general:

«Não foram muitos, mas muitos tiros em seguida».

O deputado Alberto Faria disse, assim, a explicação do general Niemeyer:

«Produto de análise estranha ou um deslize repentino».

O deputado Alberto Faria foi o primeiro a denunciar a Assembleia os acontecimentos que ocorreram na Guanabara. Afastado de Brasília, quando se achava no plano de secretário de Finanças, e depois de comunicar o que aconteceu no Calabouço, afirmou:

«A morte do estudante é um fato isolado de um processo que foi iniciado no país, em abril de 1964, com o alívio financeiro do imperialismo, estabelecendo um regime político que se baseia na aspiração de liberdade do povo brasileiro».

O mesmo parlamentar, ao último tempo da noite, anunciou a imprensa do Legislativo que o general Cavaleiro Niemeyer, superintendente da Polícia Executiva da Guanabara, havia renunciado no cargo, sendo assumido no lugar por toda a reputação da Secretaria de Segurança.

## AUTOPSIA DE NILTON LUIS FOI FEITA NA PRÓPRIA ASSEMBLEIA

Em vista das condições dos estudantes, que não permitiam que o corpo do estudante Nilton Luis fosse levado para o Instituto Médico Legal para autópsia, e em face da situação política do momento, que se moviam favoráveis ao estudante, a autópsia foi realizada no edifício do IUPERJ, em uma das salas do edifício do IUPERJ, que fica em frente ao local das comemorações do feriado e renovado há semanas para a Santa Cruz de Maracá, enquanto um grupo que se achava no interior do edifício do IUPERJ, sob o nome de "Luzes", se deslocou para o Hospital Souza Aguiar, de onde depois foi levado para a residência.

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Pela primeira vez na sua história, a Assembleia Legislativa da Guanabara tomou uma decisão por unanimidade: todos os deputados votaram em favor da resolução que se referia aos acontecimentos ocorridos no Calabouço, exigindo o chamamento de "Parlamentar Político". O secretário de Segurança Pública foi alvo das maiores violências físicas.

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present in the scene, however is possible to see that in the center is a crucifix, some candles and around what is probably the body of Edson Luis, ten other students. Perhaps more important than what the photograph says is its mere presence on another page of the newspaper, indicating the importance that publishing gave to this subject at that time.

29/03/1968 – *Jornal do Brasil*

The cover of the «JB» on the day after the killing of Edson Luis came out in the morning with two photographs published and a headline in the center of the page that stated: «Assassinato leva estudantes à greve nacional».<sup>593</sup> Comparing with the cover of the «FSP» there are two fundamental differences both in respect to the first cover of the «paulista» newspaper, and also to the second one published in the afternoon. In first place, the «JB» published photographs of the event from the beginning, then the title and caption were more dedicated to the consequence of Edson Luis' death from the point of view of student mobilizations, rather than from the creation and reinforcement of criticism of Negrão's government, as was the case in the «FSP's» afternoon cover. The two photographs on the first page have a decidedly marked discursive force.

A first image (*photo 31*) is a horizontal photograph placed in the upper ¼ of the page immediately after the subtitle: «A potência de fogo»<sup>594</sup> and followed by the caption: «O cadáver de Édson Luis estava coberto com a Bandeira Nacional, outra do Calabouço e cartazes escritos em folhas de caderno, deixando nu o peito varado a bala».<sup>595</sup> The image shot through a tele objective lens frame completely the student's body lying on a table in a different plane (between medium and american). Near Edson Luis's feet were two candles, above his legs a flag of the student's canteen organization, a Brazilian flag, some notebook leaves and his torso and face are exposed, allowing his eyes to be seen closed. Behind him, in a second plane flattened because of the tele objective lens, is possible to spot five other people, however, only of the one who was well in the middle can one see his face, and his head downwards.

Fundamental in this photograph is the relationship between light and shadow. On the one hand, the left side of the photograph (the student's feet) is more in shadow, and to the angle that the gaze moves to the right, the image undergoes a brightening, highlighting Edson's face. Is possible to identify the color of the student's skin and that of some of his companions. If we

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<sup>593</sup> «Murder leads students to national strike».

<sup>594</sup> «Firepower».

<sup>595</sup> «The corpse of Edson Luis was covered with the National Flag, another of the Calabouço canteen and posters written on notebook paper, leaving his bullet-stained chest bare».

EDSON LUIS  
 JB - 29/03/1968  
 Photo 31 e 32

YUPO: 100 mil em  
 março...  
 PISA: 100 mil em  
 março...  
 BRASIL: 100 mil em  
 março...

**A POTENCIA DE FOGO**



© Prof. Edson Luis conversa com o Conselho Nacional, entre de Colômbia e outras reuniões nos filhos de colômbia, durante as e para escola e aula.

**Assassinato leva estudantes à greve nacional**

A morte de estudante Edson Luis de Lima Souza, de 22 anos — baleado ao pulso, ao lado do pai, durante um episódio da FIA em circunstâncias no Departamento de Colômbia — provocou greve geral de várias Faculdades no Rio e o movimento deverá estender-se pelo País. O corpo do vítima, que está sendo velado na Assembleia Legislativa, sairá da 14 horas de hoje para o Cemitério São João Batista.

O movimento agita-se a medida que a Câmara dos Deputados, sob a liderança de Lacerda, pediu que o Congresso suspensas suas atividades, em 29 de março, devido ao assassinato de Edson Luis Souza, em 28 de março, em um episódio da FIA.

O Conselho Regional de Lima, com membros de mais de duas horas em e Secretário de Segurança, General Dário Cordeiro, e outras autoridades, no Palácio Guanabara,

Lima da Superintendência de Polícia Especial, para que os acontecimentos sejam tratados com toda a seriedade. Finais tardias de noite a instabilidade inflada de inquietude política a ser retomada por um movimento de estudantes.

Tudo se exacerbou devido ao ataque de Lima ao governador João de Deus da Silva, por desrespeito ao Sr. Negão de Lima. Alguns membros do Conselho e da Junta Militar, que estavam participando quando os ministros e outros do FIA e os estudantes, suspenderam as atividades em sinal de solidariedade — e o país, ao ser informado do crime, agitou-se de dor.

O Sr. Chefe Laurenti não se afastou do trabalho, em São Paulo, a notícia da morte do estudante. Ele falou no Palácio do Congresso da Assembleia Legislativa de São Paulo, procurado pelo SMO, quando recebeu um bilhete sobre os acontecimentos de Rio. Foi uma pausa no discurso, de e solenidade e denúncia: "Não acredito que o Sr. Negão de Lima seja a repressão!" Em seguida, prosseguiu

na Câmara Federal, as gestões foram feitas de estudantes, que aglutinaram sucessivos pronunciamentos dos deputados da Oposição. O Presidente do Congresso, Sr. Paulo Afonso, anunciou vários meios de manifestar solidariedade às manifestações. Em ordem do Governo — sempre contrário para Opulência — tentou apaziguar a Sr. Cláudio de Cervoletti. Logo após as reuniões, aconteceu que já estava prevista, há alguns dias, a paralisação dos estudantes, "repetidamente se lembramos de São Paulo e de Vitorino".

Na, por enquanto, duas ordens para o início de greve à noite em homenagem ao estudante: 1) greve nacional (paralisação, enquanto estudos acadêmicos, sem aulas, quando um dia que da FIA, iniciado por um bilhete de amor Alípio da Costa, enviado a reitorizado e lácteos e esportivamente, ao qual os estudantes reagiram com violência que, por sua vez, provocou mais; 2) os estudantes tentam toda resistência para FIA, em nível, manifestação contra a greve da faculdade das áreas de reatuação.

Além de estudantes mortos, do outro lado a FIA, houve

mais uma vítima, a professora Tereza Hilda Ribeiro. Irtida na luta por volta de duas horas à sua mesa de trabalho, como tinha praxista, O Grupo de FIA realizou de manifestação desafiadora para a e se se na paragem por uma greve silenciosa por períodos maiores de horas que, segundo os estudantes, artigos de reatuação.

O presidente Lima Luis foi encontrado pelos alunos em Santa Casa de Misericórdia, onde, enviado para um centro, atender o corpo como a Assembleia Legislativa. O corpo foi exposto nos locais de trabalho que estava a tarde "pela ausência" ao ter estado na Assembleia. Ali houve, durante a noite, várias reuniões estudantis, de grande repercussão contra o Governo — e um movimento nacional, até a madrugada, em homenagem aos acontecimentos.

Sua visita a Assunção, o General Figueira de acordo de petição. Solicitado por que a polícia silenciosa, respondeu:

— A polícia estava reatuada em protesto de hoje.

— Policiais de hoje? E amanhã?

— E toda aquela que vem agindo. Eis greves. O que estudantes nos páginas 3, 4 e 23.

**A FORÇA DA EVIDÊNCIA**



Comícios agitaram a Assembleia Legislativa, onde foi exibido o corpo do estudante assassinado.

**Universitários saem às ruas de 3 países**

Em todos três países as manifestações foram organizadas e realizadas de maneira bem sucedida — em apoio à guerra do Vietnã, contra a situação de Chile econômico —, desde alguns meses de protesto e manifestações.

No Japão, grupo de universitários tentaram penetrar a hospitais onde estavam os manifestantes, os restos de Chile, para receber ajuda de Vietnam, mas a Polícia agitou a resistência e não deu acesso ao acesso dos estudantes. O Chile e a situação econômica foram as causas "de solidários" contra o regime de Generalissimo Pinochet. São autoridades reatadas tentativas greves, sobre 22 de hoje.

No Equador, estudantes

manifestaram e apresentaram a Polícia peruana, depois de uma greve de manifestações contra o regime militar da Polícia, que tentou a usar violência de gás, ferindo 25 alunos.

Paralelamente, estudantes demonstraram em a Polícia da Venezuela e na Argentina, enquanto no México, Estado da Tlaxcala, alguns estudantes uma jornada de greve em homenagem ao estudante de nome Marcelo de quem as faculdades manifestaram em greve de greve.

Os estudantes de Venezuela suspenderam paralisaram as atividades reatadas no Estado de Euzko, onde eles foram paralisados em Colômbia, que não paralisaram por greve geral. Na Argentina, foram greves mais de nos manifestantes.

O Governo peruano adotou o sistema de reatuação de que não está sendo iniciado "agitação de estudantes", afirmando que não aceitará "provocações, demonstrações e manifestações". (Páginas 8 e 9)

**ARENA é ouvida sobre vinculação**  
 (Página 7)

**Brizola fala na TV gaúcha**  
 (Página 16)

**Svoboda é o candidato do PC tcheco**  
 (Página 11)

**Já sumiu um F-111 A no Vietnã**  
 (Página 2)

**Gagarin caiu com avião ultramoderno**  
 (Página 18)

**Estrangeiro ocupa 20% do Brasil**  
 (Página 18)

*A POTÊNCIA DE FOGO*



*O cadáver de Edson Luis estava coberto com a Bandeira Nacional, outra do Calabouço e cartazes escritos em folhas de caderno, deixando nu o peito varado a bala*

## *Assassinato leva estudantes à greve nacional*

A morte do estudante Edson Luis de Lima Souto, de 16 anos — baleado no peito, às 18h30m de ontem, durante um conflito da PM com estudantes no Restaurante do Calabouço — provocou greve geral de várias Faculdades no Rio e o movimento deverá estender-se pelo País. O corpo da vítima, que está sendo velado na Assembléia Legislativa, sairá às 16 horas de hoje para o Cemitério São João Batista.

Os acontecimentos agitaram a sessão noturna da Câmara dos Deputados, onde o Sr. Lurtz Sablá pediu que o Congresso fique em sessão permanente, e o Deputado Brochado da Rocha sugeriu que as duas Casas do Congresso se transformassem em Comissão Geral para investigar os fatos ocorridos no res-

Lisboa da Superintendência da Polícia Executiva, para que os acontecimentos sejam apurados com toda a isenção. Ficou também decidida a instauração imediata de inquérito policial a ser orientado por um membro do Ministério Público.

Todos os estabelecimentos de ensino do Estado não funcionarão hoje em sinal de pesar pela morte de Edson Luis, por determinação do Sr. Negrão de Lima. Alguns teatros do Centro e da Zona Sul, que estavam funcionando quando se verificou o atrito entre a PM e os estudantes, suspenderam os espetáculos em sinal de solidariedade — e o público, ao ser inteirado do motivo, aplaudiu de pé.

Na Câmara Federal, as galerias ficaram lotadas de estudantes, que aplaudiram sucessivos pronunciamentos dos deputados da Oposição. O Presidente do Congresso, Sr. Pedro Alcino, ameaçou várias vezes de mandar retirar os manifestantes. Em defesa do Governo — sempre atacado pela Oposição — falou apenas o Sr. Último de Carvalho. Leu um texto oficioso, afirmando que já estava prevista, há algum tempo, a passeata dos estudantes, "empunhando as bandeiras do Brasil e do Vietcong".

Há, por enquanto, duas versões para o atrito de ontem à noite no restaurante dos estudantes: 1) estes jantavam pacificamente, enquanto outros assistiam uma aula, quan-

mais uma vítima: o comerciante Telmo Matos Henriques, ferido na boca por uma bala quando estava à sua mesa de trabalho, numa firma próxima. O choque da PM retirou-se do restaurante desfechando tiros para o ar — e na passagem por uma galeria deixou nas paredes marcas de balas que, segundo testemunhos, seriam de metralhadora.

O estudante Edson Luis foi conduzido pelos companheiros à Santa Casa de Misericórdia, onde, constatada sua morte, iniciou-se o cortejo rumo à Assembléia Legislativa. O corpo foi erguido nos braços da multidão que entoava o brado "polícia assassina" ao dar entrada na Assembléia. Ali houve, durante a noite, vários comícios estudantis, durante os quais se discutiu a situação política e social do País.

continue with the comparison with the «FSP» is possible to see that the photograph was taken from a different angle than what proposed the São Paulo's newspaper and indicates a different drama through the use of light that seems to want to represent a kind of still time. The better quality of the «JB»'s photos and printing are also perceptible. After the photo there is a text in which is present information about the news and reactions to the event, the new protests, the reaction of the government and the opposition. At the end of the text a quote from an army General states that the police fired because «A polícia estava inferiorizada em potência de fogo»<sup>596</sup>, this helps us understand the subtitle at the top of the page - «Firepower».

The second photograph (*photo 32*) placed in the lower ¼ of the cover, proposes a different attitude to the situation. The tone was (similarly to that of the «FSP») one of movement and interaction between the elements pictured in the scene. In a medium/general plan of the interior of the Legislative Assembly of the state of Guanabara, the photograph frames a small crowd (around 30 people) that appears to be sitting inside the building listening to what the caption indicates was one of the rallies that took place during the wake of Edson Luis. There are at least a dozen black individuals in the audience, indicating the existence of some diversity among the student organization. With his back to the camera is a white-skinned boy, with dark hair and wearing a short-sleeved shirt. He is holding in his hands the shirt that Edson Luis was wearing at the time he was shot by the police; is visible the student's blood. The subtitle and caption are crucial, stating «A força da evidência»<sup>597</sup> and the later «Comícios agitaram a Assembléia Legislativa, onde foi exibida a camisa ensanguentada do estudante assassinado».<sup>598</sup> On the one hand they reinforce the moment of agitation seen in the crowd as some applaud, others have their hands in the air, on the other hand the idea of the strength of the evidence linked to the shirt with blood proposes a double reasoning both the fact that the shirt in fact represents the student shot, but also the notion of the evidence linked to the photograph of this element of the story.

In the page n° 6 of the «1º Caderno» were published three photographs of the previous day's event, the three added together occupying practically half the area of the page. Is necessary to underscore the one that was placed in the middle of the page (*photo 33*) on which we see the body of Edson Luis on top of the wake table while another boy is resting his head, this young man had a cigarette in his mouth and is flanked by five other boys, two standing at his right side and three others crouching at his left side. We can detect that two are looking

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<sup>596</sup> «The police had inferior firepower».

<sup>597</sup> «The evidence's strength».

<sup>598</sup> «Rallies rattled the Legislative Assembly, where the bloodied shirt of the murdered student was displayed».

A FÓRÇA DA EVIDÊNCIA



Comícios agitaram a Assembléia Legislativa, onde foi exibida a camisa ensangüentada do estudante assassinado

## Universitários saem às ruas de 3 países

Em outros três países, os estudantes também saíram às ruas para realizar movimentos de protesto — uns contra a guerra do Vietname, outros a atacar os Governos —, dando origem à ação policial, havendo centenas de prisões e inúmeros feridos.

No Japão, grupos de universitários tentaram deprender o hospital norte-americano em construção, no centro de Tóquio, para receber feridos do Vietname, mas a Polícia apareceu e com ela a luta se estendeu durante 10 horas. Cento e setenta estudantes foram presos e 30 estão hospitalizados, juntamente com 75 policiais.

Na Espanha, os distúrbios ocorreram em várias faculdades e na Universidade de Madri, que está fechada até segunda ordem. Os estudantes recusaram-se a retirar os cartazes "não autorizados" contra o regime do Generalíssimo Franco. Seis universitários receberam ferimentos graves, outros 12 estão presos.

No Equador, estudantes

secundários e universitários apedrejaram o Palácio presidencial, depois de uma série de manifestações contra o comportamento da Polícia, que voltou a usar bombas de gás, ferindo 20 déles.

Paralelamente, operários chocavam-se com a Polícia na Venezuela e na Argentina, enquanto em Memphis, Estado do Tennessee, negros envolviam-se com policiais ao promoverem uma passeata de apoio aos funcionários municipais em greve há sete semanas. Um negro morreu e vários ficaram feridos.

O Governo da Venezuela suspendeu parcialmente as garantias constitucionais no Estado de Zulia, onde cinco pessoas morreram na Cidade de Maracaibo, que está paralisada por greve geral. Na Argentina, foram presos mais de mil trabalhadores.

O Governo polonês advertiu seriamente os estudantes de que não mais serão tolerados "agitadores de má-fé", afirmando que não admitirá "provocações, desordens e manifestações". (Páginas 8 e 9)

## Briga faz tumulto no velório

Alguns minutos após o caixão contendo o corpo de Edson Luis ter sido levado para o saguão da Assembléia, um elemento de nome Ari Madrira iniciou um discurso e começou a distribuir panfletos junto ao caixão, mas foi imediatamente arredido por um grupo de estudantes, que o apontaram como policial e membro do MAC (Movimento Anticomunista).

Depois de expulsá-lo da Assembléia, os estudantes puseram-no em um táxi. O Deputado Fabiano Vilanova iniciou a seguir rápido discurso, conclutando os estudantes "a não reagirem com violência às provocações, para não fazerem o jogo da ditadura".

### PELA MADRUGADA

Ao amanhecer de hoje, era a seguinte a situação em torno da morte do estudante Edson Luis:

— A sessão extraordinária convocada pela Assembléia Legislativa foi encerrada exatamente às 2h37m, uma vez que apenas um Deputado permaneceu no plenário. Por outro lado já está sendo articulada a formação de nova sessão extraordinária para as 16 horas de hoje, quando será instalada uma Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito.

— O corpo saiu da sala de autópsia, realizada no Ambulatório da Assembléia, exatamente às 2h32m, e levado já dentro do caixão, por um grupo de estudantes que o alçaram aos ombros, para o saguão, onde permanecerá até à hora do enterro.

— O Governador Negrão de Lima fez-se representar, no ato da autópsia, pelo seu Chefe da Casa Militar, Coronel Alcir Miranda.

— A camisa de Edson Luis, que chegou a ser utilizada como estandarte na noite de ontem, foi recolhida para perícia pelos policiais da 3.ª DD, a quem ficará afeto o caso. Depois de entregá-la à Polícia,

### A HOMENAGEM DA CLASSE



O corpo de Edson Luis foi velado à noite toda na Assembléia, de onde sairá o enterro hoje

que eram comandados por um tenente ou aspirante alto e gordo, de nome Alcindo ou Costa, iam atacando a todos, indiscriminadamente, com cassetetes, inclusive o professor que dava aula no Instituto Cooperativo de Ensino, ali instalada. Os estudantes logo se organizaram e passaram a revidar à agressão com pedradas. Foi nesse momento que o tenente comandante do pelotão sacou do revólver e atirou, atingindo Edson Luis de Lima Souto, que, em companhia de Benedito Frazão Dutra, assistia à aula.

Depois desse disparo, seguiram-se vários outros, feitos por soldados. A maioria dos policiais, no entanto, limitou-se a distribuir golpes com seus cassetetes. Um dos mais atingidos foi Benedito Frazão Dutra, posteriormente medicado no Hospital Sousa Aguiar.

### Retirada

Minutos após o entrecchoque, os policiais — segundo depoimento dos estudantes, entre os quais várias moças que tiveram de fugir quando da invasão inopinada — retiraram-se, atirando para o ar, por uma galeria que, nos fundos do Restaurante do Calabouço, permite a passagem para a Avenida General Justo. Deixaram marcas de diversos tiros que ricochetearam nas paredes do prédio. Há quem afirme tratar-se de disparos de metralhadoras.

Todos os estudantes são de acordo em que a brutalidade policial não teve razão de ser. Não negam que estivessem planejando, para depois do jantar e da aula, uma passeata de protesto contra a demora na conclusão das obras do restaurante, mas consideram-na justa: nada havia de subversivo na reivindicação. O movimento teria caráter pacífico, despojado de qualquer objetivo político.

### Cortejo

Havia cerca de 300 estudantes no restaurante, e após a retirada do choque da PM, todos seguiram, em cortejo, transportando o corpo do colega Edson Luis de Lima Souto para a Santa Casa de Misericórdia, onde os médicos e funcionários de serviço lhes impediram a entrada. No entanto, os estudantes fizeram-se

acompanhar, após o fato, permaneceram no Calabouço, comentando-o.

Segundo Benedito Frazão Dutra, alguns estudantes juntavam, enquanto outros assistiam a uma aula numa sala próxima, finda a qual se reuniriam para sair em passeata. Mas antes que a aula terminasse, soldados da PM invadiram a sala, espancando todos. O professor teve de refugiar-se e as moças correram, enquanto os rapazes, tentando evitar os golpes de cassetete, se armavam de pedras para o revide. Foi quando um oficial que comandava o choque sacou da arma, disparando contra o jovem Nelson Luis de Lima Souto. Seguiram-se outros disparos.

### Rapaz simpático

Os estudantes descrevem o colega morto como um rapaz simpático e esforçado, porém muito pobre e que, na maioria das vezes, dormia no próprio Instituto Cooperativo de Ensino.

Como não tivesse emprego, Edson Luis de Lima Souto cooperava com a sua escola, fazendo compras de material escolar para a mesma, ajudando na faxina e encarregando-se de outros pequenos afazeres. Era muito útil aos serviços da escola, que funciona precariamente, mantida pelos próprios alunos.

O endereço de Edson, que em sua ficha do Instituto Cooperativo de Ensino constava como Rua Cairuçu, 302, Vila Valqueire, não existe, e ninguém, naquele local, conhecia o estudante.

### A hora exata

A morte de Edson Luis de Lima Souto ocorreu, segundo depoimento de vários estudantes, exatamente às 18h 30m. De acordo com uma ficha exibida ao repórter por um jovem que estava perto de Edson quando este foi atingido, a vítima nasceu a 24 de fevereiro de 1950 e cursava o primeiro ciclo colegial (artigo 99) do Instituto Cooperativo de Ensino, Morava, segundo alguns colegas, com um irmão. Sua família reside em Belém.

Um rapaz testemunha do episódio informou que Edson, além de ser alvejado no peito, levou outros tiros

participava da manifestação, Benedito Frazão Dutra, conseguiu escapar das balas disparadas pelos policiais escondendo-se debaixo de um carro estacionado nas proximidades.

Perido na tabeoa a golpes de cassetete, o estudante caiu e seu rosto foi chutado por alguns policiais. Mesmo assim conseguiu levantar-se e correr, sendo alvejado pelos PMs.

### Disparos

— Cheguel a covir o ruido das balas duas vezes, bem perto da minha cabeça. Corri com toda a força, e me meti debaixo de um carro. Só assim eles me deixaram em paz.

Benedito contou que, em seguida, acompanhou seus colegas até a Santa Casa, mas como seu rosto sangrava muito, foi levado até o Hospital Sousa Aguiar. Em seguida explicou os motivos da manifestação:

— Há sete meses pedimos para terminarem as obras do restaurante. Até agora não recebemos provisões; o prédio não tem piso, os sanitários não funcionam e, ainda por cima, a comida é tão ruim que é difícil suportá-la.

— Resolvemos protestar contra tudo isso. Procuramos o advogado Sobral Pinto, que prometeu marcar uma audiência com o Governador para nós hoje à tarde. Na última hora descobrimos que tudo falhara e fomos para o restaurante. Chegaram, então, três caminhões com soldados. Ficamos cercados e eles logo partiram para cima da gente, batendo com cassetete. Corremos um pouco e começamos a atirar pedras para nos defender.

— Ai começaram os tiros. Ouvi uma rajada de metralhadora, uma tiros isolados e corri. Três soldados me pegaram e bateram no meu rosto com cassetete. Quando cai no chão chutaram minha cara. Levantei e corri. Não exergava nada direito, mas fui parar debaixo de um carro e só sai quando vi que o pessoal começava a ir embora.

### Descrição

Um oficial da PM branco, baixo e com cabelos grisalhos foi descrito por um dos

upwards. The most remarkable thing about this photograph, meanwhile, is its relationship to the one that was published on the cover of «FSP». The two images are practically identical, with very few differences, essentially the most important difference being the place in the newspaper where the photo was published in the newspaper's edition. The «JB» edition made a different choice that was to put that image not on the cover, although in both cases, the images are very graphic.

*30/03/1968 – Folha de S. Paulo*

Almost the entire cover of the Saturday edition of the newspaper was dedicated to the burial of Edson Luis. Five quarters of the page was taken up with the topic and most of this space was devoted to two photographs. The presented headline was: «Violento conflito entre policia e estudantes em Brasília; Edson sepultado»<sup>599</sup> from these two fundamental things come out, the continuity of the conflict, now in the national capital and the correction of the name of the victim of the previous day. Still on the cover, a fragment of the editorial was published in a small box in the left-hand side:

O que aconteceu agora no Rio há muito poderia ser previsto; os repetidos choques entre estudantes, de um lado, e a Polícia, de outro, mais dia menos dia iriam resultar em algo ainda mais lamentável do que prisões e espancamentos. Diante do brutal acontecimento, devem cessar as explorações de natureza emocional ou política, para que a fria lição dos fatos permita deles retirar as amargas lições que comportam (As amargas lições, p. 04).<sup>600</sup>

In this section and in reading the full text of the editorial is possible to trace a moderate and conservative attitude of the newspaper that can be read in two different and simultaneous keys. In making the students as extremists who were looking for a martyr, becoming in this sense the responsible for the death of Edson Luis, and in second place, in an attitude of the «FSP» of not making the federal government responsible for what happened - from this is understandable the detachment given to the name of the governor of Guanabara, Negrão. Is possible to reason that on the one hand this was a way of keeping the newspaper within what the censorship allowed to be published in the texts, on the other a genuine demonstration of the

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<sup>599</sup> «Violent conflict between police and students in Brasília; Edson buried».

<sup>600</sup> «What happened now in Rio could have been foreseen long ago; the repeated clashes between students, on one side, and the police, on the other, would one day result in something even more regrettable than arrests and beatings. In the face of the brutal event, emotional or political explorations must cease, so that the cold lesson of the facts allows us to draw the bitter lessons they contain. (The bitter lessons, p. 04) ».

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DO BRASIL ANO XLVIII SÃO PAULO, SABADO, 30 DE MARÇO DE 1968 Nº 14.167

**Dia para passeios**  
 O paulista hoje pode planejar seus passeios tranquilamente. O tempo vai estar bom, sem chuva e na temperatura certa, segundo os meteorologistas.

**NA FOLHA ILUSTRADA**



**Franceses falam de Elis Regina**  
 Pag. 3

**O triste fim da Vera Cruz**  
 Pag. 3

**AMANHÃ NA FOLHA**

**NO CADERNO ESPECIAL**



**Vamos buscar nosso petróleo sob o mar**  
**Blocos mundiais na hora das exequias**

**FOLHA FEMININA**

**HUMOR**



**Nossa opinião**

que aconteceu agora no Rio há muito poderia ser previsto: os repórteres chegam entre estudantes, de um lado, e a Polícia, de outro, mais dia, menos dia assim resultar em algum ato de insubordinação das prisões e espancamentos. Diante do brutal acontecimento, devem cessar as explorações de natureza sensacional ou política, para que a fúria legítima dos fatos permita diletar os exemplos lições que compõem. ("As Amargas Lições" — Pag. 4)

**Assuntos diversos**

Atividade diversificada	5 1	Casa Argentina	10
Brasil	1 1	Casa Verde	10
Europa	3 6 7 1 2	Exatidão e arma	10
Estados Unidos	1 2 3	Exatidão e arma	10
Internacional	1 1 1 2	Exatidão e arma	10
Política	1 1 2 3	Exatidão e arma	10
Religião	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	Exatidão e arma	10
Sociedade	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	Exatidão e arma	10
Teatro	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	Exatidão e arma	10
Variedades	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	Exatidão e arma	10
Esportes	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	Exatidão e arma	10
Arte	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	Exatidão e arma	10
Opinião	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	Exatidão e arma	10

# VIOLENTO CONFLITO ENTRE POLICIA E ESTUDANTES EM BRASILIA; EDSON SEPULTADO



Do velório no prédio da Assembléia Legislativa, na Cinelândia, ao Cemitério de São João Batista, em Botafogo, uma grande multidão, só comparável a que acompanhou os despojos de Getúlio Vargas, se guiou o féretro do estudante assassinado pela polícia. Não houve incidentes. Pags. 6, 7 e última.



O protesto dos estudantes de São Paulo contra as violências cometidas pela polícia da Guanabara começou ontem à noite nas escadarias da Municipal cerca de 500 pessoas reunidas, mais de uma hora de discursos violentos e dezenas de cartazes de protesto. Noticiário completo nas páginas 6, 7 e última.

**Banco Central dá aval para estudo do Metrô**  
 O Banco Central aprovou oficialmente o pedido de financiamento de 12 milhões de dólares feito pela Prefeitura para elaboração dos projetos da primeira linha do metrô. O sr. Ernani Galvão, presidente do Banco Central, entregou ontem ao brigadeiro Fausto Lima a autorização do estabelecimento para o contrato de financiamento firmado entre a Prefeitura e o grupo Hochtief Montreal-Deconault. Pag. 8

**Firmino diz que ferrovias não serão federais**  
 O eng. Firmino Rocha de Freitas, secretário dos Transportes, desmentiu ontem as notícias de que as ferrovias paulistas passariam para o controle da Rede Ferroviária Federal. Presente no gabinete do secretário, o eng. Horácio Madureira, diretor do Departamento Nacional de Estradas de Ferro, disse nada saber sobre o assunto. Pag. 8

**Leite em pó sobe preço, mas bacalhau desce**  
 Pag. 8

**França-Hungria pedem saída dos EUA do Vietnã**  
 Pag. 2

**De Gaulle não muda posição sobre o ouro**  
 Pag. 2

**Novas lutas na linha de cessar fogo do Jordã**  
 Pag. 2

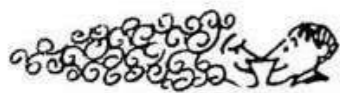
# VIOLENTO CONFLITO ENTRE POLICIA E ESTUDANTES EM BRASILIA; EDSON SEPULTADO



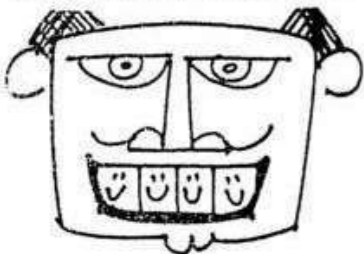
Do velório no prédio da Assembléia Legislativa, na Cinelândia, ao Cemitério de São João Batista, em Botafogo, uma grande multidão, só comparável a que acompanhou os despojos de Getúlio Vargas, se guiou o féretro do estudante assassinado pela polícia. Não houve incidentes. Pags. 6, 7 e última.



FOLHA  
FEMININA



HUMOR



Nossa opinião

O que aconteceu agora no Rio há muito poderia ser previsto: os repetidos choques entre estudantes, de um lado, e a Polícia, de outro, mais dia, menos dia iriam resultar em algo ainda mais lamentável do que prisões e espancamentos. Diante do brutal acontecimento, devem cessar as explorações de natureza emocional ou política, para que a fria lição dos fatos permita deles retirar as amargas lições que comportam. ("As Amargas Lições" — Pag. 4)



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### Banco Central dá aval para estudo do Metrô

O Banco Central aprovou oficialmente...

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### Leite em pó sobe preço, mas bacalhau desce

Pag. 8

### De Gaulle não muda posição sobre o ouro

Pag.

Europa Hungria

Novas lutas na

interests that the newspaper defended and it's still alignment with the regime even though the situation was difficult to defend from a bourgeois liberal perspective.

The two photographs in its turn, present another discursive proposition: in the first case (*photo 34*), proposed as the main photograph on the cover is a general plan of the «Cinelândia», probably made with a wide-angle lens, in Rio de Janeiro in which the large crowd that was present in Edson Luis' funeral parade to the São João Batista Cemetery was pictured. In the image, the crowd was framed with the buildings in the square and nearly the entire photograph filled with people, enhancing the element of compactness of those which were on the streets. Some posters are also visible from a distance but on its reverse. The second photograph (*photo 35*), on the other hand, is a medium shot of part of the crowd that was in the streets in São Paulo bringing together the country's two main cities. Could be identified about fifteen people in the photograph, the vast majority white men. However, the most prominent in the photograph are the posters on which were state some protest words such as: «Ditadura assassina estudantes»<sup>601</sup>; «A ditadura não dá verbas para escolas, mas dá dinheiro do povo para assassinar estudantes».<sup>602</sup> The presence of these posters in the publication can also be interpreted in two different and simultaneous ways: the beginning of a change of attitude towards opposition to the regime by including these elements in their discourse, but also a way of speaking through photographs of things that could not fit in the texts.

In the internal page number seven of that day's edition of «FSP» features more pictures and information of the latest events related to the death of Edson Luis. Those are in precarious conservation conditions; however, we retain that is important to underscore two elements. In the bottom right-hand corner, there is a photo of a poster with the caption «Até quando vamos nos acomodar na ignorância? Até todos os nossos colegas morrerem»<sup>603</sup>, reinforcing the above indicated causes to the publication of these posters at that time. Finally, above the photographs placed in the center of the page is an official note from the «FAB - Força Aérea Brasileira» dedicated to refuting the information that there were officers of the force present in the protest on which Edson Luis was killed. This note also reinforces the hypothesis of a lack of total rupture of the newspaper with the regime.

30/03/1968 – *Jornal do Brasil*

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<sup>601</sup> «Dictatorship murders students».

<sup>602</sup> «Dictatorship doesn't give money to schools, but a people's money to murder students».

<sup>603</sup> «Until when will we settle in ignorance? Until all our colleagues die».

# Brasília: soldado espancado e estudante baleado

## Paulo: comícios, protestos, reuniões passeata dia 1

Paulista de protesto, pela violência da Guanabara, realizada em São Paulo, no dia 27 de março, desfilaram logo e entraram em marcha para a Universidade Mackenzie, levando uma faixa com o lema de mais de 300 estudantes, a manifestação foi realizada no horário de "passagem" em frente ao prédio da Faculdade de Direito Mackenzie, onde se realizou uma reunião com a presença de Edson Luis, diretor da Faculdade, José Luiz de Oliveira Silva, no qual se decidiu a realização de uma passeata para o dia 31 de março, às 14 horas, na Rua São João, para a Universidade Mackenzie.

**Universidade Mackenzie**  
A Universidade Mackenzie, em São Paulo, realizou uma reunião com a presença de Edson Luis, diretor da Faculdade, José Luiz de Oliveira Silva, no qual se decidiu a realização de uma passeata para o dia 31 de março, às 14 horas, na Rua São João, para a Universidade Mackenzie.

**Universidade USP**  
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## Ministro da Justiça: Governo não tolerará agitação

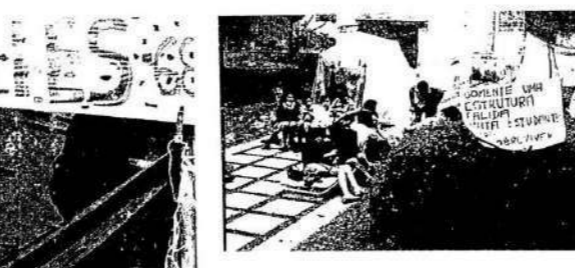
O ministro Gama e Silva, da Justiça, em nota oficial distribuída ontem à noite, manifestou a posição do governo federal sobre os acontecimentos na Guanabara, dizendo que o presidente Costa e Silva compreende e respalda os sentimentos da juventude brasileira mas "não tolerará nem a agitação, nem a repressão policial em termos de violência desnecessária".

Em nota, em 12 de março, o ministro: "Desde as primeiras horas da noite de ontem mantive contato permanente com meu gabinete no Rio e com autoridades da Polícia da Guanabara a fim de me informar da situação e transmitir ao sr. presidente da República informações precisas sobre o triste episódio, em que perdeu a vida um jovem estudante e foram feridos outros jovens, inclusive policiais."

"Na verdade, não cabe ao governo federal intervir em assuntos desta natureza, privativos da administração estadual. A responsabilidade pela ordem pública nos Estados da Federação pertence aos governadores, os quais dirigem as suas polícias. O governo da República só intervir quando especialmente solicitado pelo Executivo local, em situações que necessitam da intervenção da situação. Tendo em vista as informações contra ditos jovens reveladas em Brasília a respeito do incidente que envolveu estudantes e a Polícia estadual, decidi ter em Rio de Janeiro — após entendimento com o sr. presidente da República — a fim de tomar as medidas da competência do Ministério da Justiça, para evitar que a

## A nota da Aeronáutica

Em nota oficial de gabinete do ministro da Aeronáutica relatada aos incidentes ocorridos entre estudantes e Polícia na Guanabara.



**UNIVERSIDADE MACKENZIE**  
EM LUTO OFICIAL  
PELA BRUTALAGRESSÃO À FAMÍLIA UNIVERSITÁRIA

**UNIVERSIDADE MACKENZIE**  
EM LUTO OFICIAL  
PELA MORTE DO COLEGA CARIOCA

**Dialogo interrompido**  
O diálogo que o prof. Florentino Praxedes deveria manter entre a noite com os alunos da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de São Paulo não pôde ser realizado, devido o episódio de ontem que precedeu durante a tarde a realização da Assembleia XI de Agosto, em virtude dos acontecimentos do Rio de Janeiro. Vários comitês de trabalho se reuniram com o propósito de manter entre estudantes, que tiveram fúria por causa da violência, para se manifestarem sobre a morte do estudante...

**BRASILIA (Reunido)** — A presença realizada ontem pelo estudante carioca em Brasília, em uma passeata, foi atacada pelos estudantes da Guanabara. O grupo foi dispersado e o estudante carioca foi espancado e baleado. O estudante carioca foi espancado e baleado. O estudante carioca foi espancado e baleado.

**A PASSADIA**  
Frente antes das 15 horas, o estudante carioca foi espancado e baleado. O estudante carioca foi espancado e baleado. O estudante carioca foi espancado e baleado.

**O CHEFÃO**  
Ante os rumores, a Polícia de Brasília se preparou para o movimento. O movimento foi realizado em frente ao prédio da Universidade Mackenzie. O movimento foi realizado em frente ao prédio da Universidade Mackenzie.

**Armas de guerra e bombas de efeito moral**  
Armas de guerra e bombas de efeito moral foram encontradas em um apartamento em São Paulo. As armas foram encontradas em um apartamento em São Paulo.

**"GUARDIA DOS FRANGOS"**  
Batalhão de guarda dos frangos foi formado em São Paulo. O batalhão de guarda dos frangos foi formado em São Paulo.

**JATOS D'AGUA ATINGEM DEPUTADOS**  
Jatos d'água atingiram deputados em São Paulo. Os jatos d'água atingiram deputados em São Paulo.

**ANQUE INCENDIADOS**  
Os estudantes incendiaram os seus palanques armados na Praça 21 de Abril. Os estudantes incendiaram os seus palanques armados na Praça 21 de Abril.

**FRONTIÃO**  
Informamos a todos que as linhas de fronteira, abertas em Brasília, entraram em perigo, devido a violência ocorrida entre a polícia e os estudantes.

**CURTIDA POLÍCIA**  
Apesar do fato de que os dois dias de duração por parte dos estudantes acadêmicos, não foi suficiente para o governo, a polícia continuou a reprimir o movimento. Apesar do fato de que os dois dias de duração por parte dos estudantes acadêmicos, não foi suficiente para o governo, a polícia continuou a reprimir o movimento.

**ATE QUANDO VAIAM MORREREMOS**  
ATE TODOS - NOSSE COLEGAS MORREREM?  
Ate quando vamos morreremos? Ate todos - nossos colegas morrerem?

Also, the cover of the «JB» on this day was almost entirely dedicated to the events following the death of Edson Luis. Only the bottom left-hand corner was occupied with pictures and information about the new protests. In addition to the headline: «Estudantes organizam manifestações de rua que Governo manda reprimir em todo o País»<sup>604</sup>, four photographs were published, each with different characteristics. On the right-hand side of the page and flanking all the pictures is a text that gives a kind of summary of what had happened so far and what protests were planned for that day in the cities of Salvador, Belo Horizonte, Curitiba and Porto Alegre. In the text there is also information related to the strikes that had started in those days and the reactions of the government.

The main photo of that day also brings a novelty to the coverage that the newspaper was doing on that event (*photo 36*). It was positioned in the page immediately after the subtitle: «O longo cortejo»<sup>605</sup> and above the caption: «O féretro de Edson Luis de Lima Souto dobra a Cinelândia a pé, acompanhado, a princípio por vinte mil pessoas»<sup>606</sup>. Apart from the information on the number of people in the student's funeral procession, the great novelty of this photo is the angle from which was taken. A large aerial panorama taken from above, as if had been taken from an airplane or helicopter, creates a different effect in the telling of the facts. Probably what had allowed this kind of angle was the fact that the newspaper's headquarters was on the very area where the cortege took place, so the «JB» photographers had this strategic advantage and the possibility of a new angle to the photographic coverage - we will see in the next picture that the format was used once more on that day. Then, this type of photograph led the reader of the newspaper to have a different notion of what the crowd was, perhaps also why is that we find the information about the number of people in the square in the caption<sup>607</sup>. In addition to the huge number of people, the photo also shows a few cars surrounded by the crowd and a rounded building on the corner of the streets, a characteristic architecture of that part of the city. Is also possible to reflect on the fact that the big element to be communicated in that photograph is precisely the crowd present, especially since the details are not discernible. A final aspect of this kind of image is that they were took on a distance from the events on the streets, that might be connected to a repression fear. The other three

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<sup>604</sup> « Students organise street demonstrations which the Government orders to be repressed all over the country»

<sup>605</sup> «The long parade».

<sup>606</sup> «The coffin of Edson Luis de Lima Souto bends along Cinelândia on foot, accompanied at first by twenty thousand people».

<sup>607</sup> Evandro Teixeira, former «JB» photographer describes these elements in na interview conceded to Paulo Boni. *A fotografia a serviço da luta contra a ditadura militar no Brasil. Entrevista Evandro Teixeira*. Discursos fotográficos, Londrina, v.8, n.12, jan./jun. 2012 p.217-252. DOI 10.5433/1984-7939.2012v8n12p217.

EDSON LUIS  
JB - 30/03/1968  
Photo 36

**JORNAL DO BRASIL** Sexteiras e  
Sábados  
além de feriados  
1968

*Estudantes organizam manifestações de rua  
que Governo manda reprimir em todo o País*

**O LONGO CORTEJO**



**SEIS PAÍSES**  
*reprimirão estudantes*

**UMA marginaliza  
a Lousa  
Canavieira**

**A FESTA DA BREVETES**



# Estudantes organizam manifestações de rua que Governo manda reprimir

O LONGO CORTEJO



O féretro de Edson Luís de Lima Souto dobra a Cinelândia, a pé, acompanhado, a princípio, por vinte mil pessoas

# Cortejo canta o Hino Nacional após queimar bandeiras norte-americanas

## Estudantes decidiram eles mesmos o roteiro

13h50m — Coordenados pelo Presidente da Frente Unida dos Estudantes do Colégio, estudante Elinor Brito, os líderes do movimento estudantil resolveram que o roteiro seria o seguinte: Passeio Público, Avenida Beira-Mar, Praia do Flamengo, parada em frente à sede da ex-UNE para uma manifestação. Largo do Machado, Marquês de Abrantes, Praia de Botafogo, Rua da Passagem, General Polidoro, até o Cemitério São João Batista. Nessa mesma hora já estavam concentrados defronte ao prédio da Assembleia Legislativa cerca de 5 mil pessoas.

14h — Dentro do sigilo da Assembleia, onde o corpo do estudante morto estava sendo velado, os estudantes organizaram uma coleta de dinheiro, utilizando para recolhê-lo as doações uma bandeira do Brasil.

A sessão de ontem da Assembleia durou exatamente cinco minutos. As 14 horas, o Presidente José Bonifácio, após a leitura da ata anterior, declarou que a sessão estava suspensa por "motivos relevantes".

Estiveram presentes ao Legislativo ex-colega do Senador Mario Martins, os Deputados Federais Nelson Carneiro, Rubens Medina e Valdir Simões, todos do MDB da Guanabara, Jairo Drum, do Rio Grande do Sul, e Amador Pinheiro, do Estado do Rio. O Senador Mário Martins declarou, antes da saída do feretro, que "este assassinato covarde não foi fruto de um episódio isolado. Ele obedece a uma filosofia de Governo que tem por base considerar um estudante um criminoso, qualquer modo, um subversivo, e qualquer patriota, um inimigo do Governo."

14h 10m — Das cinco mil pessoas de uma televisão aérea iniciaram filmagem tentando captar a expressão e reação das que chegam para ver o cortejo de Edson Luis, única parte do corpo que não estava coberta por roupas vermelhas, cravos multicoloridos, palmas brancas e lírios. O cortejo estava rodeado por 18 carros de fôlego.

14h 20m — No palanque montado para os oradores, sobre a escadaria da Assembleia, um representante dos estudantes de Minas Gerais disse que todos

os cortejos. Quando estes chegaram foram postos em fuga.

15h 30m — Chegaram os familiares de Edson Luis que moram no Rio: as irmãs, Edina Souto Pau Perro, Virgínia Souto, Sr. Júlio Sousa, todas irmãs da Sra. Maria Sônia Rocha, mãe do estudante morto, que mora em Belém do Pará. Dona Edina estava esquivada e desorientada em prestar esclarecimentos sobre o subrindo. Disse apenas que "ele morreu comigo durante seis meses depois que veio para o Rio". Passa duas semanas que ele mudou para o Colégio.

15h 45m — Ao ver um estudante depositar um ramo de flores sobre o corpo de seu subrindo, Dona Edina mudou de expressão e ficou corada. Sua filha, Maria Madalena, tentou consolá-la mas também caiu em pranto. A outra filha do estudante, D. Virgínia não fez qualquer comentário.

15h 55m — Nessa mesma hora do primeiro andar da Assembleia, os líderes realizaram uma nova reunião; era necessário retardar a saída do cortejo, prevista para dali a 18 minutos. Os motivos não são esclarecidos, mas a discussão é quase violenta.

— Tem que sair na hora — dizia Elinor Brito.

— Não vai sair porque não dá — contestou outro.

O ponto-de-vista do Presidente da FUEC é crucial. A decisão de retardar é vital. O estudante que acabou de ganhar a discussão deve para falar com a massa estudantil e animá-la retardando.

15h 58m — O padre Vicente Adams, depois de discursar ao lado do caixão, afirmou que "em nome de toda a Igreja, sociedade, não se pratica, mas ao ato de acompanhar estes jovens". Em seguida começou a ler o Salmo número 58 das Escrituras, inscrito na página 81 de um livro de rimas abreviadas. Depois o Padre Neves acompanhado por cerca de 100 estudantes que estavam dentro do caixão. Depois de abandonar o caixão, o padre Adams espalhou sobre o caixão

mas a massa humana impôs o roteiro pela contramão em direção ao Largo da Lapa, para seguir pela Rua da Lapa, em direção ao Largo da Glória. Estava desmontado o esquema do Comandante Celso Franco.

16h 00m — O cortejo para em frente ao Cine Palácio; o filme é A Faraó do Demônio.

16h 05m — O cortejo passa, sem parar, em frente ao Cinema Plaza, que também não exibiu Meu Lugar no Inferno.

16h 10m — O cortejo prossegue pela Rua da Lapa e pela primeira vez o grito "abaixo a ditadura", mantido desde o início pelo multidão, é substituído por outro: "O povo organizado derruba a ditadura".

16h 15m — Começa novamente o Hino Nacional e termina em frente ao prédio da Associação Cristã de Moços.

16h 20m — O cortejo para em frente ao prédio do IBRA — Instituto Brasileiro de Reforma Agrária — onde a maior parte dos funcionários estava na lanterna. Um deles, do quinto andar, tirou o paletó semi-marinado e começou a cantar. A multidão aplaudiu e pediu aos gritos "desce, desce", para que se integrasse no cortejo. Um repórter de uma agência norte-americana de notícias gravava os gritos de "abaixo a ditadura", ao mesmo tempo que os tradutores para a língua.

16h 25m — O cortejo chega à Praia do Russel, depois de passar pelo Largo da Glória. Mais de mil pessoas esperavam a passagem do corpo.

16h 30m — Dois passageiros do ônibus 5405 da Linha 119 — Castelo-Copacabana — desceram do veículo para se integrar no cortejo, sob aplausos.

16h 35m — Ao atingir a Praia do Flamengo a multidão se espalhou pelas duas pistas e pararam também o trânsito em direção à cidade. Na Praia do Russel, algumas horas antes, uma parte da multidão subiu pela pista elevada em frente ao Hotel Glória, tomando-a também.

16h 40m — O cortejo acabou

A queima de três bandeiras norte-americanas, o canto do Hino Nacional, a levada da multidão ao Cemitério São João Batista — realizado em duas viagens friadas —, uma manifestação em frente à antiga sede da ex-UNE, rebus defronte ao prédio onde reside o Sr. Carlos Lacerda e os motociclistas da Guarda Civil atenuados pelos estudantes, antes da saída do cortejo fúnebre, marcaram o roteiro de Edson Luis.

A saída do cortejo, ao som do Hino Nacional cantado por milhares de vozes e seguida pela saia de honras brancas, foi às 16h15m. A frente via uma Kombi levando 18 corpos de flores naturais, enviadas por vários estudantes, pela Assembleia Legislativa e por colegas do morto e um grupo de estudantes que carregava uma faixa com a palavra "vengança". O cortejo chegou ao Cemitério São João Batista às 16h30m.

### NOVOS COMICIOS

A multidão formada por estudantes, artistas, políticos, jornalistas e populares se manteve em constante vibração, enquanto aguardava a saída do corpo do estudante Edson Luis, ouvindo os diversos oradores que se sucederam nas escadarias da Assembleia Legislativa.

As 18 horas, diversos artistas teatrais, com Norma Bengell, Oduvaldo Vianna Filho, João das Neves e Antônio Pedro à frente, conseguiram realizar uma reunião nas escadarias do Teatro Municipal, na qual mararam uma assembleia-geral da classe, enfim realizada à meia-noite, no Teatro Opinião.

Muita animação pelos estudantes foi a participação do Sindicato dos Jornalistas Profissionais da Guanabara, levando uma enorme faixa com a frase "Jornalistas contra o crime oficial".

Pouco antes da saída do cortejo em direção ao Cemitério, chegaram ao local quatro batucadas da Guarda Civil, logo seguidas pelos estudantes, que os perseguiram pela Avenida 13 de Maio até a Avenida Almirante Barroso. Em face do recedo do povo, que gritava "assassinos, assassinos", os motociclistas fizeram meia-volta e, pela contramão, fugiram dos estudantes que tentavam envolvê-los.

## Apenas 18 agentes do DOPS viram o entéro

Apenas 18 homens do DOPS, completamente desarmados e infiltrados entre a multidão, formaram o dispositivo policial-militar que acompanhou o cortejo fúnebre do estudante Edson Luis Lima Souto. Limitaram-se a passar informações através de telefonemas esporádicos em botiquins; foram impedidos de usar os hand-talks porque as autoridades da Secretaria de Segurança temiam que o aparelho os denunciaria e que fossem hostilizados.

O Secretário de Segurança, General Dario Coelho, e o Diretor do DOPS, General Lucídio Arruda, segundo confissão deste, viraram ontem o dia "de maior angústia e expectativa" de suas vidas: esperavam a invasão do prédio da Secretaria a qualquer instante.

Diante do prédio onde funcionava a antiga União Nacional dos Estudantes, os acompanhantes ficaram numa tentativa de arrombar a porta, que só foi arrendada pela intervenção dos líderes estudantis, especialmente os Srs. Vladimir Palmeira e Elinor Brito.

Nessa ocasião foi queimada a segunda bandeira norte-americana (esta feita a mão), já que a primeira tinha sido também queimada antes da saída, na frente da Assembleia Legislativa. Os aplausos foram gerais.

O Presidente da FUEC, Sr. Elinor Brito, e o Sr. Vladimir Palmeira, filho do ex-Senador Rui Palmeira, fizeram um discurso a duas vozes, em que um e outro complementaram as frases, dizendo que a chegada no antigo prédio da UNE era uma vitória dos estudantes e que a sede não deveria ser invadida, porque "é a casa de todos nós".

Dizaram ainda que "a morte de Edson Luis é um compromisso histórico de luta pela liberdade, que será levado a cabo, porque o povo irá cobrar de todos nós a obrigação que a morte desse estudante nos deu, de sermos cada um de nós, um revolucionário".

"Viva a guerrilha, abaixo a ditadura", explodiram os estudantes enquanto centenas de capas da revista Realidade, com o retrato de Fidel Castro, eram agitadas.

### PALACIO NA MIRA

Muitos eram os que queriam ir até o Palácio Guanabara "para mostrar ao Governador Negrão de Lima o crime da sua polícia", ao passo que os líderes estudantis dizem que isso era "uma loucura". Prevendo essa possibilidade, no trecho desde a Passagem até a Farol, todas as ruas que possibilitariam acesso ao Palácio estavam interditadas.

Os encarregados da organização do cortejo, para evitar essa possibilidade, levaram o feretro pela Avenida Rui Barbosa, mas mesmo assim um número enorme de pessoas seguiu pela General Glicério, Botafogo e Rua da Passagem, enquanto o corpo do estudante Edson Luis Lima Souto era levado pela Rua Mens Barreto.

Irregular vazios. Foi isso pelo menos dez vezes, num espaço de seis horas, apesar de a sala do Secretário ser munida de aparelhos de ar condicionado. Vários funcionários que tinham acesso ao gabinete contemplavam quando viram o General Coelho com tanta sede.

Momentos depois o General Lucídio Arruda informou que já tem o roteiro do cortejo e que os estudantes iniciarão a marcha às 17h.

16h30m — Intensificam-se as comunicações entre o Governador Negrão de Lima e o Secretário de Segurança, através do rádio. A medida que o General Dario Coelho vai sendo informado pelos telefonemas esporádicos dos seus 18 agentes espalhados nas ruas, vai notificando o Governador sobre o andamento do cortejo.

### O CALCULO DA MULTIDÃO



O JORNAL DO BRASIL calculou em dez mil o número de acompanhantes do cortejo fúnebre, com base em uma foto aérea tomada na reta da Praia do Flamengo, com este objetivo. A foto aérea mostra que a extensão do cortejo era de 340 metros (distância entre as Ruas Silveira Martins e Cordeiros Dutra), ocupando a multidão a pista que demanda Botafogo, de 12 metros de largura. Os manifestantes que se encontravam adiantados do bloco do cortejo, ou acompanhando-o pelas calçadas, não incluídos na área de 4 032 metros quadrados considerada como ocupada pelo cortejo, são compensados pelos claros existentes nesta área e pelo cálculo de ocupação média de duas pessoas por metro quadrado. Multiplicando-se a área de 4 032 metros quadrados por dois (número de pessoas por metro quadrado) tem-se um total de 8 064, arredondado para 10 mil, usando-se uma margem de segurança razoável. Como boa parte da multidão não esteve presente em dois momentos, na saída do corpo do prédio da Assembleia e no cemitério, não acompanhando o cortejo, pode-se calcular, também com certa margem de erro, que mais de 20 mil pessoas participaram do entéro do estudante Edson

photographs on the page are much smaller in size as they occupy the same space on the page as the first picture does on its own. However, what draws our attention is the fact that each of these photographs has a different aesthetic and narrative proposition, demonstrating a more careful editorial concern on the part of the «JB».

In the page n° two of that day's edition was published another aerial photo of the crowd gathered around the funeral parade of Edson Luis (*photo 37*). The top-right corner picture proposed the view of the cortege in the final meters of the Flamengo Beach Avenue. Besides the diversity of the image itself, another important and not so common element was the long caption right above the image, describing the calculation process that was made by the journalists to have an idea of how many people attended the event. This kind of interaction helps to deepen the narrative force of the image that framed a large crowd in the avenue surrounded by some cars, but mainly reinforces the narrative legitimacy of the newspapers due to its transparency in the narrative of the facts and also on how the numbers were presented.

*31/03/1968 – Folha de S. Paulo*

The first page of March's last day in 1968 and eve of the fourth anniversary of the military coup presented the coverage continuation on the events related to the killing of Edson Luis, although in a line that seem to be trying to build an idea of tranquility even if the tension was extremely high in most of the country's state capitals. The headline declared in caps lock: «Há calma no país, mas protestos prosseguem».<sup>608</sup> In addition to this, high after the cover title a small text present a brief of the country situation and the attempts of accountability for Edson's death by different sectors of the military government.

Estão marcados para amanhã as novas manifestações com que os estudantes – com a adesão de algumas categorias profissionais – pretendem protestar contra os acontecimentos de 5ª feira na Guanabara. Se bem que o dia de ontem tenha sido calmo em todo o país, os centros acadêmicos de São Paulo e de vários Estados preparam passeatas, manifestações e outros atos públicos. No Rio, o aspirante apontado como o assassino de Edson Luíz diz que nem ele nem seus comandados atiraram. O governador Negrão de Lima aponta o ministro da Educação como o culpado do que ocorre. E em Brasília, onde as ocorrências de sexta-feira foram marcadas pela violência, o presidente da República afirma que os responsáveis pelos acontecimentos da Guanabara serão punidos – páginas 17,18 e 19.<sup>609</sup>

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<sup>608</sup> «Calm in the country, but protests continue».

<sup>609</sup> «New demonstrations are scheduled for tomorrow with which the students - with the adhesion of some professional categories - intend to protest against the events of Thursday in Guanabara. Although yesterday was a calm day throughout the country, the academic centres in São Paulo and various states are preparing marches,

**EDSON LUIS**  
**FSP - 31/03/1968**  
**Photo 38**

**FOLHA DE S. PAULO** NCr\$ 0,30  
 UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DO BRASIL ANO XLVIII SÃO PAULO, DOMINGO, 31 DE MARÇO DE 1968 N.º 14.168  
 Diretor Presidente: Octávio Frias de Oliveira

**HÁ CALMA NO PAÍS MAS PROTESTOS PROSSEGUEM**

Estão marcadas para amanhã as novas manifestações com que os estudantes — com a adesão de algumas categorias profissionais — pretendem protestar contra os acontecimentos de 5.ª-feira na Guanabara. Se bem que o dia de ontem tenha sido calmo em todo o país, os centros acadêmicos de São Paulo e de vários Estados preparam passeatas, manifestações e outros atos públicos. No Rio, o aspirante apontado como o assassino de Edson Luis diz que nem ele nem seus comandados atiraram. O governador Negrão de Lima aponta o ministro da Educação como o culpado do que ocorre. E em Brasília, onde as ocorrências de sexta-feira foram marcadas pela violência, o presidente da República afirma que os responsáveis pelos acontecimentos da Guanabara serão punidos. — Páginas 17, 18 e 19.



Sexta-feira em Brasília: o deputado Hermans Alves tenta desviar o jato d'água que era utilizado contra os estudantes, mas é contido pelo comandante da PM. — Pág. 17



MOSCOW, 30 — Valentina ajoelha-se para beijar o retrato de seu marido, Yuri Gagarin, cujas cinzas foram colocadas no muralha do Kremlin. — (Radiofoto UPI)

A ordem é passear  
 Hoje todos podem programar passeios, pois o dia vai estar convidativo, com o sol brilhando e céu sem nuvens. Há possibilidade de alguma chuva, mas lá pela manhã da noite, segundo as meteorologistas.



**HOJE NA FOLHA**  
 NO CADERNO ESPECIAL



Três modelos de outono  
 O homem faz casa da beleza

**HUMOR**



**Nossa Opinião**  
 Como já se tem dito, nada mais lamentável do que "a explosão de cada vez" que a política brasileira vem por vezes experimentando. Como estudante morto pela polícia caravana. Outros estudantes, porém, poderão aparecer, se o governo não reformular imediatamente sua política ideológica e sua relação com os estudantes. ("Hora de Mudar" — Pág. 4)

**Assuntos diversos**

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Política	19	Classificados	29
Política	20	Classificados	30

**Corinthians no Morumbi e Santos na Vila**

O Corinthians defenderá esta tarde, no Morumbi, a liderança e a invencibilidade no Campeonato Paulista da Divisão Especial, diante do São Paulo, no clássico que poderá quebrar recordes de renda e decidir a sorte do tricolor em relação ao título de campeão. Em Vila Belmiro, o outro líder, o Santos, enfrentará o América, de São José do Rio Preto. — Seção de Esportes

**Eskhol prevê mais guerra no medio Oriente**

Aumenta a tensão entre Israel e os Estados árabes. O primeiro-ministro israelense Levi Eskhol advertiu que se os terroristas continuarem atacando as posições de Israel "a luta poderá ser mais dura do que em junho último". Ao mesmo tempo, os refugiados da Palestina pediram dramaticamente a todos os governos árabes que os auxiliem a reconquistar as terras ocupadas por Israel. — PAG. 2

**Gasolina vai custar 10% a mais amanhã**

Gasolina e derivados custarão cerca de 10% a mais a partir de amanhã, conforme resolução do Conselho Nacional do Petróleo. Como os novos preços, de acordo com o texto da resolução, entraram em vigor na data de sua publicação no "Diário Oficial", o presidente Costa e Silva determinou que este artigo não circule antes de amanhã, mantendo os antigos preços durante o fim de semana.

**Faria Lima prega união e o dialogo**

A propósito das comemorações do 4.º aniversário da Revolução, que transcorre hoje, o prefeito Faria Lima fez pronunciamento em que prega a união de todos para a construção de um Brasil novo, e a necessidade do dialogo do governo com o povo. Hoje, às 20h30, no Circulo Militar de São Paulo, falará o governador Abrão Sodré e o gen. Sizenho Sarmento. — PAG. 6

**Costa governará o país de Porto Alegre**

Pág. 6

**Lançados com exito em Natal 3 "Nike-Cajun"**

Pág. 5

**Johnson fala sobre Vietnã hoje à tarde**

Pág. 2

**A Revolução no seu 4.º aniversario**

Pág. 3



**Delfim Netto e politica salarial**

O que vamos achar no fundo do oceano

O Brasil diante do "apartheid"

.....  
 NA FOLHA FEMININA



Três modelos de outono

O homem faz casa da beleza

**HUMOR**

Estão marcadas para amanhã as novas manifestações com que os estudantes — com a adição de alguns setores profissionais — pretendem protestar contra os acontecimentos de 5.ª-feira na Guanabara. Se bem que o dia de ontem tenha sido calmo em t passeatas, manifestações e outros atos publicos. No Rio, o aspirante apontado como o assassino de Edson Luis aponta o ministro da Educação como o culpado do que ocorre. E em Brasília, onde as ocorrências de sexta-feira foram marcadas pela violência, o presidente da Republica afirma que os responsáveis pelos acontecimentos da Guanabara serão punidos.



Sexta-feira em Brasília: o deputado Hermans Alves tenta desviar o jato d'água que era utilizado contra os estudantes, mas é contido pelo comandante da PM. — Pág. 17



In this excerpt is possible to see that the deepening of the facts were inserted in some central pages of that «FSP» edition. Right below of it two photos were placed occupying both of them almost half of the page. The one on the right side (*photo 38*) was dedicated to the international newscast, the one on the left instead presented a scene of the protests that took place in Brasília two days before.

In so, in terms of images of the story of Edson Luiz, the Saturday – 30/03/1968 – seemed to be a quieter day than the ones before. The photo that has been chosen to be placed on that Sunday first page was a medium distance american plan, in which eight men were framed in the shot, although only four of them are identifiable. Two of them were wearing a military uniform and the one on the right it is the Police Commander as was stated by the caption: «Sexta-feira em Brasília, o deputado Hermano Alves tenta desviar o jato d'água que era utilizado contra os estudantes, mas é contido pelo comandante da PM».<sup>610</sup> The photo that occupies ¼ of the page, indicate a movement scene, in which the police officer holding the water jet presents a scared expression, meanwhile, the other officer behind him is point to a different direction of the jet as if he was giving an instruction. Finally, the deputy «MDB» Hermano Alves<sup>611</sup>, wearing a dark suit, placed a little bit ahead of the policeman, have on hand on the jet and the other a parted from the action. The shot freezes a motion scene in which an opposition deputy places himself in the middle of the repression governate action – is important to underscore that he was the only one with the gaze directed to the camera. The individual expression, in an overall are a great example of the different tensions in place in those days, military, political and practical related to the action of repression per se.

#### *01/04/1968 – Folha de S. Paulo*

In the anniversary day of the military coup no images related to the political situation of the country were published in the first page of «FSP», the two photos present on the cover that day were dedicated to the football matches that occurred in the day before. However, half

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demonstrations and other public acts. In Rio, the police officer pointed out as the murderer of Edson Luíz says that neither he nor his commanders fired the shots. Governor Negrão de Lima points to the Minister of Education as the guilty party. And in Brasília, where Friday's events were marked by violence, the President of the Republic says that those responsible for the events in Guanabara will be punished - pages 17, 18 and 19».

<sup>610</sup> «Friday in Brasilia, deputy Hermano Alves tries to divert the water jet that was used against students, but is restrained by the Military Police commander».

<sup>611</sup> A small biography of Hermano Alves it is available in the Brazilian National Congress website – according to it Alves was an «MDB» deputy elected in 1967 and had his mandate revoked when of the AI-5 promulgation december of 1968. Available in: <https://www.camara.leg.br/deputados/131255/biografia> Access in: 29/06/2022.

of the page was filled with the caps lock headline already quoted: «THE ARMY WILL KEEP THE ORDER AT ALL COSTS» placed more as a warning than a journalistic headline (especially because of the absence of the word «said» indicating a subject of the action) and followed by what has been the text of the official government communication in that occasion

Brasília (Sucursal) – O ministro do Exército, general Lyra Tavares, enviou mensagem a todos os comandos país, informando sobre um movimento de agitação, «com base em passeatas publicas de orientação nitidamente comunista», a ser deflagrado hoje, e recomendando a adoção das providências necessárias para «manter, a todo custo, a ordem e a lei». O texto da comunicação aos comandantes dos Exércitos e ao comando militar da Amazônia é o seguinte: «O governo está seguramente informado de que se projeto para o dia 1º de Abril, em algumas capitais, um movimento de agitação com base em passeatas de orientação nitidamente comunista, aproveitando e explorando o estado emocional da classe estudantil, legitimamente compungida com a lamentável e trágica morte ocorrida no episódio do restaurante do Calabouço. O Exército, por intermédio de todos os comandos subordinados, deve estar atento e em condições de assegurar dentro das instruções do governo, tranquilidade à família brasileira e as atividades normais da nação. Com esse objetivo, recomendo aos comandos das áreas adotarem, desde já, providencias que habilitem, caso necessário a manter, a todo custo, a ordem e a lei, pelas quais são responsáveis nos limites das respectivas jurisdições.<sup>612</sup>

This publication is extremely important to the sequence of the «FSP» coverage on those events, once that is filling the role of an official publicist of what were the military government opinions, reasonings and actions. Is hard to impute this attitude of the newspapers directly connected to the censorship or direct repression in the paper production, we interpret this proposition as the result of the ideological positioning of «FSP» in respect to what was so far, the military regime and its economic goals in that period of consolidation as a communication conglomerate. (TASCHENER, 1992, p. 125). Nevertheless, the text and mainly, the information that was placed in that day's newspaper's front page presents a clear and direct

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<sup>612</sup> «Brasilia (Press Release) - The Minister of the Army, General Lyra Tavares, sent a message to all the commands of the country, informing them of an agitation movement, "based on public demonstrations with a clear communist orientation", to be held today, and recommending the adoption of the necessary measures to "maintain, at all costs, the order and the law". The text of the communication to the commanders of the Armies and to the military command of Amazônia is the following: "The government is surely informed that it is projected for the 1st of April, in some capitals, a movement of agitation based on demonstrations of clearly communist orientation, taking advantage and exploring the emotional state of the student class, legitimately moved by the lamentable and tragic death occurred in the episode of the Calabouço restaurant. The Army, through all subordinate commands, must be attentive and in conditions to assure, within government instructions, tranquillity to the Brazilian family and the nation's normal activities. To this end, I recommend that the area commands immediately adopt measures to enable them, if necessary, to maintain, at all costs, law and order, for which they are responsible within their respective jurisdictions».

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DO BRASIL ANO XLVIII SÃO PAULO, 2.ª-FEIRA 1.º DE ABRIL DE 1968 N.º 14.169

Adm. e of.: Al. Barão de Limeira, 425

NG\$ 0,30

Diretor Presidente: Octavio Frias de Oliveira

## O EXERCITO VAI MANTER A ORDEM A TODO CUSTO

BRASILIA (Sucursal) — O ministro do Exército, general Lyra Tavares, enviou mensagem a todos os comandos do país, informando sobre um movimento de agitação, «com base em passeatas públicas de orientação nitidamente comunista», a ser deflagrado hoje, e recomendando a adoção das providências necessárias para «manter, a todo custo, a ordem e a lei.»

O texto da comunicação aos comandantes dos Exércitos e ao comando militar da Amazonia é o seguinte:

«O governo está seguramente informado de que se projeta para o dia 1.º de abril, em algumas capitais, um movimento de agitação com base em passeatas públicas de orientação nitidamente comunista, aproveitando e explorando o estado emocional da classe estudantil, legitimamente compungida com a lamentável e trágica morte ocorrida no episódio do restaurante do Calabouço. O Exército, por intermédio de todos os comandos subordinados, deve estar atento e em condições de assegurar dentro das instruções do governo, tranquilidade à família brasileira e atividades normais da nação.

«Com esse objetivo, recomendo aos comandos das áreas adotarem, desde já, providências que os habilitem, caso necessário a manter, a todo custo, a ordem e a lei, pelas quais são responsáveis nos limites das respectivas jurisdições.»

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De mala afilhada a bola dos tricoleiros contra os corintianos. Já os verdes apresentaram cinco jogadores de São Paulo contra um de Corintians, mas sem criar o gol — Seção de Esportes

### EUA SUSPENDEM OS BOMBARDEIOS

WASHINGTON (AP-FOLHA) — O presidente Johnson ordenou ontem a suspensão dos bombardeios aéreos e navais contra o Vietnã do Norte, exceto na região vizinha à zona desmilitarizada, depois que o G-8-Bretanha e a URSS pediram que cessassem as atividades de um acordo negociado no Vietnã, e já nomeou o embaixador Vincente Foxworth para uma eventual negociação de paz.

### CORINTIANS DE NOVO

Seção de Esportes



Clássico representado no intervalo da VI Copa Liberdade e ficam com o título de copa subterránea ao certame que se iniciou sábado no Bioral — Seção de Esportes

Carro do Ano, na Europa, tem motor 'Wasp' de alta performance. Todos os detalhes de fabricação, na página 4 da FSP — STRADA

message to all of those who were intending to do take part in the protests against the government.

Even if not containing a photograph, the imagetic strength of that cover relies on the white blank spaces between the text lines, the «waste» of space is a material and rhetorical form of giving a greater importance to what is in the text than the average. A final aspect that must be underscored is the expression «at all costs», the political significance of this sentence printed in caps lock and a few days after the killing of an innocent student presents how deepen and building up was the tension in the country at that time. Once more, the «communist» element is inserted as the plausible justification to any violent action by the militaries.

*Jornal do Brasil - 31/03/1968 and 01/04/1968*

In this «JB» edition in practice were accumulated two of it, the one from Sunday 31st of March 1968 and the Monday one (01/04/1968), because of this the edition is much bigger than the average and presents in total 112 pages. The first page, once more gave prominence to the developments related to the death of Edson Luis. In so, the headline was «Negrão não permitirá nova passeata»<sup>613</sup> and right below it has been placed the first image of that cover framed under the subtitle «A nova trincheira»<sup>614</sup> and above the caption: «Estudantes ocuparam o Calabouço e vão mostrar ao público as condições precárias em que funciona o restaurante»<sup>615</sup>. Alongside the image there is a full column dedicated to the contextualization of the image and the updates connected to the student's protests. On it is explained that the Guanabara State Governor intended to not allow any other demonstration organized by the students in Rio de Janeiro, besides that are also reported other actions – of the Education Ministry some Deans and State governors in order to minimize the student's political agitation and other possible demonstrations around the country. Is valid to quote the last paragraph of the first page text

Assessores do Sr. Negrão de Lima informaram que o Estado-Maior da Aeronáutica chegou pensar em ocupar a cidade e reprimir qualquer manifestação estudantil após o enterro de Edson Luís – mas o plano foi abandonado após longa reunião (Noticiário nas páginas 3,6 – Editorial e Carta dos Leitores – 26, 28, 29, 30, 31,32 e 36).<sup>616</sup>

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<sup>613</sup> «Negrão will not allow another march».

<sup>614</sup> «The new trench».

<sup>615</sup> «Students occupied the Calabouço and will show the public the precarious conditions in which the restaurant operates».

<sup>616</sup> «Advisers to Mr. Negrão de Lima reported that the Air Force General Staff even considered occupying the city and repressing any student demonstrations after the funeral of Edson Luís - but the plan was abandoned after a long meeting (News on pages 3,6 - Editorial and Readers' Letter - 26, 28, 29, 30, 31,32 and 36)».

EDSON LUIS  
 JB - 31/03/1968 and 01/04/1968  
 Photo 39



This extract indicates not only the complexity and tension of those days, but also some of the sources that the «JB» had in that period, inserted in several layers of the governate instances.

Regarding the pictures beyond the first one, rapidly mentioned before, a second image was published right in the center of the page, in this case, dedicated to the international news. In so, the attention in this section will be in the first image (*photo 39*). The pictured shot in a slight deeping angle shows the reunion of around twenty young men that according to the caption were inside the «Calabouço» canteen and had the intention to show to the population what were the conditions of it. In the image is possible to clearly see six faces, those that are positioned in front of the camera, at the same, the disposition of the persons on scene in a kind of circle and the fact that one of the young men was in a higher position constructs the idea of a speech in course. In addition to this, the image freeze, but with some blur, the clapping hands of some of the listeners. All the persons on scene are wearing short sleeve shirts, some with colors and other with stripes. In the background of the photo are visible six windows in the higher part of the wall what seem to be evidence of the fact that the canteen was located beneath the ground in a sort of basement – justifying the name «Calabouço».<sup>617</sup> A final element that is worth to indicate is that the image was made in the internal part of the canteen, indicating the presence of the photographs on the scene.

02/04/1968 – *Folha de S. Paulo*

On the day after the fourth anniversary of the military coup, the central topic in the «FSP» first page was still the student's protests. The main headline was: «S. Paulo tranquilo, conflitos no Rio»<sup>618</sup>, pointing out the fact that in the protests in São Paulo there were no confrontations between protesters and the forces of order, in Rio however, new conflicts were seen. Under the headline a small text was published, bringing some details of what was said in the headline, it reads:

Enquanto em São Paulo a passeata dos estudantes - com apoio de intelectuais, artistas, jornalistas e alguns professores - de protesto pela morte de Edson Luís Lima de Souto se realizava pacificamente, na Guanabara, Belo Horizonte e Goiania as manifestações foram marcadas pela violência, verificando-se uma morte na Capital de Goiás. No Rio o governador Negrão pediu ajuda do I Exército, depois de sua PM ter perdido o

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<sup>617</sup> Calabouço it is the portuguese word for «dungeon».

<sup>618</sup> «S. Paulo calm, conflicts in Rio».

EDSON LUIS

FSP - 02/04/1968

Photo 40 and 41

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DO BRASIL ANO XLVIII SÃO PAULO, 3ª-FEIRA, 2 DE ABRIL DE 1968 N.º 14.170

Adm. e of.: Al. Barão de Limeira, 425

Hoje melhora

O tempo hoje estará melhor, embora o sol ainda esteja esquivo por força da garoa de ontem. Mas no litoral ainda deverá haver chuvas, segundo os meteorologistas.

NA FOLHA ILUSTRADA

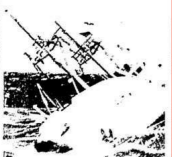


Embu já comemora 80 anos de abolição

Para comemorar o 80.º aniversário da abolição da escravidão no Brasil o Teatro Popular Brasileiro de Solano Trindade está promovendo, no Embu, varias manifestações de caráter artistico-cultural. Ha palestras sobre o folclore brasileiro, musicas regionais e uma exposição de obras de arte com quadros do proprio Solano, que em julho chega aos 60 anos.

Dezenas de crianças tragadas pelo mar

Na noite de 17 de setembro de 1940, nas aguas agitadas do Atlantico Norte, um torpedeiro disparado por um submarino atingiu o "City of Benares", no qual viajavam 215 tripulantes e 191 passageiros, entre os quais 100 crianças orfandas dos repositos mais bombardeados da Grã-Bretanha. O barco afundou em meia hora e, uma a uma, as crianças foram sendo tragadas pelo mar. É a historia contada na primeira de uma serie de reportagens que a FOLHA ILUSTRADA começa a publicar hoje sob o titulo geral de "As Grandes Tragédias Maritimas". No 1.º pag.



Nossa opinião

As agitações de rua que neste momento preocupam o país não podem ser dissociadas das impensas políticas, mais assustadoras e cada vez que passa. O agravamento do sistema estudantil deu-se no momento em que a cúpula politica nacional debate um projeto de lei das universidades — que pode significar o fim do partido da oposição. Ora, há medida em que se negam a ser levadas em conta a opinião publica possivelmente de legitima participação na imprensa politica, crescem as tensões e a tendencia para a luta extralegal. ("Ausencia de Opções" — Pag. 4)

Assuntos diversos

CLASSIFICADOS	CLASSIFICADOS
Assuntos diversos	Assuntos diversos
Brasil	Brasil
Internacional	Internacional
Esportes	Esportes
Opinião	Opinião
Cartas	Cartas
Classificados	Classificados

## S. PAULO TRANQUILO, CONFLITOS NO RIO

Enquanto em São Paulo a passeata dos estudantes — com apoio de intelectuais, artistas, jornalistas e alguns professores — de protesto pela morte de Edson Luis Lima Souto se realizava pacificamente, na Guanabara, Belo Horizonte e Goiania as manifestações foram marcadas pela violencia, verificando-se uma morte na Capital de Goiás. No Rio o governador Negrão pediu ajuda do Exército, depois de sua PM ter perdido o controle da situação; há 13 feridos. Pags. 8, 9 e ultima.



Às 21 horas de ontem já estava totalmente dissolvida a passeata de estudantes que, formada às 17,30, percorreu algumas ruas do centro. Aconteceram apenas rapidos correrios, depois de ligeiros sustos, mas o ambiente geral foi de calma, com os policiaes olhando mais ou menos de longe, levando apenas cassetetes. Ultima pagina.



Durante as manifestações estudantis realizadas na Guanabara ocorreram diversos choques entre policiaes e estudantes. Após uma serie de incidentes a Polícia Militar perdeu o controle da situação e o governador Negrão de Lima pediu a ajuda do Exército para conter a agitação.

**Renda vai agir: contabilidade dupla na mira**

O sr. Cleto Henrique Meyer, diretor do Imposto de Renda, informou ontem que vai iniciar nova operação fiscal contra as firmas que têm duas contabilidades. Já está de posse de uma lista de 2.240 empresas em São Paulo. Comuniquei também que, depois de estudar a situação do complexo pecuario-agropecuario-gorífico, dedicará-se ao conjunto laboratório-farmácia-hospital-melito.

**Johnson faz novo apelo a Hanói**

CHICAGO, 1.º (AFP-UPI-FOLHA) — O presidente Johnson, surpreendendo novamente a todos, chegou a Chicago e pronunciou discurso fazendo um novo e dramático apelo ao Vietnã do Norte para que aceite, com a suspensão parcial dos bombardeios aéreos, a negociação de paz. Em todo o mundo, a reação à renúncia de Johnson de candidatar-se novamente à presidência foi de surpresa.

**Aliquota do ICM no Estado aumenta 1%**

A alíquota do Imposto de Circulação de Mercadorias passou, a partir de ontem, de 15 para 16% para as operações dentro do Estado. Nas transações interestaduais foi mantida em 15%. O "Diário Oficial" do Estado de hoje, informa a Secretaria da Fazenda, publica decreto que levanta do ICM diversos produtos, entre os quais os agropecuarios "in natura", frutas frescas, peixes, crustáceos e moluscos.

**Costa instala o governo em Porto Alegre**

O marechal Costa e Silva chegou ontem a Porto Alegre, de onde governará o País durante esta semana, a exemplo do que já fez em outras capitais do País. Em seu discurso de instalação do governo, no Palácio Piratini, destacou que o governo federal ali estava presente para "estudar os problemas e concorrer para sua solução com aquilo que a União pode contribuir".

# S. PAULO TRANQUILO, CONFLITOS NO RIO

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Às 21 horas de ontem já estava totalmente dissolvida a passeata de estudantes que, formada às 17,30, percorreu algumas ruas do centro. Aconteceram apenas rapidos correrios, depois de ligeiros sustos, mas o ambiente geral foi de calma, com os policiaes olhando mais ou menos de longe, levando apenas cassetetes. Ultima pagina.

Photo 24

controle da situação; há 13 feridos. Págs. 8, 9 e última.<sup>619</sup> (Folha de S. Paulo, 02/04/1968, N° 14.170, Ano XLVIII. Pag. 01)

On this we must draw attention to certain elements of the enunciation. Firstly, the fact that from a linguistic and grammatical point of view, the choice was made for long periods and subordinate orations in a text that functions as a 'lead' of the entire newspaper edition. Then, the fact that more emphasis was given to the events that happened in Rio than in the other cities, especially taking into account the fact that in Goiania there was a new death; and from the point of view of space in the text, there is more attention given to the action of the Carioca governor than to the death of another protester. Immediately after this text, a large photograph of the protest in São Paulo was published (*photo 40*). The photo takes up practically half a page and is a large panorama of a street in the center of the capital of São Paulo. The photograph shows a movement in the gaze going from right to left, in a kind of travelling, which here is obviously stationary. The whole street is full of people and several posters are also visible, those that the quality of the photograph allows us to read propose words of order such as: «Assassinos» and «Chega»<sup>620</sup>.

The caption states:

Às 21 horas de ontem já estava totalmente dissolvida a passeata de estudantes que, formada às 17,30, percorreu algumas ruas do centro. Aconteceram apenas rápidas correrias, depois de ligeiros sustos, mas o ambiente geral foi de calma, com os policiais olhando mais ou menos de longe, levando apenas cassetetes.<sup>621</sup>

On this we can also point out some curious elements of the narrative that is proposed, the repetitive use of words and expressions that bring uncertainty or lack of precision, such as the cases of: «ligeiros sustos», «rápidas correrias», «mais ou menos de longe».<sup>622</sup> An uncommon way the newspaper used to indicate that even though there were no recorded conflicts, there was a lot of tension.

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<sup>619</sup> «While in São Paulo the students' march - with support from intellectuals, artists, journalists, and some teachers - to protest the death of Edson Luís Lima de Souto took place peacefully, in Guanabara, Belo Horizonte and Goiania the demonstrations were marked by violence, with one death in the capital of Goias. In Rio the governor Negrão asked for help from the I Army, after his PM lost control of the situation; there are 13 wounded. Pags. 8, 9 and last».

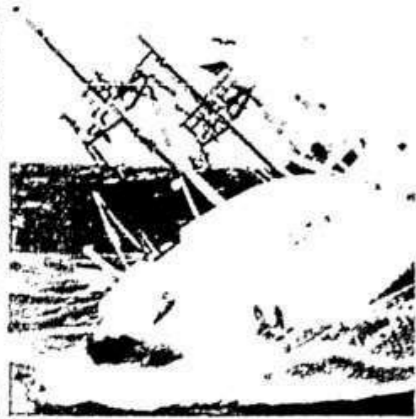
<sup>620</sup> «Assassins» and «Enough!».

<sup>621</sup> «At 9 p.m. yesterday, the student march, which started at 5.30 p.m. and went through some streets in the centre, was already completely dissolved. There were only quick runs, after slight scares, but the general atmosphere was one of calm, with the police looking on more or less from a distance, carrying only their batons».

<sup>622</sup> «slight scares», «quick runs», «more or less from afar».



Tragedias Marítimas". Na 1.a pag.



### Nossa opinião

As agitações de rua que neste momento preocupam o país não podem ser dissociadas dos impasses políticos, mais asfixiantes a cada dia que passa. O agravamento do problema estudantil deu-se no momento em que a cúpula política nacional debate um projeto — o das delegandas — que pode significar o fim do partido da oposição. Ora, não medida em que se negam a setores da opinião pública possibilidades de legítima participação no processo político, crescem as tensões e a tendência para a luta extralegal. ("Ausência de Opções" - Pag. 4)

### Assuntos diversos

Medida	CLASSIFICADOS
1	Após. alugam-se .. 10
2	Após. vendem-se .. 10
3	Casas alugam-se .. 10
4	Casas vendem-se .. 10
5	Corso e profs. ... 10
6	Dinheiro e hipotecas 10
7	Escritórios e sales 10
8	Faz. chac. e silos 10
9	Imoveis diversos .. 10
10	



Durante as manifestações estudantis realizadas na Guanabara ocorreram diversos choques entre policiais e estudantes. Após uma série de incidentes a Polícia Militar perdeu o controle da situação e o governador Negrão de Lima pediu a ajuda do I Exército para conter a agitação.

## Renda vai agir: contabilidade dupla na mira

O sr. Cleto Henrique Meyer, diretor do Imposto de Renda, informou ontem que vai iniciar nova operação fiscal contra as firmas que têm duas contabilidades. Já está de posse de uma lista de 2.240

## Johnson faz novo apelo a Hanói

CHICAGO, 1.º (AFP-UPI-FOLHA) — O presidente Johnson, surpreendendo novamente a todos, chegou a Chicago e pronunciou discurso fazendo um novo e dramático apelo ao Vietnã do Norte para que aceite, com a suspensão par-

## Aliquota do ICM no Estado aumenta 1%

A alíquota do Imposto de Circulação de Mercadorias passou, a partir de ontem, de 15 para 16% para as operações dentro do Estado. Nas transações interestaduais foi mantida em 15%. O

## Costa instala o governo em Porto Alegre

O marechal Costa e Silva chegou ontem a Porto Alegre, de onde governará o País durante esta semana, a exemplo do que já fez em outras capitais do País. Em seu discurso de instalação do

In the lower half of the page, however, the photograph that was chosen for publication depicts a violent scene that happened in Rio (*Photo 41*). The image that occupies about ¼ of the page in horizontal orientation records the moment when a group of four policemen attack another group of students - about three young men. The four policemen are easily spotted in the photo even though the quality is low, as they are wearing uniforms, helmets and carrying batons. The students, on the other hand, are dressed as civilians, with clothes from the period, in the case of the boy who is standing at the point of being grabbed by the policeman, he is wearing black trousers and shirt, the others are sitting and protecting themselves against what they think is the door to enter a shop, they are wearing white clothes. That is to say, the photograph once again proves to bring movement to the cover of the newspaper. The action that was recorded obviously proposes a path of movement and interaction between the subjects of the scene, among other things serving to illustrate the 'loss of control' by the Guanabara government mentioned both in the opening text and in the caption

Durante as manifestações estudantis realizadas na Guanabara ocorreram diversos choques entre policiais e estudantes. Após uma série de incidentes a Polícia Militar perdeu o controle da situação e o governador Negrão de Lima pediu ajuda do I Exército para conter a agitação.<sup>623</sup>

chorusing the newspaper's position dedicated to focus on the Guanabara government and not the federal government. Still on the cover, a small section of the editorial also dedicated to the subject was published in the lower left-hand corner that day. The small text points to the problems associated with the growing popular dissatisfaction with the regime and an increasingly real possibility of the abolition of the opposition party that existed at the time.

Still in this edition, on page n° eight of the «1° Caderno» section was published another photograph (*photo 42*) on the events that took place in Rio. Under the title «Negrão obrigado a pedir ajuda do Exército»<sup>624</sup>, the photograph occupies 1/6 of the page and was placed in the right-hand corner of the page. On the picture, seven people can be identified, six civilians and one policeman. Among the civilians at least four of them are black and of these three seem to be trying to find shelter behind a concrete pillar from the violent action of the policeman. In the background are visible urban elements that make up the scenario of the «Cinelandia» area

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<sup>623</sup> «During the student demonstrations held in Guanabara there were several clashes between police and students. After a series of incidents the Military Police lost control of the situation and Governor Negrão de Lima asked for help from the I Army to contain the unrest».

<sup>624</sup> «Negrão forced to ask for Army help».

# EDSON LUIS FSP - 02/04/1968 Photo 42

## Regrão obrigados a pedir ajuda do Exército

RIO, 1.º (Securam) — As manifestações e o cerco às cidades, envolvendo intensos choques entre estudantes e a Polícia em vários pontos da cidade — o governador Negreiros de Lima, que procura a passeata anunciada pelos universitários, comunicou-se com o comando do Exército, solicitando o auxílio das tropas federais para restabelecer a ordem. Os soldados do Exército deverão agir em colaboração com a Polícia Militar, voltaram a ser acionados em caráter de emergência.

Por outro lado, ao ser informado de que manifestações de estudantes estavam sendo realizadas em vários pontos da cidade, o governador Negreiros de Lima determinou que os policiais fossem armados com revólveres e metralhadoras.

Até aqui os rebeldes da PM utilizavam apenas suas cacetetes e bombas de gás lacrimogênio e somente os cabos e alças levavam armas de fogo.

**Ministerios ocupados**  
 As 20.45 horas, soldados do Exército ocuparam o prédio da Prefeitura no centro da cidade, para impedir sua utilização por manifestantes. Todos os edifícios municipais foram cercados pelo soldado.

**Perdeu o controle**  
 Estacando às 20 horas, o coronel Osvaldo Ferrero de Curitiba, comandante da PM do Estado, comunicou-se com o governador Negreiros de Lima, informando que procura completamente o controle em que pediu ao chefe do Exército para enviar tropas para controlar a situação. O governador Negreiros de Lima está mantendo contato telefônico com o secretário-geral do Exército por meio do ministro da Guerra, Sr. Rio Grande do Sul.

**Tiros e conflitos**  
 Após a passeata, grupos de estudantes, cercados em vários pontos da cidade, foram atacados por policiais. O tipo de ataque foi variado, com o uso de gás lacrimogênio, e de outros tipos de armas.

**Presos espancados**  
 No quartel do comandante Chastano de Farias os estudantes presos por ocasião do ataque do Exército em que estão sendo transportados. O primeiro a ser levado para a rua foi o estudante João Paulo, que estava sendo levado para a rua. O segundo a ser levado para a rua foi o estudante João Paulo, que estava sendo levado para a rua.

**Repórteres feridos**  
 Os repórteres Luiz Pinto e Luiz de Paula, foram feridos na avenida Rio Branco, quando estavam cobrindo a manifestação. Os policiais usaram gás lacrimogênio e outros tipos de armas para dispersar os manifestantes.

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**Gama e Silva ganhe ordem e diz porque Exército age na Guanabara**  
 RIO, 2.º FOLHA) — O Gabinete do ministro da Justiça, Sr. Rio Branco, informou que o Exército age na Guanabara porque os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão. O ministro da Justiça afirmou que o Exército age na Guanabara porque os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão.

**Será demolido**  
 A nota, lida credenciamada do Palácio Guanabara, informou que o restaurante do Calabouço será demolido porque os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão. O ministro da Justiça afirmou que o restaurante será demolido porque os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão.

**Surpresa frustrada**  
 Os policiais que estavam na diligência no Calabouço não esperavam a chegada dos estudantes. Os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão e foram obrigados a pedir ajuda do Exército.

**Metrohóspedes**  
 As primeiras horas de ontem, era grande o movimento de policiais pelo centro da cidade. Os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão e foram obrigados a pedir ajuda do Exército.

**PM promove sargento**  
 Uma nota divulgada esta noite, do comandante da Polícia Militar, Sr. Celso Buarque, informou que o sargento foi promovido a alcaide de Guanabara. O sargento foi promovido a alcaide de Guanabara porque ele se destacou durante a manifestação.

**Universidade isolada**  
 A polícia cercou todos os edifícios de acesso à Universidade de Guanabara. Os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão e foram obrigados a pedir ajuda do Exército.

**Cerco**  
 No caminho da Universidade, a polícia cercou todos os edifícios de acesso à Universidade de Guanabara. Os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão e foram obrigados a pedir ajuda do Exército.

**Presos**  
 Os presos foram levados para o quartel da Polícia Militar. Os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão e foram obrigados a pedir ajuda do Exército.

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## Não houve passeata em Brasília ontem

BRASILIA, 1.º FOLHA) — Embora não se registrasse nenhuma passeata em Brasília ontem, os estudantes realizaram reuniões em vários pontos da cidade. Os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão e foram obrigados a pedir ajuda do Exército.

**Passata suspensa**  
 Em ambiente de grande agitação, milhares de universitários decidiram durante a assembleia geral na Universidade de Brasília, não realizar a passeata. Para chegar à rua deverão, tiveram que enfrentar o forte dispositivo policial armado na cidade seria suicídio.

**Presos**  
 Os presos foram levados para o quartel da Polícia Militar. Os estudantes não obedeceram às ordens de dispersão e foram obrigados a pedir ajuda do Exército.

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Diversos choques entre policiais e estudantes ocorreram na Cinelândia durante as manifestações de protesto realizadas na Guanabara.

# Não houve passeata em Brasília ontem

BRASILIA, 1.º FOLHA) — Embora não se registrando incidentes de maior gravidade, esta capital viveu hoje em clima de tensão na expectativa da passeata de Brasília, não realizada. Para chegar à rua deverão, tiveram que enfrentar o forte dispositivo policial armado na cidade seria suicídio.

**Passata suspensa**  
 Em ambiente de grande agitação, milhares de universitários decidiram, durante a assembleia geral na Universidade de Brasília, não realizar a passeata. Para chegar à rua deverão, tiveram que enfrentar o forte dispositivo policial armado na cidade seria suicídio.

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described in the caption «Diversos choques entre policiais e estudantes ocorreram na Cinelandia durante as manifestações de protesto realizadas na Guanabara».<sup>625</sup> The whole montage of the page seems to go towards the construction of a narrative dedicated to the opposition to Negrão's government and the non-responsibility of the federal government, which even in this critical case in Rio helps with the dispatch of army troops. Once again, on this page we must highlight a small text after the subtitle «Será demolido»,<sup>626</sup>

À noite, fontes credenciadas do Palácio Guanabara informaram à imprensa que o restaurante do Calabouço será demolido. Isso porque setores militares consideram o restaurante estudantil como foco de manifestações subversivas, em consequência da infiltração de comunistas entre os estudantes que ali se alimentam.<sup>627</sup>

This section shows us two central points, on the one hand the fairly close relationship between the Guanabara government and the military who did not want the canteen, then another close relationship between the newspaper and the official government discourse of treat of a communist infiltration in the country and in the Brazilian youth.

02/04/1968 – *Jornal do Brasil*

The «JB» edition after the student's protest had the event in the spotlight of its first page. The headline indicates the results of it and the perspective of new marches in town: «Estudantes fazem o caos e anunciam nova passeata»<sup>628</sup> besides that the whole page organization shows a critic tone of the newspaper to the demonstrations. This aspect can be seen in the words that were choose to the headline, subtitles, caption, and auxiliary texts, as well as in the pictures. In total, all the three of them printed in the first page were connected to the events of the day before, although the first one (*photo 43*) is the one with more information and impact. The subtitle «A acrobacia da violência»<sup>629</sup> and the caption «Os estudantes transformaram carros oficiais estacionados na Rua Rodrigo Silva em picadeiros de suas arruaças»<sup>630</sup> are examples of how the words choice specially: violence and rioting was made

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<sup>625</sup> «Several clashes between police and students took place in Cinelandia during the protest demonstrations held in Guanabara».

<sup>626</sup> «Will be demolished».

<sup>627</sup> «At night, sources in Guanabara Palace informed the press that the Calabouço restaurant would be demolished. This is because military sectors consider the student restaurant to be a focus of subversive manifestations, as a result of the infiltration of communists among the students who eat there».

<sup>628</sup> «Students create chaos and announce a new march».

<sup>629</sup> «The acrobatics of violence».

<sup>630</sup> «The students turned official cars parked on Rodrigo Silva Street into staging posts for their riots».

EDSON LUIS  
JB - 02/04/1968  
Photo 43



in order to give prominence to the destruction caused by the protesters and less attention to the reasons of it. The first paragraph of the text on the right column goes in the same direction

Durante três horas a partir das 18hs de ontem, estudantes e agitadores infiltrados na classe enfrentaram a pau e pedras os soldados da Polícia Militar, no Centro da Cidade, depredaram lojas e bancos, viraram carros oficiais, agrediram pessoas, queimaram um Volkswagen na Avenida Rio Branco e danificaram uma ambulância, além de tumultuar o trânsito.<sup>631</sup>

These elements had with the addition of the picture build a narrative sense in which is created a comparison logic between the violence's on both sides, if in the previous days the focus of the newspaper was on Edson Luis's funeral, in that case with headlines and texts connected to the existence or not of future protests, with a minor highlight in the complete composition to the repressive violence. In this day, the focus is centered in the student's violence, as if could be compared to the killing of civilians by the security forces. In the same text that was already mentioned the final paragraphs reports the killing of other two young men shot by police bullets during the protests.

In this sense construction, the picture fulfills the role of promoting and deepening the idea of an undesired student's violence that had serve as justification to the repression and killings by the security forces. The image occupies almost ¼ of the page and was shot in a medium distance most probably with a tele objective lens due to flattening of the plans freeze the moment in which several actions are in motion. One man is jumping on the roof of a black car, another one in a checkered shirt placed in the first plan is throwing something into his right direction, meanwhile a group of other ten persons (all of them are men) observe the scene. Is important to mention that their clothes are very similar to the ones that the persons figured in the day before first page were using, creating a continuity idea that is central to the whole editorial proposition of the newspaper. Beyond that the images contemplate all the urban elements (magazines, cars, traffic and people) that were described in the first paragraph of the text, giving materiality and visuality to the narrated destruction – this element works in a double sense, at the same gives concreteness to the narrative and legitimizes the information that has been written reinforcing the importance of the interaction element of a newspaper page.

03/04/1968 – *Folha de S. Paulo*

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<sup>631</sup> «For three hours starting at 6pm yesterday, students and infiltrated class agitators confronted the soldiers of the Military Police with sticks and stones in the City Centre, deprived shops and banks, overturned official cars, assaulted people, burnt a Volkswagen on Avenida Rio Branco and damaged an ambulance, as well as disrupting traffic».

On that day, the cover of «FSP» carried a large headline still related to the topic of the student protests «Governo poderá adotar medidas mais rigorosas»<sup>632</sup>, there were not present direct elements related to the protests, but in a broader way the general situation in the country was beginning to lead the military to harsher actions to maintain the order necessary to their face. To the photographs in this cover two images were chosen, placed in the middle of the page, each one occupying a third of the first page.

The one placed furthest to the left shows a detailed plan of a young men lying down (*photo 44*). Most likely taken using a tele objective lens, in a deeping angle framing the subject in what appears to be a position related to a type of vulnerability. The photographed men appear to have his eyes closed, wearing a black shirt with short sleeves and a bandage on his head. The caption indicates: «Depois dos conflitos entre estudantes e militares nas ruas do Rio, muitas pessoas ficaram feridas, entre elas o soldado José Luiz Pena Rodrigues, da PM».<sup>633</sup> That is to say, after reading this small sentence, one can understand that in reality the person lying down is a policeman who was injured after the clashes the day before. The photograph itself does not tell us this.

The second photograph (*photo 45*), on the other hand, is not from the Rio but in São Paulo and at its turn proposes a different mode of plan detail using a telephoto lens. In this case, a scene was recorded in which two subjects (men) can be spotted shoveling at the camera (one standing and the other seated) who appear to be talking to the crowd in front of them and looking at them intently. In the crowd in the front rows, is also possible to watch that the face of those listening is quite serious and attentive. In a closer look is also possible to spot two girls in the crowd and two black subjects. However, once again is only after reading the captions that one can understand the meaning of the photo: «Em várias faculdades de São Paulo os estudantes, se reuniram para acertar pormenores dos próximos movimentos. No CRUSP, os discursos foram violentos»<sup>634</sup>. What is striking about this cover is the pairing of Violence vs. Tranquility proposed in making the comparison between Rio and São Paulo. The small piece of the editorial placed on the front page indicates the thesis defended by the newspaper on that day, in the states where there was more repression there was also more violence, in the others more tranquility. In all cases, however, the report seems to have been linked to a still confident

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<sup>632</sup> «Government may adopt more rigorous measures».

<sup>633</sup> «After the conflicts between students and military on the streets of Rio, many people were injured, including the soldier José Luiz Pena Rodrigues, from the Military Police».

<sup>634</sup> «In several faculties of São Paulo the students met to agree on the details of the next movements. At CRUSP, the speeches were violent».





EDSON LUIS  
FSP - 03/04/1968  
Photo 45



Em varias faculdades de São Paulo os estudantes se reuniram para acertar pormenores dos proximos movimentos. No CRUSP, os discursos foram violentos. Ult. Pag.

idea of what the federal government was doing was placing the responsibility for the violence in Rio on the shoulders of Governor Negrão.

03/04/1968 – *Jornal do Brasil*

In this final edition of the present analysis the narrative logic continues to follow the same path that was indicated in the «JB» construction in the day before. The general idea of wide state of political agitation and violence that serves as the justification to a upsurge of the repression, in practical and institutional terms is the base of the first page. This notion can be seen in the headline «Govêrno prepara medida enérgica contra agitação»<sup>635</sup> and subtitle of the main image (*photo 46*) published that day on the top of the page «Policiais encurralados pelas pedradas que vinham de todos os lugares, atiraram a êsmo as suas bombas de gás lacrimogêneo».<sup>636</sup> Once again, the main focus of that first page is the student' violence, is only in the seventh paragraph of the text published in the right column of the page that there is a reference to the police violence «Em Goiânia, estudantes se reuniram na Catedral Metropolitana, a qual foi invadida por um civil – tido como da Polícia – que descarregou uma arma de fogo, ferindo os estudantes Telmo de Farias e Maria Lúcia Jaime. O bispo auxiliar enviou telegrama de protesto ao governo».<sup>637</sup>

The main picture of this front cover is another great example of the space and care that the «JB» dedicated to the photographs in its pages. The picture shot from a long distance, using a tele objective lens had framed a group of four policemen – according to the caption especially because they were not wearing uniforms that would identify themselves – that were taking shelter behind in what can be inferred as a police van because of its painting. While, in the background plan is identifiable a crowd of people in civilian clothes in a sort of small stairwell throwing rocks and other objects in the direction of those policemen in the first plan. The interesting compositional element of the image is related to the fact that according to the direction that the policemen are pointing their guns the scene movement continues to the right side of the photo outside of it, reinforcing the information that those officers were surrounded and adding more force to the wider aspect of a great national dissatisfaction that is described in the text alongside – the subtitle of the image reinforces this element due to the fact that states only the place in which the scene took place «Belo Horizonte», that is to say that the image

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<sup>635</sup> «Government prepares strong measure against agitation».

<sup>636</sup> «Policemen, cornered by stones coming from everywhere, hurled their tear gas bombs».

<sup>637</sup> «In Goiânia, students gathered in the Metropolitan Cathedral, which was invaded by a civilian - considered to be police - who discharged a firearm, wounding the students Telmo de Farias and Maria Lúcia Jaime. The auxiliary bishop sent a telegram of protest to the government».



chosen to be the main picture of the first page is connected to a part of the protests that has not been specified in the text of the first page, but only in the internal pages of that day's edition. Once more reinforcing the elements of verbal and non-verbal interaction.

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**TABLE 07**

<b>Case / Data</b>	Carlos Marighela – ex-congressman and guerrilla fighter	TOTAL
<b>Period analysed</b>	05/11/1969 – 08/11/1969	
<i>JORNAL DO BRASIL</i> <sup>638</sup>		4 issues
N° of front pages	3	
N° of headlines	3	
N° front page photos	1 (05/11) published only in the second edition; 1 (06/11)	
Main headlines	«Marighela morre metralhado em São Paulo» (05/11); «Morte de Marighela inicia desarticulação terrorista» (06/11); «Igreja receberá provas contra clero subversivo» (07/11); «Polícia gaúcha garante que seminário abriga subversão» (08/11).	3
N° of internal pages	1 (05/11); 1 (06/11); 1 (07/11); 1 (08/11)	4
N° of internal photos	1 (05/11); 1 ilustração (06/11); 1 (07/11)	3
Main internal titles	«Marighela cai em cilada em São Paulo e morre metralhado» (05/11); «Marighela morre em São Paulo ao cair em uma cilada do DOPS»(05/11); «Terrorista preso por acaso deu 1° pista de Marighela» (06/11); «Carlos Marighela é enterrado em sigilo pelo DOPS paulista» (07/11); «Estela é enterrada com honras militares» (08/11) pag. 13.	5
<i>FOLHA DE S. PAULO</i> <sup>639</sup>		4 issues
N° of front pages	3	3
N° of headlines	3	3
N° front page photos	2 (08/11)	2
Main headlines	«Morto o chefe terrorista Marighela» (05/11); «Sepultado ontem Carlos Marighela» (07/11); «Estela Borges Morato sepultada com honras militares» (08/11).	3
N° of internal pages	2 (06/11); 1(07/11); 1 (08/11)	4
N° of internal photos	1 (06/11); 1 (07/11); 2 (08/11)	5
Main internal titles	«Como a operação Bandeirante chegou a Marighela» (06/11); «Grupos extremistas vão sendo desarticulados» (06/11); «Sepultado ontem Carlos Marighela» (07/11); «Sepultada Estela Borges Morato, a primeira heroína da Polícia» (08/11).	4

<sup>638</sup> «Jornal do Brasil, from the 5th to the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1969, N°s 181; 182; 183 and 184. Ano LXXIX».

<sup>639</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo, N°s 14.752; 14.753; 14.754 and 14.755. Ano XLIX».

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Marighela dies machine-gunned in São Paulo» (05/11); «Death of Marighela starts terrorist disarticulation» (06/11); «Church will receive evidence against subversive clergy» (07/11); «Police from Rio Grande do Sul guarantee that seminary shelters subversion» (08/11).
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Marighela falls into a trap in São Paulo and dies machine-gunned» (05/11); «Marighela dies in São Paulo while falling into a DOPS ambush» (05/11); «Terrorist arrested by chance gave first clue of Marighela» (06/11); «Carlos Marighela is buried in secrecy by São Paulo DOPS» (07/11); «Estela is buried with military honours» (07/11).
<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo»	«Terrorist chief Marighela dead» (05/11); «Buried yesterday Carlos Marighela» (07/11); «Estela Borges Morato buried with military honours» (08/11).
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo»	«How the Bandeirante operation reached Marighela»; «Extremist groups are being dismantled» (06/11). «Buried yesterday Carlos Marighela» (07/11). «Buried Estela Borges Morato, the first heroine of the Police» (08/11).

The killing of Carlos Marighela, even if represented the physical elimination of one of the main regime's opponents and probably the most important leader of the armed struggle in the country, did not receive a long and deep press attention. A fact that is mostly connected to two main aspects, after the promulgation of the «AI-5» on December of 1968 the press also became a target of the repression with the institution of the Censorship and a strong Press Law alongside the Law of National Security, transformed the period between 1969 and 1975 in the one with most restrictions to the press work during the dictatorship (TASCHNER, 1992, p. 117). In addition to this, the ambiguous positioning of the mainstream press organs in relation to the treatment of the armed struggle regime's opponents. Due to this contextual and specific characteristic, the coverage of Marighela's assassination in a rich neighborhood of São Paulo had less space in the editions analyzed, both in terms of the number of days and of pages and images in each issue.

Being that said, the major coverage of the press in this event has been concentrated in the four following days of it, between the 5th and the 8th of November 1969. In the case of the «FSP» occupied the first page only in two of the four days with only two pictures being published, these however was dedicated to the burial of the police officer that died in the operation. Other three pictures appear in the internal page, the first one is a passport photo of Estela Borges, the police officer, published on the 6th of November, but only after 07/11/1969 there is a first image of Marighela, however is not a picture of the shooting scene or of who

was the ex-deputy and armed struggle member, but an image of his burial taken from a distance composing a generic cemetery scenario. The newspaper gave much more space and attention to the images related to the honors and tributes dedicated to Estela Borges, then to Marighela. On the 8th of November, the first page brought the first two pictures connected to the case and were images of Estela's funeral, in the same edition, half of an internal page was dedicated to the event, presenting other two pictures of it.

In addition to it, in none of the headlines or texts are used words that indicate the occurrence of a murder, implying on the existence of a killing agent, the use of the expressions «Morto o chefe terrorista Marighela»<sup>640</sup> or «Sepultado ontem Carlos Marighela»<sup>641</sup> do not have on it the agents of the killing and contrasts with the expressions «Estela Borges Morato sepultada com honras militares»<sup>642</sup> and «Sepultada Estela Borges Morato, a primeira heroína da Polícia»<sup>643</sup> referring to the police officer that also died on the operation. These aspects added to the other internal headlines: «Como a operação Bandeirante chegou a Marighela»; «Grupos extremistas vão sendo desarticulados»<sup>644</sup> on no occasion calls the attention to the agents of his death. All these elements present an approach that, while tried to not mention Marighela, also did not mention in the headlines the reality of his death, keeping it in a passivity abstraction, as if could be connected to a natural element.

In the case of the «JB» there are some notable differences. The first one regards the attention dedicated to Marighela killing, overcoming the space given to the death of the police officer, Estela Borges as was seen in the pages of «FSP». In so, in «JB» coverage of Marighela's assassination there was from the beginning a choice of representing it pictorially, for this reason in the day after the ambush organized by the «Operação Bandeirantes», in the second (afternoon) daily edition of the newspaper was published on the cover a picture of the ex-deputy and «ANL» leader shot dead inside of his car. This example will be further detailed but is central to indicate «JB's» choice on putting the subject in the first page throughout an explicit and sensitive content image. On the other hand, on the 6th of November, was also published in the first page an image of Estela Borges - who was also killed in the ambush, but in this case, the picture chosen was not of her dead body, but of a passport photo. Indicating a difference in respect on how both deaths were being treated.

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<sup>640</sup> «Terrorist leader Marighela dead».

<sup>641</sup> «Buried yesterday Carlos Marighela».

<sup>642</sup> «Estela Borges Morato buried with military honours».

<sup>643</sup> « Buried Estela Borges Morato, the first heroine of the Police».

<sup>644</sup> « How Operation Bandeirante reached Marighela»; «Extremist groups are being dismantled».

In addition to this, the narrative related to Marighela's burial on the 7th of November is useful as indicative of how the discursive construction can be very similar in some aspects and extremely different in others, resulting in a final expression that leads to diverse possible readers interpretations and interactions. In both stories, whether in «FSP» or «JB» the pictures of his burial were very similar in the generic way that the event was framed and pictured with slight differences in the subtitles. The most significant distinctions can be seen in the titles and auxiliary title constructions and word choice. While in «FSP» the killing subject is not present in the headlines, in the second case is pretty much visible in titles like «Carlos Marighela é enterrado em sigilo pelo DOPS paulista»<sup>645</sup> (07/11/1969) or «Marighela morre em São Paulo ao cair em uma cilada do DOPS»<sup>646</sup> (05/11/1969) and even in the main headline of 5th November cover «Marighela morre metralhado em São Paulo»<sup>647</sup>. At the same time, more information about the operation that had killed Marighela are presented in the stories on the internal pages of the newspaper in those days.

These elements added by the headlines connecting Marighela's killing to «subversion» inside the catholic church, especially after the 07/11/1969 are another sign of different choices made by «JB» in the treatment of this case, proposing the building of a cause-consequence to the killing. That is to say, «JB» since the beginning of the coverage was less preoccupied in do not referring to the event, but on the other hand, more engaged in making explicit what were the consequences to the subversive elements of the society, that will be further detailed in the following pages, but is the base of our hypothesis for the explicit image of Marighela's body on the front page and the intentional allocation of the story into the section «Subversion» as seen in the 07/11/1969 when the killing of Marighela has been connected to alleged subversion elements inside the catholic church.

#### *05/11/1969 – Folha de S. Paulo*

After the killing of Marighella, on the cover of the «FSP» was published a large headline at the top «Terrorist leader Marighela dead» in which the use of the word 'terrorist' must be emphasized. In this cover there was no picture of the case. On two-thirds of the right-hand side of the page is a text describing the events of the night before when the ex-deputy was killed by the State of São Paulo's security forces. In this sense, is needed to highlight a few aspects: the name of the police commissioner Sergio Fleury was mentioned three times in the

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<sup>645</sup> «Carlos Marighela is buried in secret by São Paulo DOPS».

<sup>646</sup> «Marighela dies in São Paulo in a DOPS ambush».

<sup>647</sup> «Marighela dies machine-gunned in São Paulo».

CARLOS MARIGHELA  
FSP - 05/11/1969

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

Ano XLIX Um jornal a serviço do Brasil São Paulo, quarta-feira, 5 de novembro de 1969 N.º 14.752

## Morto o chefe terrorista Marighela

### Avião brasileiro sequestrado e levado para Cuba



O comandante do avião, Gerald Knipping



Este é o Boeing 707 da Varig sequestrado quando foi de Buenos Aires para Santiago

Um Boeing 707 da Varig foi sequestrado por quatro homens e uma mulher quando fazia o voo Buenos Aires-Santiago do Chile, ontem à tarde. Com 89 passageiros e 12 tripulantes a bordo, o aparelho decolou na capital chilena para reabastecimento e depois seguiu para Havana. Os sequestradores, possivelmente de nacionalidade argentina, obrigaram o comandante da aeronave, Gerald Werner Knipping, a seguir suas ordens sob a ameaça de revolveres calibre 45. Um casal brasileiro pôde desembarcar em Santiago porque a mulher, grávida de sete meses, não se sentia bem, sendo socorrida no próprio aeroporto.

O Boeing, que levantou voo do Chile exatamente às 17h33m, levaria 19 horas para chegar a Cuba, em voo direto à velocidade de mil quilômetros horários.

Em Brasília, o Itamarati comunicou-se imediatamente com a Saípa, cuja embarcada em Havana cobrirá das taxas que serão pagas ao governo de Fidel Castro e dará assistência aos passageiros e tripulantes.

Ontem à noite, quando a aeronave sobrevoava Lima, Peru, o comandante Gerald enviou mensagem à Varig, dizendo que tudo ia bem a bordo.

Ostro avião, da empresa nicaraguense LANICA, também foi desviado para Cuba ontem cedo, por dois homens não identificados, quando fazia o voo entre Managua e El Salvador, com destino ao México. PAO. 3

O ex-deputado Carlos Marighela, 39 anos, chefe do movimento terrorista no País, foi morto ontem em São Paulo, ao resistir à ordem de prisão que lhe era dada por agentes da "Operação Bandeirante".

Marighela foi alvo de uma rajada de metralhadora e faleceu imediatamente no próprio local, na alameda Casa Branca, altura do número 866, no elegante bairro de Jardim Paulista. A hora exata do encontro entre a polícia e o líder terrorista foi 20h35.

Os agentes que participam da "Operação Bandeirante" haviam prendido há dois meses um engenheiro e ficaram sabendo dos planos de Marighela, em relação a um encontro na alameda Casa Branca, na noite de ontem. Foi preparado um dispositivo tendo à frente o delegado Sérgio Fleury, do DOPS. No carro do delegado ficaram um agente e duas investigadoras, além dessa autoridade.

Sabiam os policiais que Marighela deveria chegar num Volks azul, dentro do qual morreu, que tem a chapa 34-69-28. Os agentes cercaram a rua, ficando a policial Stela Borges Morais que tinha a descrição do terrorista, de avisar aos policiais. O Volks azul se aproximou e nele viajava Marighela, que, logo ao descer, viu-se cercado. Ele correu, tentando apagar uma pasta no veículo. Um policial deu a primeira rajada para o ar, como advertência, mas Marighela não deu atenção, sendo então metralhado. Calu morto dentro do carro.

O carro do delegado Fleury, também teve os seus vidros estilhaçados, como os de Marighela.

As diligências, que foram realizadas por numerosos policiais, tiveram a orientação do delegado Sérgio Fleury, que já estava a par do "apontamento" (encontro de terroristas em qualquer lugar, na rua, quase sempre motorizados) de Marighela na alameda Casa Branca e ali, perto de um prédio em construção foi montado o dispositivo policial.

Quando o carro de Marighela se aproximou e ele reconhecido pela policial do DOPS (esta fingiu estar nomeando o colega), fechou-se o cerco. Marighela tombou morto, ficaram feridas as investigadoras Stela (com o tiro na cabeça em estado grave) e Ana Pereira Leite, além do delegado Tucunduva, este com um tiro na perna.

O cadáver de Marighela foi removido para o necrotério do IML para autópsia, depois de examinado por peritos dos IPT. Ao ser morto Marighela trajava roupa esporte e longa cabeleira negra.

O gen. Sílvio Correa de Andrade, chefe da Polícia Federal em São Paulo, compareceu imediatamente ao local, e declarou:

"É o tiro de misericórdia no terrorismo. Eu sabia que Marighela estava no Brasil, especificamente em São Paulo".

### O Corinthians vence o Santos de quatro e Pelé não marca



Fig. começa a golada corinthiana: Ivair comemora pelo com a torcida; Benê corre para abraçar Ivair.

O Corinthians ganhou do Santos, por 4 a 1 e Pelé não marcou. Os 4 gols de que Pelé precisava para chegar aos mil quem marcou foi o Corinthians, que teve ainda condições para marcar até mais. Nos últimos segundos do jogo, presenciado por um dos maiores públicos que já lotou o Pacaembu, Pelé marcou de falta, mas o juiz anulou porque Abel estava impedido. Outra cabeçada que poderia ser o 5º gol de Pelé, Ado, causando sensação, pôs a escanteio.

O Corinthians decidiu a partida praticamente já no primeiro tempo, com um gol de Ivair e outro de Rivellino, cobrando falta. Aos 10 minutos do segundo tempo, Edu, numa jogada conjunta na área corinthiana, marcou o gol de honra dos santistas, a essa altura, totalmente desolados. Sanguê fez o quarto e último gol numa falta do goleiro Agnaldo. Pelé, principalmente, tentou ainda algumas arrancadas para tentar aproximar-se dos mil, mas, em vão. O Corinthians ganhava a grande batalha e garantia praticamente sua classificação para a fase final de Roberto. Ado ganhava sua batalha particular com Pelé. ESPORTES



Agnaldo, desconsolado, a bola no fundo da rede; Rivellino bateu a falta com um tiro violento; era o 2.º gol.

### Medici expõe a Nixon nossa posição em face da nova política na AL

Em mensagem que enviou ontem ao presidente Richard Nixon, cujo texto será divulgado nas próximas horas pelo Palácio do Planalto, o presidente Garrastazu Medici define a posição do governo brasileiro em face da nova política dos Estados Unidos para a América Latina.

O assunto foi amplamente debatido na reunião que o presidente Medici manteve ontem com os ministros Delfim Neto, da Fazenda, João Paulo dos Reis Velloso, do Planejamento, Fábulo Yassuda, da Indústria e Comércio, Cirne Lima, da Agricultura, e Gurgel Valente, ministro interino das Relações Exteriores. O encontro durou quase duas horas e, ao seu término, nenhum dos participantes quis adiantar pormenores à imprensa.

No fim da tarde, o Planalto liberava uma nota oficial, anunciando a próxima divulgação do texto da mensagem do presidente Medici ao presidente Nixon, e adiantando que o ministro Mario Gibson Barbosa, atualmente em Washington, fora encarregado de levar pessoalmente a comunicação ao chefe do governo norte-americano. PAO. 3

**O TEMPO HOJE FAZ CALOR**  
Hoje o paulistano vai enfrentar um dia de bastante calor, talvez um pouco mublado, é o que informam os meteorologistas.

**TEMPO BOM para tomar um COGNAC DUBAR**  
a melhor "previsão" para o seu paladar!

**CRISE DA ÁGUA AINDA NÃO CHEGOU AO FIM**  
A crise no abastecimento d'água em São Paulo ainda não chegou ao fim. Enquanto o nível da represa de Guarapiranga não se elevar suficientemente, advertem as autoridades, o racionamento continuará e serão punidos todos os consumidores que desperdiçarem água.

**Jiri Pelikan, intelectual tchecoslovaco, conta na FOLHA ILUSTRADA**  
por que se recusou a voltar à Tchecoslováquia, depois que os russos invadiram seu país, em agosto de 1968.

Nessa época, ele foi afastado do seu cargo no televisão e designado para servir na embaixada de Roma.

**Assuntos Diversos**

- EXTERIOR ..... 2 4
- POLÍTICA ..... 2 4
- NACIONAL ..... 5
- INTERIOR ..... 9
- LOCAL ..... 7 8 9
- ECONOMIA ..... 10 11 12
- ESPORTE ..... 13 14
- TURFE ..... 13
- INF. GEN. .... 25
- AUTOMOVEIS ..... 24



text as the chief responsible for the operation that killed Marighella. As indicated above, Salvatore Senese's report presented to the Bertrand Russell II Tribunal in Rome in 1975 emphasizes that Fleury was a known leader of the death squads in São Paulo.

In describing the activities of these groups dedicated to hunting down, torturing and killing bandits daily in São Paulo, Rio, Salvador and Vitória – other state capitals in the country, (the author points to several reports in the Brazilian mass media, in which news about the events related to the actions of these police groups appear). Two reports are referred. The first from «Jornal do Brasil» of 20/04/1970 and the other from «O Globo» of 17/02/1971, also the magazine «Realidade» in January of 1971 on page sixty-five. Following, the author points out the fact and the relevance of the backing these groups had from the government and the law enforcement agents that in theory should control them, in his opinion the killing of Marighella is an event that confirms this attitude between the institutions and these clandestine groups (SENESE, 1974, p. 152). In the explanation of the law makers' reaction, two other news reports were quoted: «Veja» of 06/01/1971 and «O Estado de S.Paulo» of 22/10/1970. Both of them are dedicated to the fact that, Helio Bicudo (Public Prosecutor that at that time was investigating the actions of the Death Squads) was removed from office because of his work on Fleury's indictment. Senese also mentions the fictitious character of Fleury's imprisonment in 1973 in the same DEOPS where he worked (SENESE, 1974, p.153). He was however released from prison in January 1974. Once again Senese returns to the newspapers, in this case to the «Jornal da Tarde» of 22/01/1974 to point out how Fleury resumed his work as soon as he was released from prison. Fleury was released from prison, returned to work and was present in the «Livro de Registros da Portaria do DEOPS» in 1975 as mentioned before.

The text in the newspaper cover presents a detailed account of how he was found and then killed, presenting the fact as a confrontation between Marighella and the agents of the so-called «Operação Bandeirantes». This account was contested a few years later, especially since new similar events were witnessed in Brazilian society.

*05/11/1969 – Jornal do Brasil*

In the first page of the morning edition of the Carioca daily there is no photograph and the pagination is very similar to that of the «FSP», with a large headline at the top announcing the killing of Marighella, but in this case the word 'terrorist' is not used. Another similar feature is the presence of a small text on the right-hand side of the cover explaining the events. Should be noted that both newspaper texts are practically identical, especially in the first two paragraphs. The only clear difference is the information about the policewoman killed on the



# JORNAL DO BRASIL

Diário de Notícias - São Paulo, 5 de Novembro de 1969

## Marighela morre metralhado em São Paulo

FORÇA DE CONTRA-INT



Em 1964, o jornalista Carlos Marighela foi eleito para o cargo de chefe da seção de notícias do jornal 'O Estado de São Paulo', cargo que ocupou até sua morte em 1969.

Carlos Marighela, que chegou ao Brasil em 1964, foi eleito para o cargo de chefe da seção de notícias do jornal 'O Estado de São Paulo' em 1964. Ele foi eleito para o cargo de chefe da seção de notícias do jornal 'O Estado de São Paulo' em 1964.

A polícia descobriu a existência de um plano de assassinato de Carlos Marighela em São Paulo, quando ele estava no Brasil há alguns meses. O plano era executado por um grupo de pessoas que estavam em contato com Marighela.

### Hanoi inicia ofensiva em II frentes

Hanoi iniciou uma ofensiva em duas frentes, a do norte e a do sul, contra as forças americanas e do Sudeste Asiático.

### Boeing brasileiro é desviado para Cuba

Um avião Boeing brasileiro foi desviado para Cuba durante uma viagem de teste. O avião estava voando de São Paulo para Brasília quando se desviou para o norte.

### Israel não admite terror do Líbano

Israel não admite o uso de terror no Líbano, apesar de alegar que as forças israelenses estão lutando contra o terrorismo.

### Chuva parou trânsito no Rio inteiro

Uma chuva forte parou o trânsito em todo o Rio de Janeiro, causando congestionamentos e acidentes.

### Cautela suspende a venda de ciclamato

A Agência Nacional de Vigilância Sanitária (ANVISA) suspendeu a venda de ciclamato devido a preocupações com a saúde pública.

### TFR vê ação movida pelo Cofre DEu

O Tribunal Federal de Recursos (TFR) viu uma ação movida pelo Cofre DEu, alegando que o Cofre DEu violou a Constituição.

### Declaração de renda em 70 tem data fixa

A declaração de renda em 70 tem uma data fixa, segundo o Ministério da Fazenda.

Small text in the left margin, likely a sidebar or additional news snippets.



# JORNAL DO BRASIL

Diário de Notícias - São Paulo, 5 de Novembro de 1969

## Marighela morre metralhado em São Paulo

### Ciclamoto sai do mercado até fim de exames

O uso do ciclamato foi proibido no Brasil até o fim dos exames de saúde pública. A Agência Nacional de Vigilância Sanitária (ANVISA) tomou esta medida devido a preocupações com a saúde.



Em 1964, o jornalista Carlos Marighela foi eleito para o cargo de chefe da seção de notícias do jornal 'O Estado de São Paulo'.

Carlos Marighela, que chegou ao Brasil em 1964, foi eleito para o cargo de chefe da seção de notícias do jornal 'O Estado de São Paulo' em 1964.

A polícia descobriu a existência de um plano de assassinato de Carlos Marighela em São Paulo, quando ele estava no Brasil há alguns meses.

### SIP pede a Médici mais liberdade

O Sindicato dos Industriais do Petróleo (SIP) pediu ao presidente Médici mais liberdade econômica para o Brasil.

### Boeing brasileiro é desviado para Cuba

Um avião Boeing brasileiro foi desviado para Cuba durante uma viagem de teste. O avião estava voando de São Paulo para Brasília quando se desviou para o norte.

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### Chuva parou trânsito no Rio inteiro

Uma chuva forte parou o trânsito em todo o Rio de Janeiro, causando congestionamentos e acidentes.

### Hanoi inicia ataque ao redor de Saigon

Hanoi iniciou um ataque ao redor de Saigon, alegando que as forças vietnamitas estão lutando contra o terrorismo.

### TFR vê ação movida pelo Cofre DEu

O Tribunal Federal de Recursos (TFR) viu uma ação movida pelo Cofre DEu, alegando que o Cofre DEu violou a Constituição.

### Declaração de renda em 70 tem data fixa

A declaração de renda em 70 tem uma data fixa, segundo o Ministério da Fazenda.

Small text in the left margin of the second page, likely a sidebar or additional news snippets.

occasion, «JB» already publishes in 05/11/1969 the news of her death, information that will only be published in the «FSP» in 07/11/1969.

However, on the afternoon «JB's» edition of that same day, there is a photograph of Marighela's body inside his car (*photo 47*). The picture takes up almost the entire top half of the page and was published around a subheading «A batalha perdida»<sup>648</sup> and also the caption «Ao ver que fora atraído a uma cilada, Marighela correu para o Volkswagen, onde acabou metralhado».<sup>649</sup> The shot taken at medium distance from top to bottom frames the car with the door open with his body lying in the back seats as if had fallen between the two rows of seats. His face also appears in the scene creating a strong image that can be read/interpreted with discomfort due to the explicit of the image. This attitude and choice of the photographer, but especially of the editors, is liable to the interpretation that pours over the photo the idea of creating a brute impression with readers as to what might happen to those who make the choice of the armed struggle and confrontation with the military regime. The use of the flash adds an extra layer of drama that creates a more pronounced and dry effect in the picture.

In the same edition, page fourteen contains the chronicle of the event in which another photograph (*photo 48*) was published. This photo occupies about ¼ of the top half of the page and was placed exactly in the middle of the page; also taken from a medium distance and from top to bottom. The photograph shows the hands and feet of two people in a movement to remove the shirt of Marighela whose body was pulled from the car and placed on the ground. Most probably were the police officers who were making this movement, once again the intentionality of the newspaper in choosing the photograph to be published remains clear. The caption indicates: «O terrorista Carlos Marighela tombou atingido por uma rajada de metralhadora no peito e na cabeça»<sup>650</sup>, echoing the official version that was issued by the police. However, is interesting to note the difference in the text accompanying the photograph, after the narration of the facts there is also a small biography of Marighela in which facts and elements of his political trajectory are presented. At no point does the press organ refer to him as a 'terrorist' but as a former member of the Communist Party of Brazil. These elements added to the already presented aspects of the narrative construction of the killing subject, indicates a difference in the approach to this case between both newspapers underlining two perspectives of looking and narrating the armed struggle in that period.

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<sup>648</sup> «The lost battle».

<sup>649</sup> «Seeing that he had been lured into a trap, Marighela ran to the Volkswagen, where he was machine-gunned».

<sup>650</sup> «Terrorist Carlos Marighela was shot in the chest and head by machine gun fire».

Temperatura, ventos, umidade, etc., em qualquer ponto do Brasil. Consulte: Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 1, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 2, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 3, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 4, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 5, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 6, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 7, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 8, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 9, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 10, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 11, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 12, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 13, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 14, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 15, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 16, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 17, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 18, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 19, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 20, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 21, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 22, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 23, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 24, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 25, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 26, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 27, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 28, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 29, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 30, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 31, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 32, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 33, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 34, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 35, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 36, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 37, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 38, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 39, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 40, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 41, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 42, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 43, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 44, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 45, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 46, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 47, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 48, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 49, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 50, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 51, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 52, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 53, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 54, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 55, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 56, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 57, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 58, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 59, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 60, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 61, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 62, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 63, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 64, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 65, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 66, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 67, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 68, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 69, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 70, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 71, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 72, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 73, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 74, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 75, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 76, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 77, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 78, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 79, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 80, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 81, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 82, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 83, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 84, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 85, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 86, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 87, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 88, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 89, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 90, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 91, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 92, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 93, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 94, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 95, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 96, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 97, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 98, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 99, p. 100. Ed. S. Paulo, Vol. 100, p. 100.

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

Rio de Janeiro — Quarta-feira, 5 de novembro de 1969

TERCEIRO CLIXE

Ano LXXIX — Nº 181

## Marighela morre metralhado em São Paulo

### A BATALHA PERDIDA

#### Ciclamato sai do mercado até fim de exames

Desde ontem está proibido o emprego de ciclamatos em alimentos e bebidas nacionais. A decisão foi tomada pela Comissão Nacional de Normas e Padrões para Alimentos, e vai perdurar até as conclusões dos estudos científicos que estão sendo feitos pelo Ministério da Saúde sobre os efeitos da substância.

Os meios científicos dos Estados Unidos analisaram ontem com entusiasmo o primeiro isolamento do vírus da leucemia, tarefa inédita conseguida por uma equipe de pesquisadores da Universidade escocesa de Glasgow. Os cancerologistas norte-americanos admittiram, no entanto, que o feito contribui para antecipar a cura da moléstia.

O chefe do Departamento de Viriologia da Universidade de Texas, Dr. Leon Dmochewsky, declarou que "difícilmente a descoberta de Glasgow seria um grande acontecimento." O relatório científico da Sociedade Norte-Americana de Combate ao Câncer criticou os cientistas escoceses por "exagerarem um pouco a seu trabalho." (Págs. 3, 12 e Caderno B)



Na vez que jáva a virado à sua cidade, Marighela correu para o Volkswagen, onde acabou metralhado

O chefe terrorista Carlos Marighela foi morto pela polícia com uma rajada de metralhadora, ontem à noite, em São Paulo, quando tentava entrar num Volkswagen azul, na esquina das Alameda Lorena e Casa Branca, onde se encontraria com dois padres presos que serviam de isca.

Carlos Marighela, que chegara ao local numa camioneta Willys, não atendeu à voz de prisão que lhe deu o delegado Fleury, do DOPS, e foi atingido pela rajada no peito e na cabeça, enquanto os seus dois companheiros reagiram a tiros, matando a investigadora Fatela de Barros Borges, que participava da operação.

A polícia descobriu a maneira de encontrar Carlos Marighela há dias, quando prendeu 11 padres num convento da bairro do Paraíso. Dois deles se dispuseram a colaborar com a polícia na prisão de Marighela e agacharam-se na parte de trás do Volkswagen quando o terrorista foi atingido pela rajada de metralhadora.

Para prender Marighela, a polícia espalhou pelas imediações vários casais de investigadores, que fingiam estar namorando. No momento em que o terrorista e seus companheiros chegavam para encontrarem com os padres, a investigadora Ana Teresa Leite beijava um colega para ficar de frente para o grupo subversivo.

Marighela ao ser morto trajava um terno cinza e uma camisa azul, além de usar perneira castanha, que caiu no assento do Volkswagen quando ele foi atingido. O DOPS e a Polícia Federal examinaram todos os prisioneiros das imediações do local onde ocorreu o tiroteio. (Pág. 14)

#### SIP pede a Médici mais liberdade

A Sociedade Interamericana de Imprensa enviou telegrama ao Presidente Gaetano Médici, cobrindo, simultaneamente o encastelamento dos médicos restritiva da liberdade de imprensa.

De a mensagem: "A SI" Associação da Sociedade Interamericana de Imprensa considera, com satisfação, a declaração do ministro de que seu Governo tem a firme intenção de respeitar a democracia no Brasil. Afirmamos a esperança de que esta resolução será cumprida em futuro próximo. Como primeiro passo, recomendamos para esse fim, imediatamente pedimos que seu Governo revogue toda legislação que restrinja a liberdade de imprensa e que sua Excellência repete as mesmas recomendações para que esta liberdade seja, na prática, respeitada plenamente."

#### Boeing brasileiro é desviado para Cuba

Um Boeing 707 da Varig com 161 pessoas a bordo — 89 passageiros e 12 tripulantes — foi desviado ontem por cinco rapazes e uma mulher trabalhadora Buenos Aires—Santiago e sequestrado para Cuba. Este foi o segundo avião brasileiro vítima de pirataria em menos de um mês.

Um jato BAC 111 das Linhas Aéreas de Nicarágua, que decolava de Managua para São Salvador, também foi sequestrado e desviar-se para a Argentina.

O jato de Varig decolou a Galícia às 10, e, após a esca-

ta normal em Buenos Aires — onde os sequestradores solicitaram — seguiu para Santiago. Cinco rapazes e uma mulher, ao que se acredita argentinos, autocalizaram a desvia na rota minutos antes do pouso em Santiago do Chile, para re-hosteramento. Nesta capital saiu o capitão Maurício Menezes, cujo nome, grávida, sofreu uma crise no voo.

Ao tomar conhecimento do sequestro, o Comando solicitou ao Governo chileno todas as possibilidades necessárias para assistir os 12 tripulantes e seis passageiros a alojados em Havana. (Pág. 2)

#### Israel não admite terror do Líbano

O Chanceler israelense, Abba Eban, afirmou ontem que a Líbano sofreu represálias se permitir que os terroristas árabes usassem livremente seu território para atacar Israel.

Eban afirmou que Israel respeita a independência e a integridade do Líbano, o que obriga este país a ter igual atitude em relação a Israel — evitando ataques procedentes de seu solo contra o povo israelense — sem o que será alvo de medidas militares à altura.

Na frente de batalha, um avião israelense sobrevooou o Cairo, enquanto outros aparelhos bombardeavam posições pró-tu da Ponte Adenby. (Página 11)

#### Chuva parou trânsito no Rio inteiro

#### Hanoi inicia ataque ao redor de Saigon

#### TFR vê ação movida pelo Conde D'Eu

#### Declaração de renda em 70 tem data fixa

CARLOS MARIGHELA  
 JB - 05/11/1969  
 Photo 48



06/11/1969 – *Folha de S. Paulo*

Once again, on this day there were no photographs of Marighela's case on the front cover of the newspaper; inside, however, there is a first image (*photo 49*) related to the story, but which is dedicated to the policewoman Estella Borges who was injured in the operation the day before. However, on this day the newspaper dedicated two full pages (pages 12 and 13) to the work of the «Operação Bandeirantes» of persecution and imprisonment of the armed struggle groups in the country at that time, highlighting the fact that according to the «DOPS» a retreat of these groups was already being seen, weaker every day. The text on these two pages again lists some important names of the repressive apparatus and describes some of the methods used to obtain information on Marighela through the arrest and interrogation of other subjects, some of them priests. In no case are the possible violations of the prisoners' human rights mentioned.

A small passport picture of the policewomen has been placed in the top of the page, in the middle of the article text that was under the headline «Extremist groups are being dismantled» and the subtitle in a small text box «Policia ainda internada»<sup>651</sup>, the narrative then goes into two different directions: in one side emphasizing the repression work against the armed struggle groups and on the other a major concern about the health state of the police officer. In this logic, the photo editing had also made some choices so far, preferring to be dedicated to the policewoman, rather than to Marighela, attitude which allows the interpretation of the pictorial silence about his death as a communication strategy to do not give space to that specific political group.

06/11/1969 – *Jornal do Brasil*

On this edition there are no more pictures of Marighela, on the cover instead and in the same narrative movement made by «FSP», was published a photo (*photo 50*) occupying ¼ of the upper half of the page with the face of Estella Borges, the police officer who was at that date presented as wounded in the action and in that moment between life and death.<sup>652</sup> The subtitle: «O preço da dedicação»<sup>653</sup> is noteworthy, highlighting the policewoman's work in that affair. The accompanying text proposes as a title and headline «Morte de Marighela inicia desarticulação terrorista»<sup>654</sup>, highlighting that armed struggle groups were seen as terrorists,

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<sup>651</sup> «Police officer still hospitalized».

<sup>652</sup> The image's caption indicates: «A investigadora Estela Borges Morato está entre a vida e a morte - The investigator Estela Borges Morato is between life and death».

<sup>653</sup> «The price of commitment».

<sup>654</sup> «Marighela's death initiates terrorist disarticulation».

CARLOS MARIGHELA  
FSP - 06/11/1969  
Photo 49

Quarta-feira, 6 de novembro de 1969

FOLHA DE S. PAULO

13

### Grupos extremistas vão sendo desarticulados

Autônticos membros do Exército — Centro de Informação do Exército, C I E — davam conta de que alguns grupos que propunham a realização de ações de luta armada em São Paulo, estavam sendo desarticulados pelo aparelho policial, com a colaboração da Esquadra comandada pelo delegado de polícia, Dr. Fernando de Azevedo. Segundo ele, os grupos estavam sendo desarticulados por meio de operações de inteligência e de infiltração.

Adiantando que os membros dos grupos estavam sendo desarticulados por meio de operações de inteligência e de infiltração, o delegado afirmou que os grupos estavam sendo desarticulados por meio de operações de inteligência e de infiltração.

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Policial ainda internada

### PREMIO CINQUENTENARIO RHODIA DE MEDICINA

Para a graduação de 1919, Vinte e Cinco Anos de Fundação da Faculdade de Medicina da USP, o Conselho de Administração da Rhodia de Medicina criou o Prêmio Cinquentenario Rhodia de Medicina. Este prêmio é destinado aos alunos da Faculdade de Medicina da USP e tem como finalidade estimular os estudos e a pesquisa científica.

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O general Silveira comenta

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O grupo financeiro BMG, liderado pelo Banco de Minas Gerais S.A., subiu tanto na vida que hoje é o um dos maiores do País.

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Quarta-feira, 6 de novembro de 1969

FOLHA DE S. PAULO

13

### Grupos extremistas vão sendo desarticulados

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Policial ainda internada

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GRATIS - Você quer aprender inglês em 90 dias?

GRATIS - Você quer aprender inglês em 90 dias?





# Terrorista prêso por acaso deu la. pista de Marighela

São Paulo, 6 de novembro — Deixou de Vale Almeida, um jornalista preso por acaso, assinado em São Paulo e depois publicado no "Jornal do Brasil", as primeiras informações que possibilitaram a polícia chegar ao Marighela, depois de quase 10 dias de investigações desenvolvidas com a ANI e o Comando do Exército. Depois de dois meses foram detidos os irmãos Fernando e Fernando de São Paulo, os irmãos de São Paulo e a irmã de São Paulo e a irmã de São Paulo.

### Primeiro, os presos

Os dois irmãos de São Paulo foram presos no DOPE de São Paulo em algumas semanas, com as informações e também que os outros não foram presos.

1) Tiro de Armas Leveiras — São Paulo — material do grupo, responsável pelo assassinato do general de Caetano Marighela e Joaquim Carlos Pereira e Vellozo, em São Paulo e São Paulo.

2) Fernando Berto — São Paulo — uma explosão para se inventar como Marighela, em São Paulo e São Paulo.

3) João Roberto Claret, jornalista, e um médico brasileiro, Joaquim Claret, grãvida de São Paulo, que inventou as evidências para São Paulo e São Paulo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

4) Carlos Guilherme de Mendonça Pereira e São Paulo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

5) São Paulo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

6) São Paulo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

7) São Paulo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

8) São Paulo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

9) São Paulo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

10) São Paulo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

11) São Paulo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

A fim de detur a São Paulo e Fernando. O FBI enviou um espião da escola no Colégio de São Paulo e depois publicado no "Jornal do Brasil", as primeiras informações que possibilitaram a polícia chegar ao Marighela, depois de quase 10 dias de investigações desenvolvidas com a ANI e o Comando do Exército. Depois de dois meses foram detidos os irmãos Fernando e Fernando de São Paulo, os irmãos de São Paulo e a irmã de São Paulo.

Além disso, o delegado Flávio Flávio, que é responsável por São Paulo, teve uma reunião com os dois irmãos de São Paulo, em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

Os dois irmãos de São Paulo foram presos no DOPE de São Paulo em algumas semanas, com as informações e também que os outros não foram presos.

### A nova organização

Para São Paulo e Fernando, porém, que se desenvolveram, desenvolvendo, São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

Além disso, o delegado Flávio Flávio, que é responsável por São Paulo, teve uma reunião com os dois irmãos de São Paulo, em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

Os dois irmãos de São Paulo foram presos no DOPE de São Paulo em algumas semanas, com as informações e também que os outros não foram presos.

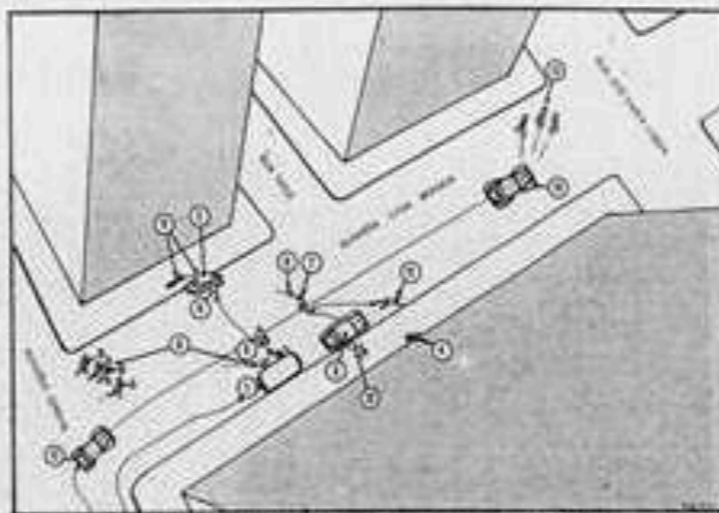
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Além disso, o delegado Flávio Flávio, que é responsável por São Paulo, teve uma reunião com os dois irmãos de São Paulo, em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.



A Rua de Marighela apresenta à direita da Avenida Com Rios (1), de São Paulo, a seguinte situação: 1) Fernando Berto; 2) Joaquim Claret; 3) Carlos Guilherme de Mendonça Pereira; 4) São Paulo; 5) São Paulo; 6) São Paulo; 7) São Paulo; 8) São Paulo; 9) São Paulo; 10) São Paulo; 11) São Paulo; 12) São Paulo.

## Policiais procuram ex-deputado

Desde o morte de Marighela e polícia iniciou uma série de buscas em São Paulo, a procura de Fernando de São Paulo, o irmão de São Paulo, que é responsável por São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

Além disso, o delegado Flávio Flávio, que é responsável por São Paulo, teve uma reunião com os dois irmãos de São Paulo, em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

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## CNBB examina situação dos frades

A situação dos frades envolvidos em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

Além disso, o delegado Flávio Flávio, que é responsável por São Paulo, teve uma reunião com os dois irmãos de São Paulo, em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

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Além disso, o delegado Flávio Flávio, que é responsável por São Paulo, teve uma reunião com os dois irmãos de São Paulo, em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

## Delegado fez promessa de como usar revólver

Quando Sérgio Figueira Flávio chegou ao Brasil, em 1969, ele fez uma promessa de como usar o revólver, em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

Além disso, o delegado Flávio Flávio, que é responsável por São Paulo, teve uma reunião com os dois irmãos de São Paulo, em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

Os dois irmãos de São Paulo foram presos no DOPE de São Paulo em algumas semanas, com as informações e também que os outros não foram presos.

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## Investigadora baleada na cabeça passa mal

A investigadora de São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

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Além disso, o delegado Flávio Flávio, que é responsável por São Paulo, teve uma reunião com os dois irmãos de São Paulo, em São Paulo, São Paulo e São Paulo.

but Marighela himself is not identified. A rather interesting discursive nuance at the time. It is fundamental to mention that this headline and the title of the «FSP» internal page are almost identical, indicating what we can insert as an example of the «agendas theory», or the result of the control measures that the militaries were imposing to the press since the end of 1968.

Another point in common between both press organs is the image chosen to be printed in that day's edition. Acknowledging the fact that «FSP» published a small passport picture in the internal pages, the «JB» instead placed in the first page a quite similar image of the police agent, giving literally a face to the state representant that has been shot in the police action. In the «JB» case the picture occupies half of the central column of the page, is central to underscore the contextual element that both newspapers divided their attention to another murder that happened in those days – a young man that had been kidnaped was killed by a father and a son, this case is often present in the same pages that were dedicated to Marighela's case. On the page fifteen of the newspaper, there is a small illustration used as a tool to present and explain to readers how the events occurred at in the moment of Marighela's arrest/killing. It is noteworthy that no reaction action is indicated; with shots or other violent reaction, except for the intent to escape or even where the shots that injured the policewoman and another officer came from. Finally, in the top right-hand corner there is a small description of the figure of Commissioner Fleury, with information on his private life and his performance as Commissioner and the way he used his gun.

*07/11/1969 – Folha de S. Paulo*

As mentioned before, at this point things get more complex regarding the way the «FSP» covered the killing of Marighela. Once again, there are no pictures or any comments on this case on the cover of the newspaper. Marighela reappears in the pages of the newspaper on page eight, which devotes half a page to Marighela's burial in the Villa Formosa cemetery as an indigent. However, the same publication presents an image of the moment of the burial, or at least it is so described with the caption «Carlos Marighela foi sepultado ontem pela manhã».<sup>655</sup>

In the image (*photo 51*) taken from a short distance, in a medium plan on which the subjects can be seen in whole body, but without the possibility of quickly and precise identification of the workers who at the moment of the shot were doing the final closing of the grave in a fairly simple cemetery; all that is visible around them is just soil and some plants at the bottom. The photograph is small and was placed in the top right-hand corner of the page.

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<sup>655</sup> «Carlos Marighela was buried yesterday morning».

# Sepultado ontem Carlos Marighela

Foi enterrado às 10 horas de ontem, na sepultura 1.106, da quadra 53, de cemitério de Vila Formosa, o ex-deputado e chefe do movimento terrorista Carlos Marighela, morto a tiros pela polícia terça-feira, às 20,30 horas, na alameda Casa Branca.

Um dispositivo policial foi montado desde as primeiras horas de ontem no Instituto Médico Legal, onde se encontrava o corpo do chefe do movimento terrorista removido às 8h em uma perua policial para o cemitério.

As 9,45 chegava ao cemitério o corpo de Marighela, sendo o caixão transportado para uma Kombi chapa 84-16-95 da Prefeitura, que o levou até a sepultura 1.106, quadra 53. As 9,50 realizava-se na quadra no lado o sepultamento de Ilza das Graças P. Chagas acompanhado por pessoas de sua família esperando os policiais que todos se retrassem para então se dispor a 50 metros da cova destinada a Marighela. Foi então retirado o corpo da Kombi.



Carlos Marighela foi sepultado ontem pela manhã

## Morre a investigadora Estela, ferida no tiroteio do dia 4

A Secretaria da Segurança Pública de São Paulo distribuiu ontem à noite a seguinte mensagem (numero 2651): "Nota de falecimento. O dr. Benedito Nunes Dias, diretor geral de Polícia do Departamento Estadual de Ordem Política e Social comunica com pesar, a todos os servidores da Pasta, o falecimento, às 20h55 de hoje, no Hospital das Clínicas, da investigadora Stela Borges Morato, que ali se encontrava internada em virtude de ferimento à bala, recebido quando participou de diligência policial levada a efeito no dia 4 último, nesta Capital, às 09h30, contra o terrorista Marighela, quando também ficou ferido o dr. Rubens Cardoso de Melo Tucunduva, delegado de polícia.

"A hora e o local do sepultamento serão comunicados oportunamente.

"A extinta era filha do Ilmo. sr. professor José Carvalho do Nascimento, inspetor de polícia e docente da Academia de Polícia de São Paulo.

"Ao tomar ciência do passamento da heroica investigadora, o dr. Renan Basto, delegado geral, telefonou a este Departamento, lamentando o triste fato, e transmitiu em seu nome, e no do Exmo. Sr. Olavo Viana Moog, digníssimo secretário da Segurança Pública, os pesames à família enlutada, colocando a disposição da mesma a assistência de que necessitar. O delegado de plantão no DOPS, T. Delbel Junior".

### 22 anos de idade

Estela Borges Morato tinha 22 anos, era bancária, antes de ingressar no DOPS. Mesmo não tendo o curso especia-

## Pai acaba confessando: matou Patrick



João confessou ontem, no DOPS, ser crime Daniel foi acusado de traficar heroína

João confessou ontem, no DOPS, ser crime Daniel foi acusado de traficar heroína

João confessou ontem, no DOPS, ser crime Daniel foi acusado de traficar heroína

## A irmã deu a melhor pista

Polícia investiga rede de traficantes

Foi o terceiro grande sequestro em SP

Revelações sobre as investigações

O corpo vai para os EUA

Revelações sobre as investigações

## Sepultado ontem Carlos Marighela

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Um dispositivo policial foi montado desde as primeiras horas de ontem no Instituto Médico Legal, onde se encontrava o corpo do chefe do movimento terrorista removido às 8h em uma perua policial para o cemitério.

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Is necessary to emphasize the fact that not even at the time of his burial did the newspaper make visible who Marighela was, not even his coffin was present. The strategy of invisibility and of not giving a face to the ex-deputy and armed struggle member is now confirmed in this story, the last one in which some reference to his image could be made. This is different, for example, from the case of the policewoman Estella, who had so far, a photograph of her published the day before and who in this edition informed of her disappearance. Can be added to this reasoning the fact that in the same page that the picture of Marighela's burial was placed, on the left side were printed three different images related to Patrick's case, a kidnaped kid that has been killed by the father and son duo. That is to say, the other murder that had the press attention deserved, in the view of the «FSP» editors, a greater picture coverage than Marighela's. This attitude can be inferred to an ideological choice or a censorship consequence.

*07/11/1969 – Jornal do Brasil*

In the day of Marighela's burial the «JB» attention to the case was very similar to the one made the «FSP», both papers presented the case in an internal page with an image (*photo 52*) of its grave, however there are some slight differences. Apart from the higher quality of the picture in the «JB» archives in comparison with the «FSP», the Rio's newspaper gave a bigger space to the written story about Marighela, and the subtitle «Último retoque»<sup>656</sup> and the caption «À tarde, os coveiros ajeitaram melhor a cova rasa onde Marighela fora enterrado de manhã, pelo DOPS»<sup>657</sup> proposes that the photograph has been taken in a different moment than the one published by «FSP» that seem to be made in the morning in the exact moment of the burial – even if both images are very similar. Is important to mention that «JB's» photo is bigger and occupies approximately 1/6 of the page and brings a closer shot of the gravediggers, besides that it has been made in a slight deepening angle, especially if in comparison with the one of «FSP». In last place is important to indicate that both papers had informed, on that day, the death of the police officer Estela Borges.

*08/11/1969 – Folha de S. Paulo*

This last edition that will be putted under scrutiny in the present analysis presents in the first page two images connected to Marighela's murder, although they are connected to the death of Estella Borges, the police officer that has been shot in the operation that killed

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<sup>656</sup> «Last retouching».

<sup>657</sup> «In the afternoon, the gravediggers tidied up better the shallow grave where Marighela had been buried in the morning, by DOPS».

### ÚLTIMO RETOQUE



A tarde, os coveiros ajeitaram melhor a cova rasa onde Marighela fôra enterrado de manhã, pelo DOPS

# Carlos Marighela é enterrado em sigilo pelo DOPS paulista

São Paulo (Sucursal) — Sob sigilo quebrado só à tarde, o DOPS fez sepultar às 9 horas, de ontem, no Cemitério de Vila Formosa, o corpo do ex-Deputado Carlos Marighela.

vam se retirassem para iniciar o sepultamento de Marighela. A cerimônia de sepultamento durou 10 minutos, além dos 15 de espera do entêrro precedente.

### Autoridades esperam que a Igreja condene frades

No Rio, autoridades milita- se inteirar das provas da par-

CARLOS MARIGHELA  
JB - 07/11/1969  
Photo 52



Carlos Marighela é enterrado em sigilo pelo DOPS paulista

Grupo de 10 detetives que atuou contra o crime no Rio já tem plano de ação

Martirizado em Curitiba, funcionou no trabalho, pois em casa honrem e quem manda

Pólice já emboca métodos e rotas para o contrabando de ouro na zona do Tijuca

inauguramos hoje mais uma agência



S. João do Meriti  
BANCO ITAÚ AMÉRICA

Marighela. Right above the main headline of that day, a second headline stated: «Estella Borges Morato buried with military honours», this has been placed above two pictures of his funeral and burial accompanied by the captions: «Dona Iná e seu esposo choram sobre o caixão no último adeus à sua filha Estella»<sup>658</sup> and «O governador Abreu Sodré ajudou a colocar o caixão no carro do Corpo de Bombeiros».<sup>659</sup> Alongside these elements of the page, a small text has been placed right above the second image with some details of the ceremony from which is worth to underscore the information that according to the «FSP» around twenty thousand people, the State governor, and other authorities attended the funeral. The whole area dedicated to this subject occupies around a quarter of the first page space.

The first image (*photo 53*) presents Estela's coffin in the first plan, sided by three persons, the one on the right, according to the caption was probably her father, he was wearing a dark suit, and was pictured in the moment in which was wiping off his tear if a tissue over his face. To his left and seated was framed Estella's mother – Dona Iná – the elderly woman was wearing a light color blouse and had a sad expression. Standing on her side another woman was pictured, although in this case she was not identified in the verbal information available. In the background is possible to see a second man wearing a suit and a hat, probably a member of the authorities that attended to the funeral. With this image there is already an extreme difference to how Marighela's death has been presented in «FSP» pages. If to the ex-deputy killing has not existed space in the covers, to the Estela death instead the newspaper dedicated much more space and attention, helping to build the idea of a national commotion around the killing and death of the police officer.

This narrative construction was reinforced throughout the second image (*photo 54*) of that day's coverage. This image has been taken in a slight top to bottom angle, in which is possible to observe that the photographer was placed a little bit higher than the scene and also than other his colleagues that appear in the first plan on the right corner of the photo. Right in the center of the picture is possible to see Estela's coffin being carried by a large group of men, from which around ten are carrying it – the one on the left side of the coffin, in a dark suit and a serious expression it was the São Paulo's State Governor. On the top right corner of the scene a military band in uniform has been framed composing visually what has been described in the title of the section. Finally, behind the coffin a large group of people were gathered in what seemed to be the preparation to a small march until the grave. The simple fact that the

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<sup>658</sup> «Dona Iná and her husband cry on the coffin at the last farewell to their daughter Estela».

<sup>659</sup> «Governor Abreu Sodré helped to put the coffin in the fire brigade's car».

**CARLOS MARIGHELA**  
**FSP - 08/11/1969**  
**Photo 53 and 54**

# Estela Borges Morato sepultada com honras militares

Estela Borges Morato, a investigadora do DEOPS vitimada no cerco a Carlos Marighela, foi sepultada ontem, com honras militares, no cemitério de Campo Grande, Santo Amaro. Seu corpo, que permaneceu 14 horas em camera ardente no saguão do Palácio da Polícia, foi visitado por cerca de 20 mil pessoas. O governador Abreu Sodré e dezenas de outras autoridades estiveram presentes e ajudaram a colocar o caixão sobre o carro do Corpo de Bombeiros que transportou o corpo da jovem agente. Os familiares de Estela lembravam o contentamento demonstrado por ela ao passar no concurso da Polícia, mas seus companheiros do DEOPS não se conformavam com a tragédia: Ela morreu antes mesmo de receber o primeiro salário.

PAGINA 9



Dona Iná e seu esposo choram sobre o caixão no ultimo adeus à sua filha Estela

O governador Abreu Sodré ajudou a colocar o caixão no carro do Corpo de Bombeiros

## FOLHA DE S. PAULO

Ano XLIX Um jornal a serviço do Brasil São Paulo, sábado, 8 de novembro de 1969 Nº 14.755

### Medici: preciso do apoio dos jovens

#### Estela Borges Morato sepultada com honras militares



Dona Iná e seu esposo choram sobre o caixão no ultimo adeus à sua filha Estela

BRASÍLIA (Uespress) — O presidente Garrastasiuúu disse ontem, em Brasília, que todos os setores do governo estão voltados para a geração que está formando no País e que, por isso, "não podemos deixar de colaborar com jovens no equacionamento dos nossos problemas nacionais".

A afirmação foi feita durante a audiência que o presidente concedeu ao estudante Paulo César Ribeiro Bueno, que esteve no Palácio do Planalto para entregar uma mensagem do Diretório Acadêmico da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade Mackenzie, de São Paulo, na qual os estudantes manifestam sua oposição ao novo governo.

Após entrar no gabinete presidencial, o presidente recebeu a mensagem do aluno e começou a falar.

"Presidente, estou profundamente impressionado", disse o jovem, "mas não tenho os meios necessários para fazer isso".

Mais à vontade, o jovem explicou que a mensagem era um conjunto de fundamentos que os alunos já tinham elaborado, "demonstrando uma grande vontade de aprender".

Em meio a conversa, o presidente quis saber como o estudante havia conseguido o nomeado do Dr. Carlos Passarinho para a Pasta da Educação.

"A representação foi a melhor possível, presidente. Ele é um homem trabalhoso para o cargo, que sabe como fazer, estabelecer o diálogo de que tanto necessitamos" — respondeu o estudante.

O presidente disse que ficaria muito satisfeito com a informação, pois foi pensando dessa forma que decidiu formular o convite ao ex-studante do Trabalho.

Mais adiante, o estudante explicou o presidente a situação da Universidade Mackenzie, na primeira reunião, a fim de apresentar uma conferência.

O presidente Medici agradeceu o resumo mas pediu:

"Agora não vale ser possível. Se eu abrir o presidente não poderá deixar de atender às demandas de convívio estudantil que já existe. Mas prometo atender às suas ideias".

Após despedir-se do estudante, o presidente atendeu o telefone.

"Diga a seus colegas que considero indispensável a ajuda dos estudantes ao meu governo: sem isso não valerá a pena, para um militar que se considera realizado em sua carreira, servir e ter a honra de assumir o cargo de dirigir o País. Sou um homem velho que tem um grande ideal pelo Brasil, mas não quero ser considerado para que ele seja prejudicada e a desorientação que ocorre".

#### Proibida a fabricação e venda de adoçantes com ciclamato no País

O ministro Rocha Lages, da Saúde, assinou ontem no Rio portaria que proíbe por seis meses a fabricação de adoçantes artificiais e produtos dietéticos que contenham ciclamato, proibido também a venda nas farmácias e drogarias sem receita médica.

A Portaria do Secretário de Saúde do Estado de São Paulo ainda não tenha sido oficialmente notificada, algumas farmácias e drogarias da capital começaram a receber estes produtos, suspendendo sua venda.

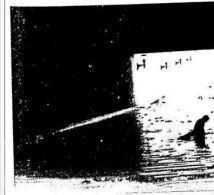


#### terão menos água hoje porque falta energia

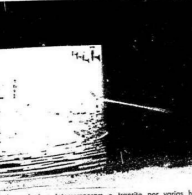
O DAE informou ontem que vários bairros sofrerão hoje redução na sua abastecimento de água em virtude de falta de energia elétrica. São eles: Vila Helena, Miradouro, Planalto Paulista, Jabaquara, Parque Jabaquara, Vila do Encanto, Parque Imperial, Água Funda, Socorro, Vila Mariana, Itaquera, Vila Carlos, Jardim da Saúde, Itaipópolis, Vila Morada, Cidade Universitária, Aeroporto, Vila Presidente, Belém, Penha, Vila Maria e Vila Berlim.

#### Bancos cobrarão taxa dupla em duplicatas fora de padronização

Além de não aceitar as classes empresariais, que "não têm ainda estoque de duplicatas do modelo antigo", o Banco Central resolveu ontem prorrogar por mais 3 meses, até 28 de fevereiro, a obrigatoriedade de adoção do modelo único da duplicata, padronizada. Entretanto, para compensar o aumento de trabalho que a duplicata dos modelos antigos, foi deliberado que as taxas de serviços serão cobradas em dobro pela rede bancária.



As crianças que vivem em de madrugada inundaram o Anhangabá e interromperam o trânsito por várias horas



**O TEMPO HOJE**  
**ANDA CHUVAS**

O sábado hoje apresenta previsão de chuvas com ventos, com a possibilidade de nebulosidade.

**TEMPO BOM**  
 para tomar um  
**COGNAC DUBAR**

1 melhor  
 2 melhor  
 3 melhor  
 4 melhor  
 5 melhor

**AS PROFISSÕES DOS ANOS 70**

FOR QUE OS VESTIBULARES SÃO UMA GUERRA?  
 EM QUE CATEGORIAS NOSSOS JOVENS SÃO NECESSARIOS?  
 AMANHÃ NO CADERNO ESPECIAL

**ASSUNTOS DIVERSOS**

EXTERIOR ..... 2 6  
 POLÍTICA ..... 3 4  
 NACIONAL ..... 4  
 LOCAL ..... 5 6  
 ESPORTE ..... 6 7  
 INF. GERAL ..... 7 8  
 HORÓSCOPOS ..... 8 9

newspaper editorial decision in that occasion was to publish these images demonstrates the different attitude towards both deaths that had occurred in the exact same event. In one hand, «FSP» intended to invisibilize Marighela's death and on the other hand proposed the martyrdom of Estella Borges.

In the internal page n° nine this narrative and consensus construction continues. The title of the page indicates «Buried Estela Borges Morato, the first heroine of the Police» the caption of the image placed right above the title sad indicates: «O corpo de Estela permaneceu em camara ardente no saguão do Palacio de Polícia»<sup>660</sup>. Almost half of the page was dedicated to Estela's funeral and burial. There were other two subtitles related to it and that precede texts with further information of the case, «A infância da filha nas lágrimas de d. Iná»<sup>661</sup> and «O adeus de 20 mil pessoas»<sup>662</sup>, in both cases the emotional aspect of the fact were reinforced giving even more strength to the emotive narration of the facts.

Regarding the photos on this page, the focus of the analysis will be the one place right under the title (*photo 55*), the second one that seems to be dedicated to the exact moment of the coffin's burial and is in poor conservation conditions. In so, the image printed in that internal page, was a photo taken from a long distance – aspect that can be seen because of the clear plans' separation and the flattering of them. The first plan registered three persons that were looking to Estella's coffin placed in the center of the saloon. In the center of the image, the coffin was surrounded by six persons from which two of them are Estella's parents, is curious to note that the scene portrayed in this page seem to be another angle of the exact same moment that was published in the first page image, especially because is possible to identify Estella's father wiping his face. That is an important element that indicates that «FSP» had at least two different photographs in that event – according to Taschner (1992, p. 163) this has been a logistic problem of «Grupo Folha» in this period of internal reorganization and redistribution of their own personal alongside the different titles newspapers titles that the group possessed. Transposing the debate that the author proposes about how the new owners of the «FSP» saw their journalistic production to this case is interesting to underscore that this case entered in the «FSP» logic production combining the sales interests with the ideological ones, not putting the editorial line of the newspaper in confrontation with the official government version.

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<sup>660</sup> «Estela's body remained in a burning chamber in the lobby of the Palacio de Policía».

<sup>661</sup> «Her daughter's childhood in the tears of Mrs Iná».

<sup>662</sup> «The farewell of 20 thousand people».



# CARLOS MARIGHELA FSP - 08/11/1969 Photo 55

Sabado, 8 de novembro de 1969

FOLHA DE S. PAULO

## Sepultura Estela Borges Morato, a primeira heroína da Policia

A heroína da DBOIS Estela Borges Morato, que lutou da vida até a morte, foi sepultada na tarde deste sábado em São Paulo. Ela morreu em um acidente de carro em São Paulo em 1968. O acidente ocorreu em uma rua movimentada da cidade, quando ela estava dirigindo seu veículo. Ela foi socorrida imediatamente, mas não sobreviveu às feridas. Sua morte foi considerada um ato de coragem e patriotismo, e ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.



O corpo de Estela permaneceu em câmara ardente no saguão da Polícia de Polícia

## O terrorismo obedecia a plano continental

RIO — A morte de Marighele foi uma vitória que obtivemos na guerra revolucionária, mas não significou que a morte de um homem paralisou o terrorismo no Brasil. O plano continental de ataque continua a ser executado, e o grupo de Marighele continua a operar em São Paulo. O plano continental envolve várias regiões do Brasil e tem como objetivo a libertação das prisões e a implementação de uma nova ordem social. A morte de Marighele não afetou a continuidade do plano, pois os líderes do grupo continuam a operar em segredo.

## A infância da filha nas lágrimas de d. Iná Frei Domingos volta a SP

Entre um adepto e um ateu, deixando este lastimosa e espírito em sua filha, a mãe de Iná Borges Morato, dona Iná Borges Morato, uma senhora muito querida, morreu em São Paulo em 1968. Ela foi sepultada em São Paulo. Sua morte foi considerada um ato de coragem e patriotismo, e ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

Dona Iná chegou que, mudando-se para a Capital, a filha ficou sob o cuidado de sua mãe. Ela foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

Em São Paulo, a filha de Iná foi criada em um ambiente de amor e respeito. Ela se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

## O adeus de 20 mil pessoas

Um adeus emocionante de 20 mil pessoas marcou a despedida de Estela Borges Morato. Ela foi sepultada em São Paulo em 1968. Sua morte foi considerada um ato de coragem e patriotismo, e ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A despedida foi marcada por um clima de tristeza e respeito, com muitas pessoas chorando e expressando sua admiração por ela.

Para sua mãe, dona Iná, a morte de sua filha foi uma perda muito grande. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

## Secretario fala no RGS

O secretário de Estado falou no RGS sobre a situação atual do Brasil. Ele mencionou a importância da segurança e a necessidade de manter a ordem pública. Ele também falou sobre a situação econômica e a importância de manter a estabilidade financeira. Ele mencionou a importância da educação e da saúde pública, e a necessidade de melhorar a infraestrutura do país.

## Mãe volta do enterro do filho e o acha vivo

Dona Maria Aguiar de Lima voltou do enterro de seu filho e o encontrou vivo. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

Em São Paulo, a filha de Iná foi criada em um ambiente de amor e respeito. Ela se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

## Um assalto de Cr\$ 40 mil

Um assalto de Cr\$ 40 mil ocorreu em São Paulo. O assalto foi planejado por um grupo de criminosos e resultou na morte de uma pessoa. O grupo de criminosos conseguiu roubar uma grande quantidade de dinheiro e fugiu com o dinheiro. A polícia está procurando pelos criminosos e tentando recuperar o dinheiro roubado.

## Prevenção para raptores de Patrícia

A Polícia adotou medidas de prevenção para a libertação de Patrícia. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

## Brasileiro preso: Uruguai

Um brasileiro foi preso no Uruguai. Ele se tornou conhecido como o primeiro herói da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

## Presos 17 'hippies' em Salvador

Dezessete 'hippies' foram presos em Salvador. Eles se tornaram conhecidos como os primeiros heróis da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

## Secretario Viana Moço no valor de investigador

O secretário Viana Moço foi considerado um grande investigador. Ele se tornou conhecido como o primeiro herói da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

## Com ultrajes e choro, Maria Aílton encontra Edilberto

Maria Aílton encontrou Edilberto em um momento difícil. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.

## Um Jantar

Um jantar especial foi realizado em homenagem a Estela. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia. A filha de Iná, Estela, foi criada em São Paulo e se tornou uma mulher forte e corajosa. Ela se tornou conhecida como a primeira heroína da Polícia.



O corpo de Estela permaneceu em câmara ardente no saguão do Palácio de Polícia

# Polícia diz que frade ajudava subversivos

# França afirma que mulheres colaboram nas diligências do DOPS contra subversivos

Porto Alegre (Sucursal) — O secretário de Segurança gaúcho, coronel Jaime Mariath, afirmou ontem que está comprovada a vinculação de frei Carlos Alberto Cristo — frei Beto — com Carlos Marighela. Sua missão seria a de acobertar subversivos.

Em entrevista coletiva, o Secretário de Segurança assegurou que há indícios do comprometimento de outros religiosos com o grupo de Marighela. Um amigo de frei Beto, o espanhol Camilo Garcia, que abandonou o hábito recentemente, está preso e teria fornecido ao DOPS informações consideradas valiosas.

### INTIMIDADOS

Oito religiosos, inclusive o reitor do Seminário Cristo Rei, em São Leopoldo, onde frei Beto estudava teologia, foram intimados a depor e seriam interrogados ontem à noite.

O coronel Jaime Mariath queixou-se da direção do seminário, que teria retardado as investigações policiais dando tempo para que frei Beto fugisse. Um outro frade, uruguaio, também é suspeito de haver facilitado a fuga.

O Secretário de Segurança exibiu livros apreendidos na casa de frei Beto e uma caixa de madeira cheia de recortes de jornais, organizados em forma de fichário, sobre espancamentos de estudantes. Afirmou o coronel que, dois dias antes de ser procurado pela polícia, frei Beto escondeu em sua casa uma pessoa que as autoridades acreditam seja o ex-Deputado Joaquim Câmara Ferreira.

### INTERROGADO

O ex-fre Camilo Garcia continua sendo interrogado, no momento de...

guns religiosos foram presos na batida contra o seminário, "mas apenas para interrogatório." Ontem a Delegacia expediu ordem a seu posto em Santana do Livramento, na fronteira com o Uruguai, para que informasse sobre a possível passagem de um padre uruguaio, cujo nome não foi revelado.

### REVISTADO

Quando chegou ao Seminário Cristo Rei, a equipe do DOPS entrou em contato com os padres superiores, subindo depois ao primeiro pavimento. Já voltaram com os seminaristas detidos, que foram distribuídos em quatro carros e levados para Porto Alegre.

O delegado Váler saiu do seminário levando a caixa de madeira de frei Beto, onde havia também uma lista de números que a polícia acredita serem códigos de identificação de pessoas.

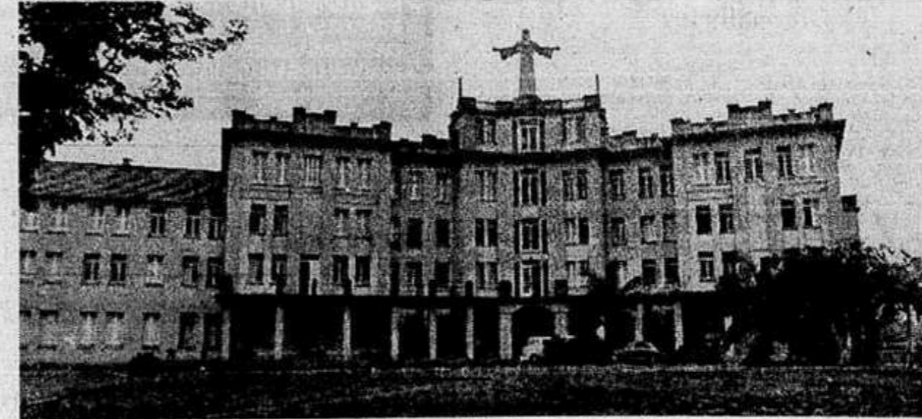
O Cristo Rei é o único seminário jesuíta do Brasil e funciona há 25 anos no grande prédio a seis quilômetros do centro de São Leopoldo, perto do cemitério. Apesar de ser jesuíta, recebe em sua Faculdade de Teologia seminaristas dominicanos, redentoristas, jostifinos e da Ordem do Verbo Divino.

Frei Carlos Alberto Cristo, de 26 anos, cursava o primeiro ano da Faculdade de Teologia, vindo no começo do ano de São Paulo. Frei Beto sumiu do seminário na terça-feira à tarde, tendo escrito no livro de saídas que ia à cidade e estaria de volta às 21 horas. A notícia de que estaria envolvido com o grupo de Marighela surpreendeu seus colegas de seminário, que o consideravam um tipo calado.

O conteúdo do encontro entre frei Domingues e o Convento dos Dominicanos no Rio não foi revelado à imprensa, sabendo-se apenas que ele estava bastante apreensivo com o rumo dos acontecimentos e, principalmente, "com as notícias..."

### PROMETIDO

### ESCALA NO SUL



A polícia constatou que o Cristo Rei, único seminário jesuíta do Brasil, abrigava subversivos em fuga

### Provincial dominicano faz contatos no Leme

O provincial dos Dominicanos, frei Domingues Maia Leite, esteve ontem no Rio a fim de entrar em contato pessoal com os membros da Ordem que residem no convento do Leme. Utilizando-se de seu próprio carro, frei Domingues demorou-se pouco com os seus companheiros, retornando algumas horas mais tarde para São Paulo.

O conteúdo do encontro entre frei Domingues e o Convento dos Dominicanos no Rio não foi revelado à imprensa, sabendo-se apenas que ele estava bastante apreensivo com o rumo dos acontecimentos e, principalmente, "com as notícias..."

O Núcleo Apostólico também não quis receber a imprensa, mas seus auxiliares informaram que ele está pondo o Vaticano a par de "tudo o que está acontecendo no Brasil nos últimos dias." As mesmas fontes informaram que o Embaixador do Papa Paulo VI não tem autoridade para interferir no problema e está apenas "observando e analisando."

### SEM NOTÍCIAS

Os dominicanos do Rio até agora não tiveram qualquer notícia sobre Frei Roberto, preso recentemente quando deixava o Convento do Leme, para onde tinha sido enviado pela Or-

### Estela é enterrada com honras militares

São Paulo (Sucursal) — A investigadora Estela Borges Morato, baleada durante o cerco policial a Carlos Marighela, foi sepultada com honras militares no fim da tarde de ontem, no Cemitério Camargo Grande, momentos depois de três salvas — 23 tiros — dadas por 11 guardas da Força Pública.

Estela foi velada desde cedo no saguão da Secretaria de Segurança, onde estiveram muitas policiais e autoridades, entre as quais o Governador Abreu Sodré e o Secretário de Segurança, General Viana Moog. O cortejo começou às 16h30m e foi acompanhado por cerca de 250 carros, a

sepultura sem número, onde agrupavam-se investigadores e populares. Um grupo uniformizado da Tradição, Família e Propriedade mantinha-se à distância.

Um pastor da Igreja Pentecostal, religião da família de Estela, discursou dizendo que acompanhou toda a vida religiosa da investigadora morta, desde muito cedo, e dava seu testemunho da preocupação da jovem em fazer o bem: "Era uma árvore frondosa contra o comunismo e a corrupção."

Estela era filha de um antigo policial e professor da Escola de Polícia e esse detalhe foi muito lembrado pelo delegado

Mulheres bem treinadas estão colaborando nas diligências do DOPS para identificar e prender subversivos, segundo afirmou ontem o Secretário de Segurança, General Luis de França Oliveira.

Terrorismo, Esquadrão da Morte, assalto a motoristas de táxi, Cosme e Damião e diversos outros assuntos relacionados com a polícia foram abordados pelo General Luis de França Oliveira, em entrevista que durou hora e meia.

### MORTE FOI VITÓRIA

O Secretário de Segurança acha que a morte de Carlos Marighela não é o fim da subversão no país; apenas "uma grande vitória das autoridades."

Respondendo a uma pergunta se o DOPS da Guanabara também possui uma turma de investigadoras igual à de São Paulo, o General Luis de França explicou que há um grupo de mulheres colaborando nas diligências do DOPS.

— Elas fora treinadas para combater o terrorismo. Não posso revelar quantas são, como também não posso contar o número de colaboradoras importantes que o DOPS tem para penetrar nos antros da subversão.

### DISPERSAO DAS FORÇAS

O General Luis de França Oliveira ouviu com muita atenção uma pergunta de um repórter que queria saber se o ex-Deputado Leonel Brizola estaria comandando os subversivos no Brasil. Depois, respondeu com muita convicção:

— Não posso confirmar se Brizola veio clandestinamente para o Brasil. Só posso dizer que a maior parte das atividades subversivas estão vindo do Sul, fora do país.

— Quando a subversão iniciou-se encontrou todas as polícias do país completamente despreparadas para enfrentá-la.

estão capacitados para enfrentar qualquer problema de subversão no país. Na área policial, não olhamos credo e nem religião, olhamos apenas a subversão.

### ESQUADRAO DA MORTE

Outro jornalista quis saber se existia o Esquadrão da Morte no Rio, um grupo de policiais treinados para matar bandidos. O General nem pensou para responder.

— Não conheço nenhum Esquadrão da Morte. Sou um homem que respeita a lei. Sei apenas que há vários policiais integrantes da Scuderie Le Coq, em homenagem a um colega morto por um assaltante, o detetive Milton Le Coq. Não os conheço como matadores.

Afirmando que os 10 policiais escolhidos pela Secretaria de Segurança para combater os assaltantes não iam fazer diligências contra subversivos, o General Luis de França Oliveira deu uma rápida explicação dos motivos que fizeram a Secretaria de Segurança escolher o grupo de policiais.

— São detetives com muito gabarito, e a imprensa acertou quando chamou-os de homens de ouro. Eles conhecem bem o banditismo na Guanabara e vão fazer uma limpeza na cidade, prendendo todos os marginais que vêm atacando os motoristas de táxi e cometendo todos os tipos de assaltos.

CARLOS MARIGHELA  
JB - 08/11/1969  
Photo 56



08/11/1969 – *Jornal do Brasil*

«JB»'s edition of that same day presented a different approach to the closure of both funeral and burial, Marighela's and Estela's. If in the day before the general aspect of the news report has been pretty much the same of «FSP», in Estela's case the dedication showed to be much smaller with no images published on the funeral or burial and a small text placed in the center of page number thirteen in which the title was «Estela é enterrada com honras militares»<sup>663</sup> almost the same that appeared in «FSP» first page, but in this case, was a small title in an internal page. Besides that, the rest of that page are dedicated to other developments related to Marighela's killing and the dismantling of other armed struggle groups or «subversives» as called by the militaries and the «JB» itself, especially because the newspaper had at that time a section with that name. This aspect represents a different idea of how the newspaper saw itself in the national press scenario, in a few days «JB» went from the information connected to Marighela's murder in São Paulo, to new facts related to subversive actions in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. The range of the newspaper can also be seen in the pictures that were used, in this case, an external image (*photo 56*) of the «Cristo Rei Seminar», a Jesuit seminar that according to the «SNI» was sheltering the individuals that were trying to escape the repression escalation to the armed struggle in course.

A first overall conclusion that this case indicates it that each newspaper had chosen a different strategy to deal and narrate Marighela's murder. In one hand «JB» organized an enunciation dedicated to chocking the public with the consequences of the armed struggle in the country's context, «FSP» on the other hand proposed the erasing strategy merged with the adoption of the official discourse of exaltation of the security forces work.

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**TABLE 08**

<b>Case / Data</b>	The journalist Vladimir Herzog – 25/10/1975	TOTAL
<b>Period analysed</b>	26/10/1975 – 01/11/1975 and 20/12/1975	
<i>JORNAL DO BRASIL</i> <sup>664</sup>		8 issues
Nº of front pages	4	5
Nº of headlines	1 (28/10); 1 (29/10); 1 (31/10); 1(01/11); 1 (20/12)	5

<sup>663</sup> «Estela is buried with military honours».

<sup>664</sup> «Jornal do Brasil, from 26th of October until the 1st of November of 1975., Nºs 301; 302; 303, 304, 305, 306, 307 and 356. Ano LXXXV».

Nº front page photos	1 (31/10)	1
Main headlines	«Governo vai apurar morte de jornalista» (28/10); «Ulisses pede respeito aos detidos» (29/10); «Ednardo diz que Exército quer harmonia» (31/10); «Itamar assegura a Geisel apoio efetivo da oposição» (01/11); «IPM ouviu 21 e conclui que Herzog se matou» (20/12).	
Nº of internal pages	1 (26/10); 1 (27/10); 2 (28/10 – Editorial); 1 (29/10); 1 (30/10); 1 (31/10); 1 (01/11); 3 (20/12)	11
Nº of internal photos	1 (01/11); 1 (20/12)	2
Main internal titles	«Jornalista é preso em São Paulo» (26/10); «Comando do II Exército explica em nota oficial morte de jornalista» (27/10); «Laudo diz que foi suicídio» (28/10); «Ulysses pede direito de defesa» (29/10); «Líderes se reúnem em busca de consenso para manter a calma» (30/10); «Comunicado sindicato do RJ» (31/10); «Culto ecumênico na Sé se realiza com tranquilidade»(01/11); «IPM conclui que morte de Herzog foi suicídio» (20/12).	
<i>FOLHA DE S. PAULO</i> <sup>665</sup>	25/10/1975 – 01/11/1975 and 20/12/1975	9 issues
Nº of front pages	1 (30/10); 1 (01/11); 1 (20/12)	2
Nº of headlines	1 (30/10) 1 (01/11 – Caption)	2
Nº front page photos	1 (01/11)	1
Main headlines	«Governo não tolerará agitação» (30/10); «Congestionamento Gigante» (01/11); «II Exército divulga relatório» (20/12);	2
Nº of internal pages	1 (27/10); 1 (28/10); 1 (29/10); 1 (30/10); 1 (31/10); 3 (01/11); 1 (02/11); 2 (20/12) Always in the page nº3 of the «1º Caderno»	11
Nº of internal photos	1 (27/10) 1 (28/10) 2 (29/10) 6 (01/11)	8
Main internal titles	«Presos ontem mais três jornalistas» (25/10); «II Exército anuncia suicídio de jornalista» (27/10); «Sepultado ontem o jornalista Vladimir Herzog» (28/10); «II Exército divulga laudo, perícia e exame sobre morte» (28/10); «Montoro denúncia e Portela faz advertência» (29/10); «Culto ecumênico pela memória do jornalista»; «Governo adverte: agitação será coibida» (30/10); «Na Sé às 16hs o culto ecumênico pelo jornalista» (31/10); «8 mil assistiram ao culto ecumênico na Sé»; «Comandos da PM paralisam o trânsito ontem» (01/11); «Caso Herzog: divulgado relatório do IPM» (20/12).	

<sup>665</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo, from 25th of October until the 1st of November of 1975, N°s 17.028; 17.029; 17.030; 17.031; 17.032; 17.033; 17.034, 17.035 and 17.084. Ano LV».

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Government to investigate journalist's death» (28/10); «Ulisses calls for respect for detainees» (29/10); «Ednardo says that the Army wants harmony» (31/10); «Itamar assures Geisel of the opposition's effective support» (01/11); «IPM heard 21 and concludes that Herzog killed himself» (20/12).
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Journalist arrested in São Paulo» (26/10); «II Army Command explains in official note the death of journalist» (27/10); « Report says it was suicide» (28/10); «Ulysses asks for right to defence» (29/10); «Leaders meet in search of consensus to maintain calm» (10/30); «Communication RJ's union» (31/10); «Ecumenical worship in the Cathedral is done in peace» (01/11); «IPM concludes that Herzog's death was a suicide» (20/12).

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo»	«Government will not tolerate unrest» (30/10); «Giant traffic jam» (01/11); «II Army releases report» (20/12).
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S.Paulo»	«Three more journalists arrested yesterday» (25/10); «II Army announces journalist's suicide» (27/10); «Buried yesterday the journalist Vladimir Herzog»; «II Exército divulges report, expertise and exam about the death» (28/10); «Montoro denounces and Portela warns» (29/10); «Ecumenical service for the journalist's memory»; «Government warns: agitation will be restrained» (30/10); «Ecumenical service for the journalist at 4 p.m. at the Sé Cathedral» (31/10) «8 thousand attended the ecumenical service at Sé»; «PM commandos paralyse traffic yesterday» (01/11); «Herzog case: IPM report released» (20/12).

The arrest, torture and killing of Vladimir Herzog in jail in the year of 1975 is one of the most famous and complex cases of the Brazilian dictatorship. As we seen so far, and aiming to the elements ahead of us, the complexity was not a result only of the circumstances of his murdering, but mainly due to the diverse layers of political and social influences that were part of the context in that specific period of the military regime. In this first overall look at this case there are some points that must be underscored.

In first place, is the fact that according to the official registers Herzog was killed on the 25th of October 1975 and, in the case of «FSP», the first mention to it appeared only in the October 27th, even if on the day of the murder, the Saturday 25th, there was an internal headline dedicated to the arrest of three other journalists. The «JB» instead published a first mention of the journalist killing on the 26th, although was a small note in an internal page. Another important aspect is that exactly in those days, the world press had its attention on the final days of the Spanish Dictator Francisco Franco, for that reason, most of the newspapers were filled

with a lot of international news, what has been also a characteristic and strategy of some press organs to do not face a direct confrontation with the regime's censorship policy.

In second place, the announcement of its killing officially happened only on the 27th when the II Army published the suicide version of it. From this point on is important to notice that the size of the press attention to the case started to slowly grow, but both the editorial staffs kept the decision of maintaining it in the internal pages of the newspapers with almost no space dedicated to it in the front pages. In total there were only three photos related to in the first pages and five headlines. Attitude that indicates an extreme caution in narrating it and that is reflected also in the internal pages and stories published with few pictures printed and most of them in a light tone in what had actually happened in the circumstances of Herzog's death- the discursive tone would change only after the publication of the famous photo of the presumed suicide almost two months later. In a general aspect, the press coverage in these first weeks showed to be equilibrated in between the newspapers with none of them showing more attention to the case, even if is possible to say that «FSP» had closer connections to the journalist and the fact had occurred in São Paulo. The texts and photo analysis will detail the elements that deepen this overall attitude.

*26/10/1975 – Folha de S. Paulo and Jornal do Brasil*

On this first day of press coverage dedicated to the case of Vladimir Herzog, as was anticipated in the previous pages of the present analysis, no pictures were published in both newspapers. In order to give more cohesion and fluidity to the present text was taken the decision of analyzing in the same subitem the issues of both papers in the dates in which there were no images printed. In so, the «FSP» did not published a single notice or information about Herzog's testimony and prison in «DOI-Codi's» headquarters. Indicating two possible path, the first one related to the fact that until the closing of that day's edition the newspaper's newsroom of journalists did not had access not even to the Journalist's Union Official note, or the editorial decision was to do not publish anything related to the case.

In the case of the «JB» has been only in the page number forty of that day's edition that appeared a first mention to the fact that Herzog had been arrested in São Paulo. The small text printed in the center of the page was composed almost entirely by a Journalists Union's Official Note in which was informed the date, time, and place of his arrival in the dependences of «DOI-Codi», and the fact that until the night before the journalist had not come back to his house. In the same story it was informed that Diléia Markun, another journalist that was under custody



of the Armed Forces has been released, however were still arrested another twelve journalists, including Herzog.

No momento encontram-se presos naquele departamento os seguintes jornalistas: Sérgio Gomes, Marinilda Marchi, Paulo Sérgio Markun, Paulo Moraes Monteiro, Luis Paulo da Costa, Anthony de Christo, Frederico Pessoa, Rodolfo Konder, Luis Vidal Pola Galé, Jorge Duque Estrada e Vladmir Herzog.<sup>666</sup>

That is to say, on the end of 1975 the «DOI-Codi» was operating without any constraints and was promoting an active repression against some sectors of the press.

Is important to underscore two elements that appear in this small article, the first is the editorial concern of «JB» to address a national interest's agenda, which justifies the newspaper agility and capability of approach this topic in the following day of Herzog's arrival in «DOI-Codi's» headquarters. In the same breath, this attitude might result in a narrative that presents itself as protocolar, attending the demand of a nation-wide newspaper. In second place, on that day, was not clear or known the fact that Herzog has been killed in prison.

27/10/1975 – *Folha de S. Paulo* and *Jornal do Brasil*

Is possible to say that the press coverage of the case had really begun on this day. First, has not yet been that day that the case appeared on the first page of the newspaper's, this had taken a while and was influenced by the limitation and auto-censorship that both laws: Press Law and Censorship Law imposed to most of the mainstream media in that period. However, in the «FSP» pages has been published the first photograph related to the case.

Placed in the right top corner of the page number three, a small Herzog's passport picture (*photo 57*) serves the propose of illustrating the double column that occupies the entire right third side of the page divide in three parts: a first one under the title «II Exército anuncia suicídio de jornalista»<sup>667</sup>, with a text that narrates the chronicle of the events, also presenting some extracts of the Army's official note and a Herzog's minibiography. Nonetheless, the middle section of the column was entirely dedicated to Armed Forces communicate, from which we underscore the narrative and discursive movement of the Armed Forces in justifying his prison and inquiry into a presumed cooperation with São Paulo's State Committee of the Communist Party. Besides that, a central part of the Official Note stated:

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<sup>666</sup> «The following journalists are currently imprisoned in that department: Sérgio Gomes, Marinilda Marchi, Paulo Sérgio Markun, Paulo Moraes Monteiro, Luis Paulo da Costa, Anthony de Christo, Frederico Pessoa, Rodolfo Konder, Luis Vidal Pola Galé, Jorge Duque Estrada and Vladmir Herzog».

<sup>667</sup> «II Army announces the suicide of a journalist».



ENCADERNAÇÃO  
FOLHA DE S. PAULO

Director-Presidente: Octavio Frias de Oliveira • Ano LV - N.º 17.030 • Um jornal a serviço do Brasil • São Paulo, segunda-feira, 27 de outubro de 1975 • Al. Barão de Limeira, 425 • Cx. 2.900

Mais dívidas para a cidade não falir

O endividamento em níveis catastróficos com o aumento da receita e a fórmula com que o prefeito Olavo Setúbal pretende evitar que São Paulo seja absorvido pela falência como Nova York. "Não temos a coragem suficiente para o endividamento", explicou.



Juan Carlos propõe governo de coalizão

Esperando toda a Espanha espera o anúncio da morte do general Franco, os setores políticos mais influentes do país preparam-se para enfrentar o processo de sucessão.



Francisco Franco mais grave  
O generalíssimo Francisco Franco sofre agora a mais uma humilhação intelectual e seus problemas cardíacos se agravaram. O estado de saúde do chefe de Estado espanhol, de 82 anos, é considerado crítico.

Táxis podem ter pontos no Centro

Os táxis do São Paulo poderão, em breve, começar a operar no sistema de pontos fixos no Centro da cidade, conforme estudos já iniciados pela Secretaria de Transportes.



PREÇOS PELO CAUÇUBO. Há seis meses o preço do táxi em São Paulo, nos arredores do restaurante oficial do generalíssimo Franco, se tornou muito mais caro do que em outros pontos da cidade.

Novo órgão no lugar do antigo FECE

Em projeto de lei que encaminhou à Assembleia Legislativa, o governador Paulo Régio propõe a extinção do Fundo Estadual de Construção Escolar (FECE) e a criação de um novo órgão para administrar os recursos destinados à educação.



ABANDONADO. Um velho alpinista francês encerra uma última etapa do seu tour de force em São Paulo, realizando uma escalada em uma das montanhas da cidade.

Quandt abre congresso de processamento

Vinte e nove técnicos, selecionados entre 96 apresentantes, iniciaram o primeiro encontro do curso de formação de técnicos em processamento de dados, no VIII Congresso Nacional de Processamento de Dados.



UMA PAULISTA ONTEM  
Somente dois times paulistas venceram o jogo de ontem. O Palmeiras venceu o Santos, o Corinthians venceu o Atlético Paranaense.



SPORTES  
A luta entre cristãos da direita e muçulmanos continua no Líbano. O exército sírio mantém uma presença forte no país.

Segunda-feira, 27 de outubro de 1975

PAINEL

Questão fechada  
Parlamentares do MDB pretendem forçar o Diretorio Regional, ainda esta semana, a estabelecer os critérios a serem adotados durante o caso de fechamento de questão pela Bancada estadual.

EM ANGRA  
Em sessão de inauguração do Congresso da Asta, o presidente Getulio segará, também de helicoptero, a central nuclear de Angra dos Reis, onde será recebido pelo ministro das Minas e Energia, Sérgio Magalhães.

Previdência  
Deputados e vereadores vão ter assistência previdenciária. Esse é o objetivo de projeto de lei encaminhado ao Legislativo pelo governador Paulo Régio.

Pavor de Operação  
"Nunca pensei em manter qualquer contato com líderes oposicionistas sobre o assunto, pois estou na Arena. Nunca pensei e jamais cogitei de ingressar no MDB. Nunca pensei e jamais cogitei de ingressar no MDB. Nunca pensei e jamais cogitei de ingressar no MDB."

Mais dívidas para a cidade não falir  
O endividamento em níveis catastróficos com o aumento da receita e a fórmula com que o prefeito Olavo Setúbal pretende evitar que São Paulo seja absorvido pela falência como Nova York.

Empate ou vitória  
Na pior das hipóteses, vai haver empate nas eleições complementares do próximo ano, o que não exclui a possibilidade de vitória de qualquer dos lados.

Multinacionais  
O deputado Herbert Levy pretende entregar, na próxima terça-feira, seu relatório sobre o CPT das multinacionais. O documento será discutido no Conselho, ainda na quinta-feira.

Intercambio  
Durante a permanência em São Paulo, nos dias 27 e 28 de novembro, o presidente da Comissão Organizadora da Copa Brasil, o senhor João Carlos de Oliveira.

Fiscalização na compra de imóveis  
BRASILIA (SUCURSAL) - A comissão de fiscalização de compras do Senado Federal, em Brasília, está analisando o processo de aquisição de terrenos para a construção de um prédio para o Senado.

Boas perspectivas  
Cabe ao Tribunal de Contas da União, através do ministro Mauro Renauli Leite, fazer a primeira auditoria de contas de ministros.

Telecomunicação vai reunir 23 delegações  
Durante a 11ª CITELE, os representantes das 23 delegações vão discutir o plano final de trabalho e a execução dos projetos.

Contraponto  
O neoplatão tem-se consolidado numa espécie de chapa política, o que não procura impedir, mesmo os que, atualmente, continuam arrastando a vida de seus próprios, assim que elevados a qualquer posto importante no vida pública.

Recrudescem os conflitos em Beirute  
A luta entre cristãos da direita e muçulmanos continua no Líbano. O exército sírio mantém uma presença forte no país.

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Asta e usina nuclear, o programa de Geisel no Rio

Duas sucursais de Brasília  
O presidente Ernesto Geisel seguirá para o Rio de Janeiro, a fim de presidir a sessão solene de abertura do 45º Congresso Mundial da Asta e visitar o canteiro de obras da usina nuclear de Angra dos Reis.

PROGRAMA DA ASTA  
O Congresso da Asta prosseguirá hoje, no Rio, apresentando pelo menos sessenta palestras e discursos.

Goldman fala sobre a nota de Falcão  
Para o líder do MDB na Assembleia, deputado Alvaro de Azevedo, a nota de Falcão é uma declaração política altamente importante.

Rigor no controle de contas municipais  
BRASILIA (SUCURSAL) - A necessidade de maior rigor no controle das contas municipais é uma preocupação constante do ministro da Fazenda, Roberto Campos.

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II Exército anuncia suicídio de jornalista

O jornalista Vladimir Herzog, de 38 anos, diretor do Departamento de Jornalismo da TV-Cultura, Canal 2, e que se suicidou na tarde de sábado, após uma sessão de tortura, será sepultado hoje no Cemitério Ipiranga do Morumbi.

MARATONA  
O corpo de Vlado - como era conhecido entre os amigos - sairá às 16h30 do velório do Hospital Albert Einstein, no Morumbi, onde será levado para o cemitério de Ipiranga.

Wladimir Herzog  
Guerreiro de Canudos. Brincadeira, diz que um dia o realizaria, frezando a ortografia de Vladimir Herzog.

Goldman fala sobre a nota de Falcão  
Para o líder do MDB na Assembleia, deputado Alvaro de Azevedo, a nota de Falcão é uma declaração política altamente importante.

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- 5) Deixado após o almoço e por volta das 15h00, em sala, desacompanhado, escreveu a seguinte declaração: “Eu Wladimir Herzog admito ser militante do PCB desde 1971 ou 1972, tendo sido aliciado por Rodolfo Konder; comecei contribuindo com Cr\$ 50,00 mensais, quantia que chegou a Cr\$100,00 em 1974 ou começo de 1975; meus contatos com o PCB eram feitos através de meus colegas Rodolfo Konder, Marco Antônio Roca, Luiz Weis, Antônio de Brito, Miguel Urbano Rodrigues, Antônio Prado e Paulo Markun enquanto trabalhava na revista ‘Visão’. Admito ter cedido minha residência para reuniões desde 1972: recebi o jornal ‘Voz Operária’ uma vez pelo correio e duas ou três vezes das mãos de Rodolfo Konder. Relutei em admitir neste órgão minha militância, mas após acareações e diante das evidências, confessei todo o meu envolvimento e afirmo não estar interessado mais em participar de qualquer militância politico-partidária. Assinatura: ‘ilegível.
- 6) Cerca das 16h00 ao ser procurado na sala onde fora deixado, desacompanhado, foi encontrado morto, encorado, tendo para tanto utilizado uma tira de pano. O papel, contendo suas anotações foi achado rasgado, em pedaços, os quais, entretanto, puderam ser recompostos para os devidos fins legais.<sup>668</sup>

A first taught to this «suicide note» reveals that seemed more to a confession note than a suicide one, besides that some imprecisions such as the initial year of acting alongside the «PCB», the amount donated, and especially its closure stating that he was no longer interested in political-partidary actuation, without a single mention to she acts of take his own life. All these elements will be resumed in the following weeks and months.

Finally, the last section of the column presents the journalist’s Union official note that has been published after the acknowledgement of Herzog’s death. In this case is important to underline that an alternative version to the facts has been presented detailing Herzog’s arrival in the «DOI-Codi» dependences and information released already on the Saturday (25/10/1975) night by the authorities that the journalist had killed himself. In addition to this, the Union also asked for more information and the minimum respect of the law as can be seen,

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<sup>668</sup> «5) He was left after lunch and around 3 p.m., in a room, unaccompanied, and wrote the following statement: "I Wladimir Herzog admit to being a militant of the PCB since 1971 or 1972, having been enticed by Rodolfo Konder; I began by contributing with Cr\$ 50.00 a month, an amount that reached Cr\$100.00 in 1974 or beginning of 1975; my contacts with the PCB were made through my colleagues Rodolfo Konder, Marco Antônio Roca, Luiz Weis, Antônio de Brito, Miguel Urbano Rodrigues, Antônio Prado and Paulo Markun while worked in the magazine 'Visão'. I admit having given up my residence for meetings since 1972: I received the newspaper 'Voz Operária' once by mail and two or three times from the hands of Rodolfo Konder. I was reluctant to admit my militancy in this organ, but after questioning and in view of the evidence, I confessed all my involvement and affirm that I am no longer interested in participating in any political party militancy. Signature: 'illegible.

6) Around 4.00 p.m., on being sought in the room where he had been left, unaccompanied, he was found dead, in a body bag, having used a strip of cloth for this purpose. The paper containing his notes was found torn, in pieces, which, however, could be put back together for legal purposes».

# Asta e usina nuclear, o programa de Geisel no Rio

Das sucursais de Brasília e Rio

O presidente Ernesto Geisel seguirá hoje para o Rio de Janeiro, a fim de presidir a sessão solene de abertura do 45.º Congresso Mundial da Asta e visitar o canteiro de obras da usina nuclear de Angra dos Reis, devendo retornar hoje mesmo a Brasília.

Ao desembarcar no Rio, o presidente Geisel seguirá imediatamente para o Hotel Nacional, de helicóptero, às 11 horas, terá início a solenidade de inauguração do Congresso da Asta, com discursos do presidente da entidade, Robert Macmullen, do ministro Severo Gomes, da Indústria e Comércio e do presidente da República.

Ao final da Cerimônia, o general Ernesto Geisel se dirigirá para outro salão, em companhia do governador Faria Lima, dos comandantes militares e dos ministros

Reis Veloso, do Planejamento; Márcio Simonsen, da Fazenda; Azeredo da Silveira, das Relações Exteriores; e Severo Gomes, onde manterá um encontro com a diretoria da Asta, empresários ligados aos setores de turismo e hotelaria e autoridades.

## EM ANGRA

Em seguida à inauguração do Congresso da Asta, o presidente Geisel seguirá, também de helicóptero, à central nuclear de Angra dos Reis, onde será recebido pelo ministro das Minas e Energia, Shigeaki Ueki; e pelo presidente de Furnas, Luiz Cláudio Magalhães.

As 12h30, após os cumprimentos, o presidente da República seguirá, de automóvel, para a casa de visitas, onde serão servidos coquetel e almoço. Logo após, o presidente das Centrais Elétricas de Furnas, Luiz Cláudio Magalhães, fará

uma exposição sobre a central de Angra dos Reis.

Terminada a conferência, a comitiva iniciará uma visita a todos os pontos principais da usina de Angra dos Reis. Uma comissão de trabalhadores cumprimentará o presidente Geisel. O retorno a Brasília está previsto para as 18 horas.

## PROGRAMA DA ASTA

O Congresso da Asta prossegue hoje, no Rio, apresentando, pela manhã, sessão solene com discurso do presidente Geisel, do presidente da Asta, Robert Mac Mullen, e do ministro Severo Gomes, no Hotel Nacional. Os congressistas seguirão depois para o Museu de Arte Moderna, no aterro do Flamengo, em visita à exposição retrospectiva de arte brasileira e de hiper-realistas americanos.

A noite, haverá coquetel para 5 mil pessoas, desfile de

escolas de samba e espetáculo protécnico, em frente dos hotéis Nacional e Intercontinental. Os organizadores calculam que cerca de 12 mil pessoas apreciarão o show "Carnaval Carioca".

## MARATONA

Antes da sessão inaugural de hoje haverá uma maratona — início no Hotel Glória e término no Nacional — cerimônia da tocha e exposição de tapete floral.

Ontem, houve inauguração do "Trade Show", com stands de vários países, no subsolo do Nacional. Para amanhã está marcado, entre outros programas viagem à cidade histórica de Parati, desfile de modas e jóias, visita ao Museu da Chácara do Céu, em Santa Tereza, e jantar oferecido pela diretoria da Asta à diretoria da Embratur e ao comitê de recepção, no clube dos Calçaras, na Lagoa.

# II Exército anuncia suicídio de jornalista

O jornalista Wladimir Herzog, de 38 anos, diretor do Departamento de Jornalismo da TV-Cultura, Canal 2 e que se suicidou na tarde de sábado nas dependências de um orgão do II Exército, segundo nota oficial deste, será sepultado hoje no Cemitério Israelita do Butantã, no km 13,5 da rodovia Raposo Tavares.

O corpo de Vlado — como era conhecido entre os amigos — sairá às 10h30 do velório do Hospital Albert Einstein, no Morumbi, onde vem sendo velado desde as 17 horas de ontem.

Wladimir Herzog deixa esposa e dois filhos menores: ela, Clarice, 34 anos, publicitária; os garotos: Ivo, de 9 anos, e André, de 7, ambos nascidos em Londres, onde por três anos (de 1965 a 1968) trabalhou no Serviço Brasileiro da BBC. Vlado era iugoslavo de nascimento, mas naturalizado brasileiro (com seus pais, Ziegmond e Zora Herzog, deixou seu país ainda menino, fugindo da perseguição nazista).

Primeiro, a família foi para a Itália. Depois, emigrou definitivamente para o Brasil. E, em São Paulo, Vlado começaria a sua carreira jornalística, depois de se formar em Filosofia pela USP: em 1959, como repórter do jornal O Estado de S. Paulo. Por essa época, integrou a equipe de pioneiros que montou a sucursal do jornal em Brasília.

Ainda na nova Capital, veria despertado o seu interesse pelo cinema, que o levou a realizar um curso de filme documentário no Rio de Janeiro, com o cineasta sueco Arno Suckedorf. A seguir, então, dirigiria o seu próprio documentário — Marimbás — sobre os pescadores que viviam no Posto 6, em Copacabana.

Segundo seus amigos, sua atividade jornalística, entretanto, nunca esmoreceria seu interesse pelo cinema, embora o forçasse a ir adiante indefinidamente seu projeto: um longa metragem sobre Antonio Conselheiro e a



Wladimir Herzog

Guerra de Canudos. Brincando, dizia que um dia o realizaria, trazendo o ator inglês Michael Caine para o papel do comandante do último assalto a Canudos.

Ainda de acordo com os amigos, há poucos meses quase chegou a concretizar o seu projeto, preparando mesmo uma sinopse do roteiro para o programa Globo Repórter. Mas, outra vez, não pôde ir adiante, ao ser convidado para assumir a direção de telejornalismo do Canal 2.

E seria na televisão que colheria e viveria sua maior experiência: primeiro como redator e secretário do Show de Notícias, telejornal diário da extinta TV Excelsior, Canal 9, mas sem abandonar o jornal; depois, como produtor e apresentador de programas para o Brasil na BBC de Londres. Ali, ainda, antes de retornar ao Brasil, promoveria um curso de produção para estudantes estrangeiros.

Voltando ao Brasil, foi trabalhar na revista Visão, como editor cultural, tornando-se ao mesmo tempo professor de Televisão na Fundação Armando Álvares Penteado. Nessa ocasião, teria o seu primeiro contato com o Canal 2, para secretariar o seu recém-lançado Hora da Notícia, em 1972.

## O comunicado do II Exército

A propósito da morte do jornalista Wladimir Herzog, no último sábado, o comando

contatos com o PCB eram feitos através de meus colegas Rodolfo Konder,

## Azeredo chega hoje à Itália

ROMA (AFP) — O chanceler brasileiro Azeredo da Silveira chegará hoje a Roma, prosseguindo em seus contatos para incentivar e desenvolver o intercâmbio entre o Brasil e os países da Comunidade Econômica Européia. Sua estada em Roma, prevista para dois dias, torna-se mais importante, porque a Itália assumirá a presidência-geral daquele organismo.

Hoje Azeredo da Silveira se entrevistará com o chanceler italiano, Marino Rumor e amanhã será recebido pelo presidente da República, Giovanni Leoni, e a seguir pelo presidente do Senado, Aldo Moro. Três temas principais dominarão as conversações: o desenvolvimento das relações bilaterais; as relações entre o Brasil e a Comunidade Econômica Européia; e a próxima conferência sobre energia, matérias-primas e proble-

## Rigor no controle de contas municipais

BRASILIA (Sucursal) — A necessidade de maior rigor e severidade no controle dos recursos do Fundo de Participação, além da ação pedagógica, foi defendida pelo ministro Jurandir Coelho, do Tribunal de Contas da União, como uma necessidade para que se obtenha a melhoria do quadro municipal.

O ministro Mauro Renault Leite, também do TCU, tem frisado que no julgamento das contas deste ano, a serem recebidas até 31 de março próximo, o Tribunal deve ser o mais enérgico possível, porque 1976 será o último ano das atuais administrações municipais.

## ESPOSA

Relatando, em média, 1.500 prestações de contas de municípios por ano, o ministro Jurandir Coelho mostra-se impressionado com as irregularidades existentes,

o ministro Jurandir Coelho frisa que as deficiências estruturais dos municípios impedem que essa orientação, no tocante à aplicação dos recursos, possa produzir os seus efeitos a curto prazo, no sentido de despertá-los para o real significado da aplicação dos recursos a eles consignados.

Torna-se patente, a seu ver, que em razão desse fato, a continuidade das práticas administrativas, revelando total desparelhamento, há de encontrar um corretivo que, aliado à ação pedagógica de controle, impeça a repetição de irregularidades que acabam tornando letra morta os objetivos a serem alcançados na melhoria do quadro municipal. Defende, portanto, maior rigor e severidade em relação ao controle e intensificação das sanções.

## IRREGULARIDADES

Nos processos que tem

## Goldman fala sobre a nota de Falcão

Para o líder do MDB na Assembleia, deputado Alberto Goldman, não existem razões políticas atualmente no País que exijam medidas repressivas, determinadas pelo ministro da Justiça, Armando Falcão.

O parlamentar atribui a precaução oficial apenas a possíveis manifestações populares contra a adoção dos contratos de risco no campo petrolífero.

"O monopólio estatal do petróleo foi instituído depois de grandes lutas populares, no sentido da sua instituição. Os contratos de risco abrem uma brecha nesse monopólio. Talvez a medida do ministro, pelo que imagino, tente evitar que o povo se manifeste contrariamente aos contratos de risco."

## CONTRARIOS

Do mesmo ponto de vista não compartilha o deputado

**VLADIMIR HERZOG**  
**JB - 27/10/1975**

4 - NACIONAL

**Telecomunicações reúnem em conferência as delegações de 23 países das Américas**

Vinte e três delegações com um total de 500 representantes compareceram à Embaixada as negociações para o II Conferência Interamericana de Telecomunicações, que se realizará no Hotel Nacional, no Rio de Janeiro, entre os dias 18 e 27 de novembro, tendo como principal objetivo a avaliação dos diversos projetos para a Rede Interamericana de Telecomunicações.

O encontro é organizado pela Embaixada e terá à sua presidente, Sr Haroldo Correa de Matos, que a indústria brasileira de telecomunicações montará uma exposição no local das reuniões, "como primeira iniciativa conjunta do país para sensibilizar a opinião latino-americana, servindo exclusivamente pelas organizações europeias, americanas e japonesas".

**ALBERTO**

Como a maioria dos países da América Latina encontram-se alinhados ao Tratado de Comércio de Comércio de Telecomunicações, exatamente o período para a realização de uma reunião de caráter regional, a Embaixada decidiu que a reunião seria realizada em um período de trabalho de dois dias, entre os dias 18 e 27 de novembro, tendo como principal objetivo a avaliação dos diversos projetos para a Rede Interamericana de Telecomunicações.

De acordo com o Sr. Haroldo Correa de Matos, a reunião será realizada em um período de trabalho de dois dias, entre os dias 18 e 27 de novembro, tendo como principal objetivo a avaliação dos diversos projetos para a Rede Interamericana de Telecomunicações.

**Padre depõe na CPI do Mobral**

Brasil — O Padre Paulo Pires de Moraes depõe sobre a situação da CPI do Mobral, em um depoimento que fará hoje, às 10h, na Comissão de Educação e Cultura da Câmara dos Deputados, aos participantes do Seminário Nacional para Avaliar os Resultados da Implantação da Lei 5.092/71, que trata da reforma do ensino.

**Nei Braga analisa hoje em seminário na Câmara a situação do ensino no país**

Brasil — A situação do ensino brasileiro deverá ser analisada pelo Ministro da Educação, Sr Nei Braga, em pronunciamento que fará hoje, às 10h, na Comissão de Educação e Cultura da Câmara dos Deputados, aos participantes do Seminário Nacional para Avaliar os Resultados da Implantação da Lei 5.092/71, que trata da reforma do ensino.

**Comando do II Exército explica em nota oficial morte de jornalista**

São Paulo — Em nota oficial, o comando do II Exército anunciou a morte do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, de 38 anos, casado e com dois filhos, ocorrida nas dependências do DOI-CODI, órgão de segurança diretamente vinculada ao comando do Exército-Maior do II Exército.

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O discurso do Ministro está sendo preparado há vários dias, em acordo, por funcionários do MEC, sob a orientação do próprio Sr Nei Braga. Na elaboração foram observadas opiniões de professores, de alunos e os resultados de pesquisas feitas recentemente pela Universidade Federal da Bahia, por encomenda do Ministério.

**MELHORIAS E PROBLEMAS**

Na proposta de estudantes apontaram, entre os aspectos positivos da reforma, a melhoria do ensino e a participação da comunidade. Nos aspectos negativos, apontaram a falta de recursos, a falta de interesse dos pais e a falta de integração entre o ensino e a realidade brasileira.

**Comando do II Exército explica em nota oficial morte de jornalista**

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**A nota**

A nota do II Exército é a seguinte na íntegra: O Comando do II Exército lamenta intensamente a morte de Vladimir Herzog, jornalista e jornalista, ocorrida nas dependências do DOI-CODI, órgão de segurança diretamente vinculada ao comando do Exército-Maior do II Exército.

Constatadas sobre os problemas da vida acadêmica, apontaram a repressão e a falta de recursos. Entre os aspectos negativos, apontaram a falta de recursos, a falta de interesse dos pais e a falta de integração entre o ensino e a realidade brasileira.

**UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DA BAHIA AVISO**

A faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade Federal da Bahia faz saber, a quem interessar possa, que se acha aberta concorrência pública para reforma, manutenção e instalação do Serviço de Inspecção e Detecção do N. P. E. S., de acordo com o Edital N.º 62/75 e na conformidade do Projeto e Especificações que poderão ser obtidos na sede da Prefeitura de Camamu, Universidade, à Rua Coimbra Moura N.º 140 - Federação.

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**CONCORRÊNCIA PÚBLICA N.º 12/75 "AVISO DE ADIAMENTO"**

Concorrência pública para prestação de serviços de manutenção e reparação de veículos automotores.

**CONCORRÊNCIA PÚBLICA N.º 12/75 "AVISO DE ADIAMENTO"**

Concorrência pública para prestação de serviços de manutenção e reparação de veículos automotores.

**BANCO CENTRAL DO BRASIL**  
COMUNICADO GEDIP N.º 383

OFERTA DE TÍTULOS PÚBLICOS FEDERAIS  
OBRIGAÇÕES DO TESOURO NACIONAL  
TIPO REAJUSTADO (ORTN)

MAIO	TAXA DE JUROS	ENCARGO	VENCIMENTO	PAGAMENTO DA EMISSÃO
1 ano	12,00%	0,10%	10/10/76	100
2 anos	12,00%	0,10%	10/10/77	100

«Não obstante as informações oficiais fornecidas pelo II Exército em nota distribuída à imprensa, o Sindicato dos Jornalistas deseja notar que, perante a lei, a autoridade é sempre responsável pela integridade física das pessoas que coloca sob sua guarda».<sup>669</sup> At the end of the note were published practical information about Herzog's funeral and burial.

The «JB» on its place, chosed to do not present any image and in a protocolar form, right under the title «Comando do II Exército explica em nota oficial morte de jornalista»<sup>670</sup> the newspaper published both official notes: the Army one and the Union one, in a central column of page number four of that day's edition. In between both notes were printed the information on the journalist funeral and burial, proposing a similar coverage to what the «FSP» had made, especially if the comparison it is extended also to the size of the physical space that was dedicated to this subject and the location within the newspaper.

28/10/1975 – *Folha de S. Paulo*

The press coverage continued in the following day with a growing space dedicated to the subject in the newspaper. The «FSP» presented a whole page number three to Herzog's burial and to the Army Official report to his death. Not only a bigger textual space was given to the topic, but also pictorial. This has been fulfilled not with a photograph but with the image of a copy of the presumed Herzog's «suicidal note» (*photo 58*) placed in the center of the page, right above it the caption indicates: «Distribuído pelo II Exército, este é o bilhete de próprio punho de Vladimir Herzog, redigido, segundo as autoridades, pouco antes de cometer suicídio e que acabou por rasgar. Os pedaços foram encontrados num canto da sala e recompostos»<sup>671</sup>. The image presents basically a white background with the handwritten note in black, without any line. Can be seen what supposedly were the points in which the paper was cut in pieces.

This image divides the reader's attention with two major titles of the page, on the left top-corner «Sepultado ontem o jornalista Vladimir Herzog»<sup>672</sup> and right below the image «II Exército divulga o laudo, perícia e exame sobre morte».<sup>673</sup> The first one was followed by the news report of the journalist burial in which attended more then eight hundred people, and later on the information about the release of the other five journalists that were still under custody

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<sup>669</sup> «Notwithstanding the official information provided by the II Army in a note distributed to the press, the Journalists' Union wishes to note that, under the law, the authority is always responsible for the physical integrity of the people it places under its guard».

<sup>670</sup> «II Army Command explains in a press release the death of journalist».

<sup>671</sup> «Distributed by the Second Army, this is Vladimir Herzog's own handwritten note, written, according to the authorities, shortly before he committed suicide and which he eventually tore up. The pieces were found in a corner of the room and reassembled».

<sup>672</sup> «Journalist Vladimir Herzog buried yesterday».

<sup>673</sup> «II Army releases the report, forensics and examination on death».

of the «DOI-Codi» to attend the funeral, right after the auxiliary title «Liberados cinco jornalistas».<sup>674</sup> In this case is important to quote the words of the Army General Ariel Pacca that according to «FSP» stated

Não existe nenhuma intenção em prender quem quer que seja. O Exército, quando o faz, é porque existem denúncias e a necessidade de verificação, não entrando no mérito a ligação política ou sindical. Cada um pensa como quer, mas não se pode admitir a perturbação da paz e tranquilidade do País. Acrescentou o general que “a Revolução foi feita para preservar a democracia no Brasil e as exceções existem devido às pressões dos que querem evitar essa democracia. Portanto, nossas limitações democráticas estão na medida da ação dos nossos inimigos”.<sup>675</sup>

The words of the general are a practical example of how the military government and its official pronouncements still were functioning in a monologic mechanism of emptying the meaning and sense of determined words and concepts, especially the «democracy» and «revolution» concepts, but in this case also the ideas related to who was the so-called country's «enemy».

At the end of the left column a new Union's communicate was published and detailed. From this part is valid to underscore the following extract that is useful to illustrate how the self-censorship worked in that period

A diretoria do Sindicato dos Jornalistas comunicou também aos generais Ferreira Marques e Ariel Pacca da Fonseca a grande intranquilidade e insegurança que provocaram, em todas as redações de São Paulo, as condições em que são efetuadas as prisões e, principalmente a morte na prisão, do jornalista Vladimir Herzog.<sup>676</sup>

The second main headline of that page «II Army releases the report, forensics and examination on death» presents a text which narrates the official version and the release of a forensic report in which was confirmed the suicide version to Herzog's death and the names of the medic who

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<sup>674</sup> « Five journalists released».

<sup>675</sup> «There is no intention of arresting anyone. When the Army does so, it is because there are accusations and the need for verification, without entering into the merit of the political or trade union connection. Each person thinks as they wish, but we cannot allow the disturbance of the peace and tranquility of the country. The General added that "the Revolution was made to preserve democracy in Brazil and the exceptions exist due to the pressures of those who want to avoid this democracy. Therefore, our democratic limitations are in the measure of the action of our enemies».

<sup>676</sup> «The board of the Journalists' Union also communicated to Generals Ferreira Marques and Ariel Pacca da Fonseca the great uneasiness and insecurity that caused, in all newsrooms of São Paulo, the conditions of the arrests and, mainly, the death in prison of journalist Vladimir Herzog».

VLADIMIR HERZOG
FSP - 28/10/1975
Photo 58

Sepultado ontem o jornalista Vladimir Herzog

Cerca de 800 pessoas, entre parentes e jornalistas, estiveram, ontem, na cerimônia de sepultamento do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, falecido sábado.

bem pelo MDB, Horácio Ortiz e Alberto Goldman, além de Fernando Faro, assistente da presidência da TV Cultura, canal 2, da qual Vladimir Herzog era editor do departamento de telejornalismo.

Liberados cinco jornalistas

Os jornalistas Paulo Sérgio Markun, Anthony Jorge Andrade Cristo, George Benigno Jatayu Duque Estrada e Rodolfo Oswaldo Konder, que se encontravam presos, foram liberados ontem pela manhã, por determinação do comando do II Exército, a tempo de assistir ao funeral de Vladimir Herzog.

mandante do II Exército, se encontra em Brasília) e Antonio Ferreira Marques, chefe do Estado-Maior do II Exército.

Handwritten notes in Portuguese, including names like Paulo Sérgio Markun, Anthony Jorge Andrade Cristo, George Benigno Jatayu Duque Estrada, and Rodolfo Oswaldo Konder.

Distribuído pelo II Exército, este é o bilhete de próprio punho de Vladimir Herzog, redigido, segundo as autoridades, pouco antes de cometer suicídio e que acabou por rasgar. Os pedaços foram encontrados num canto da sala e recomposos.

II Exército divulga laudo, perícia e exame sobre morte

O II Exército divulgou o laudo, a perícia e o exame sobre a morte de Vladimir Herzog.

Terça-feira, 28 de outubro de 1975

FOLHA DE S. PAULO

POLÍTICA - 3

Sepultado ontem o jornalista Vladimir Herzog

Corvo de três passadas, entre parentes e jornalistas, estiveram, ontem, na cerimônia de sepultamento do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, falecido sábado.

Liberados cinco jornalistas

Os jornalistas Paulo Sérgio Markun, Anthony Jorge Andrade Cristo, George Benigno Jatayu Duque Estrada e Rodolfo Oswaldo Konder, que se encontravam presos, foram liberados ontem pela manhã, por determinação do comando do II Exército, a tempo de assistir ao funeral de Vladimir Herzog.

II Exército divulga laudo, perícia e exame sobre morte

O II Exército divulgou o laudo, a perícia e o exame sobre a morte de Vladimir Herzog.

Autenticidade da ABI

Nota do MDB de São Paulo

Manifesta-se a ABI

Nota do MDB de São Paulo

Nota do MDB de São Paulo

Nota do MDB de São Paulo

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Manifesta-se a ABI

Nota do MDB de São Paulo

signed the report.<sup>677</sup> After the auxiliary title «IPT conclui por suicídio»<sup>678</sup> were published details of the report that indicate an important role to the images of it, however, a picture of Herzog dead in the «DOI-Codi» headquarters will be published in the press only in the end of December of that year.

Junto à janela dessa cela, em suspensão incompleta e sustido pelo pescoço, através de uma cinta de tecido verde, foi encontrado o cadáver de um homem, de cútis branca, apontado como sendo o de Wladimir Herzog, de 38 anos de idade que se achava com a sua língua ligeiramente procidente. [...]

A referida cinta, conforme mostra a foto n°2, estava atada na grade metálica com um nó simples a uma altura de 1,63 metros. A outra extremidade dessa peça formava a laçada de nó corredeço que constringia fortemente o pescoço, nó esse situado na parte posterior do lado esquerdo do mesmo. [...] Do que ficou exposto depreende-se que o fato possuía um quadro típico de suicídio por enforcamento.<sup>679</sup>

The following subtitle «Autenticidade da assinatura»<sup>680</sup> in which was detailed the forensics tests made to ensure that the signature in the note was really Herzog's handwriting close the official narrative discursive construction. From these elements is central to notice that there was a concern of the militaries in creating a legitimacy to its own narrative, however, even the photographs been indicated as a proof of what had happened, they were not released in those first days after Herzog's death. Finally, the right column of the page was dedicated to different reactions to the case, from the legislative power and its opinions until the ministries preoccupations of a growing general dissatisfaction, such as the headline «Petronio: Subversão será combatida com todo rigor»<sup>681</sup> the majority leader declared that there will be no space for «subversion», in a sign that the military government was concerned on what could be the consequences to Herzog's death, however, what is more interesting to us on this case has been

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<sup>677</sup> Arildo de T. Vian and Harry Shibata were the two medics who signed it. According to what has been aroused by the «Comissão Nacional da Verdade – National Truth Commission» both forensic medics were responsible for falsifying Herzog's death report. Available in: <http://comissaodaverdade.al.sp.gov.br/mortos-desaparecidos/vladimir-herzog> Access in: 01/07/2022.

<sup>678</sup> «IPT (Instituto de Polícia Técnica) concludes for suicide».

<sup>679</sup> «Next to the window of this cell, in incomplete suspension and held by the neck by a green cloth strap, was found the corpse of a man with a white complexion, said to be that of Wladimir Herzog, aged 38, who had his tongue slightly protruding. [...]

The belt, as shown in photo No. 2, was tied to the metal grid with a simple knot at a height of 1.63 metres. The other end of this piece formed the loop of a slipknot that tightly constricted the neck, this knot being located on the back of the left side of the neck. [...] It is clear from the above that the fact was typical of suicide by hanging».

<sup>680</sup> «Authenticity of the signature».

<sup>681</sup> «Petronio: Subversion will be fought with all rigour».



the choice made by the «FSP» in highlighting the repressive aspect of the statement, in a diverse gaze from what proposed the «JB».

*28/10/1975 – Jornal do Brasil*

The «JB» attitude and choices in the coverage were a little bit different than the ones made by the «FSP». The first difference was the presence, for the first time in both papers, of the subject in the first page. A small title followed by a short text stated in the right column of that day's first page «Governo vai apurar morte de jornalista».<sup>682</sup> The text indicated the details present in the page number four of that day's edition and the fact that due to the pressure of the legislative opposition to the regime, the high ranks of the military had declared that Herzog's death would be investigated. However it is important to underscore that once again, the gaze that the «JB» proposed for this case, was so far connected a general and generic idea of the murder itself – keeping a safe distance from an extreme personification of that death. The internal page of the newspapers follows a line almost identical to the one chosen by the «FSP»; the physical space was pretty much the same – one page. An important difference is placed in the main headlines. On the left top corner of the page the title was «Petronio assegura que o governo irá esclarecer morte de jornalista em S. Paulo»<sup>683</sup>, this title presents itself as a great example of the generic aspect of the narrative, not putting Herzog's name in the first page neither in the internal headline, on the other hand, presents a major preoccupation and attention to the next steps related to it, but in a diverse key, more connected to the investigations rather the repression. The second major title of that page stated «Laudo diz que foi suicídio»<sup>684</sup>, putting in the top of the page the suicide concept, narrative, and official version, in a different approach of the «FSP» that placed this information only in the story text. «JB» on its turn had chosen to do not publish any image connected to this case on that day, keeping the coverage in a lower key in respect to «FSP»'s proposal closer to the ideas and declarations of the Journalist Union's board.

*29/10/1975 – Folha de S. Paulo*

On that day, Herzog's subject was still in the agenda, however the «FSP» was keeping it away from the newspaper's first page, as mentioned before, probably as a form of self-censorship, as well as a conscious ideological option as presented by Taschner (1992, p. 115). That is to say, the «FSP» direction ability to modulate the newspaper discourse and news report

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<sup>682</sup> «Government to investigate journalist's death».

<sup>683</sup> «Petronio assures that government will clarify journalist's death in S. Paulo».

<sup>684</sup> «Report says it was suicide».



# Governo vai apurar morte de jornalista

Em resposta à Oposição, que exigia mais detalhes sobre o assassinio do jornalista Vladimir Herzog em uma cela da DOI-CODE em São Paulo, o líder do Governo no Senado, Dr. Pedrolo Pereira, garantiu que todas as providências serão tomadas para esclarecer o caso, pois "qualquer mais interpretação tem em que o fato se elucidar e as razões se apertar e o Governo".

O Comando do II Exército distribuiu a imprensa copia integral da laudo de exame de corpo de delito feito pelo IML do Estado de São Paulo no cadáver do jornalista e que compoera sua carteira. Foi também entregue copia do exame grafotécnico atestando a autenticidade da nota manuscrita em que Vladimir assinava seu relacionamento com o PCB. (Fig. 4 e anexos pag. 6)

**Petrônio assegura que o Governo esclarecerá morte de jornalista em S. Paulo**

Brasília — O líder do Governo no Senado, Sr Petrônio Portela, garantiu que serão tomadas todas as providências para esclarecer a morte do jornalista Vladimir Herzog nas dependências do DOI-CODI, em São Paulo, pois "quem mais interesse tem em que o fato se elucide e as razões se apurem é o Governo".

O discurso do Senador Petrônio Portela foi uma resposta à Oposição, cuja bancada, por unanimidade, depois de fazer a ressalva de que não pretende criar obstáculos ao trabalho dos órgãos de segurança, exigiu esclarecimentos sobre o elevado número de prisões de jornalistas e reclamou mais detalhes sobre o suicídio do jornalista.

**INQUÉRITO**

— Não há, por conseguinte, reclamações a se fazer por omissão do Governo.

O Senador Roberto Saturnino, no exercício da liderança do MDB, disse que "a nota oficial do Comando do II Exército é sucinta e foi divulgada sem os necessários detalhes esclarecedores, com muita pouca exploração sobre as razões que levaram o jornalista Herzog a suicidar-se quando estava sob a responsabilidade de autoridades militares que conduziram um inquérito sobre atividades subversivas".

A nota oficial — salientou — não faz alusão, não fala de nenhuma providência que seria de se esperar no caso, relativa a abertura de um inquérito capaz de apurar com rigor e com detalhes os fatos e as responsabilidades que se envolvem em um caso de tamanha gravidade. É evidente que há responsabilidades a apurar, pois a autoridade que o deteve é responsável pela vida de quem mantém preso.

O líder Petrônio Portela incluiu o discurso manifestando seu "profundo pesar" pela morte do jornalista, "já que a solidariedade humana nos faz lamentar a morte dos nossos concidadãos, principalmente daqueles que a tenham provocado sob impactos emocionais que muitas vezes não temos condições de elucidar e de explicar".

Repeliu as insinuações de que houve omissão do Comando do II Exército, alegando que a primeira providência tomada pelo General Eduardo D'Ávila Mello foi solicitar aos órgãos técnicos da polícia civil de São Paulo que fizessem a autópsia do jornalista.

**Laudo diz que foi suicídio**

São Paulo — O Comando do II Exército distribuiu à imprensa cópia xerográfica do laudo do exame de corpo de delito (exame necroscópico) realizado pelo Instituto Médico Legal do Estado de São Paulo no cadáver do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, comprovando seu suicídio, por enforcamento, em uma das celas do DOI-CODI.

Também foram distribuídas cópias xerográficas dos laudos da perícia de encontro de cadáver e do exame grafotécnico que atesta a autenticidade da nota manuscrita em que o jornalista Vladimir Herzog confessou o seu envolvimento nas atividades do PCB.

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**ENTERO**

Numa cerimônia rápida, que causou protestos de parentes e amigos, o jornalista Vladimir Herzog foi sepultado pela manhã no Cemitério Israelita do Butantã, diante de cerca de 500 pessoas.

Seu corpo foi velado no Hospital Albert Einstein, onde o caixão ficou fechado por motivos religiosos. Estava coberto com a bandeira do Sindicato dos Jornalistas Profissionais do Estado de São Paulo. Foram ao velório mais de 100 pessoas, entre elas os Senadores Franco Montoro e Orestes Quércia, o líder do MDB na Assembleia, Deputado Alberto Goldmann, e o Cardeal D Paulo Evaristo Arns.

Quando o cortejo chegou ao cemitério, os responsáveis pela organização funerária da colônia judaica, a Chevra Kadischa, determinaram que o corpo fosse enterrado imediatamente.

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Segundo informaram dirigentes do DOI, os jornalistas Egger Moellward (mulher de George Duque Estrada), Sérgio Gomes, Marilinda Marchi, Ricardo de Moraes Monteiro, Frederico Pessoa da Silva e Luis Pola Gale continuarão presos até "o esclarecimento de suas implicações subversivas".

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**LEIA EDITORIAL "REPRESSÃO PREVENTIVA"**

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**LEIA EDITORIAL "REPRESSÃO PREVENTIVA"**

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**Descubra um negócio de cinema:**



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O discurso do Senador Petrônio Portela foi uma resposta à Oposição, cuja bancada, por unanimidade, depois de fazer a ressalva de que não pretende criar obstáculos ao trabalho dos órgãos de segurança, exigiu esclarecimentos sobre o elevado número de prisões de jornalistas e reclamou mais detalhes sobre o suicídio do jornalista.

**INQUÉRITO**

— Não há, por conseguinte, reclamações a se fazer por omissão do Governo.

Rejeitou também as insinuações da Oposição de que a atitude do jornalista não fora isolada.

Entre a declaração formal e pública do Comandante do II Exército, expressando à nação as circunstâncias em que as prisões são efetuadas, todas elas revestidas das formalidades legais tal como foi a de Herzog, e as declarações de representantes da Minoria, hei de ficar, necessariamente, com as daquela autoridade militar — disse.

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**LEIA EDITORIAL "REPRESSÃO PREVENTIVA"**

aiming to build a legitimacy within its readers, but also without overpressure the militaries. In so, on that day there was no images, subtitles, or texts in the first page.

Nevertheless, the topic appeared already in page number three of that day's edition. The whole page was dedicated to it and besides the two photos published (*Photos 59 and 60*), three main headlines organized the information display in the upper half of the page. The first one on the left, «Mais 1 jornalista apresenta-se ao II Exército»<sup>685</sup> was followed by a text in which was informed that the journalist Luis Weiss a member of the Journalists Union's Board must present himself in the «DOI-Codi» headquarter because his name was mentioned in the presumed Herzog's note. In the occasion of Weiss's presentation to the «DOI-Codi» he has been accompanied by Audalio Dantas, Union's president and Mino Carta and José Roberto Guzzo, respectively director and chief-editor of «Veja» magazine. The text also presented the full version of the late Union's communicate in which were present the information on the new developments of the incarcerated colleagues and other that were asked to present themselves to the «DOI-Codi» in those days. The presence of both this, headline and text, in that newspaper's page can be interpreted as a demonstration of the ideological balance mentioned before, and also as an example of a solidarity corporativism from the «FSP» newsroom to its colleagues. Is mandatory to indicate that at the same time, Herzog's case showed to be extremely useful by the mainstream media organs to initiate a reorganization on the discourse building about itself, placing the so-called mass media – the conglomerates – in a resistance positing to the military regime.

In its place, the headline «Montoro denúncia e Portela faz advertência»<sup>686</sup> refers to the text on the right upper column of the page, and the two pictures in the top right corner. In brief, the focus was the consequences arrival of Herzog's murder in the National Congress; on the one hand the story narrates Franco Montoro's (MDB and opposition leader) speech in Congress after attending to Herzog' burial, denouncing the social and political insecurity as well as tension in the State after São Paulo, in those days after the journalist killing. On the other side, were quoted as well the words of Petronio Portela, (ARENA and government leader) that emphasized the fact that the country was facing a subversion rising and the militaries would arrest as many as necessary.

Both pictures printed are related to this text and presented the two protagonist politicians of the story. The image placed on the left shows, in an american plan, Franco

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<sup>685</sup> «1 more journalist presents himself to the II Army».

<sup>686</sup> «Montoro denounces and Portela warns».

# VLADIMIR HERZOG

## FSP - 29/10/1975

### Photos 59 e 60

Quarta-feira, 29 de outubro de 1975

FOLHA DE S. PAULO

POLÍTICA — 3

### Mais 1 jornalista apresenta-se ao II Exército

A jornalista Laila Weiss, do Conselho Administrativo da Associação Brasileira de Imprensa (ABI), apresentou-se ao II Exército em São Paulo, onde se encontra o comandante do Exército, general Orlando Geisel, para discutir a situação dos jornalistas presos em decorrência da morte de Vladimir Herzog.



Francisco Montoro pede uma saída para "o impasse" em reunião com jornalistas e autoridades militares.

## Montoro denuncia e Portela faz advertência

**ABI pede total esclarecimento**

RIO (Sucursal) — O conselho administrativo da Associação Brasileira de Imprensa (ABI), reunido ontem, considerou que a prisão de jornalistas em São Paulo e a morte de Vladimir Herzog "representam o cerceamento da liberdade de imprensa no País" e apelou para todos os órgãos de divulgação do Brasil para que cerrem fileiras em defesa da liberdade de imprensa como patrimônio permanente do povo brasileiro. O conselho decretou luto oficial por oito dias, com bandeira a meio pau, e se declarou em sessão de vigília permanente até que cessem as prisões e seja apurada a morte de Vladimir.

Em ofício enviado também ontem ao general Ednardo d'Ávila Mello, comandante do II Exército, a ABI pondera que o inquérito a ser instaurado para apurar as circunstâncias da morte de Vladimir Herzog "não produzirá, a nosso ver, o efeito que todos desejamos, se não for acompanhado pelo Ministério Público da Justiça Militar e com acesso da imprensa às diligências e depoimentos decorrentes das investigações".

**Notas de Sindicato de Minas**

Os jornalistas de Minas Gerais, em uma reunião realizada em Belo Horizonte, discutiram a situação dos colegas presos em São Paulo e a morte de Vladimir Herzog. O sindicato emitiu uma declaração de solidariedade e prometeu apoiar as ações de defesa dos presos.

**Curso paralisado na USP**

O curso de Jornalismo da Universidade de São Paulo (USP) foi paralisado por uma greve dos alunos em protesto contra a prisão de jornalistas em São Paulo.

**Ulisses: tarefa da polícia**

Os policiais estão trabalhando para identificar o autor da morte de Vladimir Herzog. A polícia está analisando as evidências e entrevistando testemunhas.

**Faculdades São Judas Tadeu**

As faculdades São Judas Tadeu em São Paulo estão fechadas em solidariedade com os jornalistas presos em São Paulo.



Franco Montoro pede uma saída para "o impasse"



Portela adverte que a subversão será reprimida pelas autoridades.

# Montoro denuncia e Portela faz advertência

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RIO (Sucursal) — O conselho administrativo da Associação Brasileira de Imprensa (ABI), reunido ontem, considerou que a prisão de jornalistas em São Paulo e a morte de Vladimir Herzog "representam o cerceamento da liberdade de imprensa no País" e apelou para todos os órgãos de divulgação do Brasil para que cerrem fileiras em defesa da liberdade de imprensa como patrimônio permanente do povo brasileiro. O conselho decretou luto oficial por oito dias, com bandeira a meio pau, e se declarou em sessão de vigília permanente até que cessem as prisões e seja apurada a morte de Vladimir.

Moraes Neto, comunicou então ao conselho o envio de um ofício ao comandante do II Exército, que foi lido pelo secretário da seção.

O conselho administrativo da ABI, dando continuidade à seção, aprovou uma moção prestigiando a atuação da diretoria da Associação e recomendando a ação em defesa dos profissionais de imprensa presos ou processados". Decidiram "reiterar a tradicional posição da ABI de que a liberdade de imprensa, mais que direito dos que a exercem, é um direito dos que dela se beneficiam, ou seja, do país inteiro, pois quando a imprensa é silenciada, acima dos jornais e jornalistas perde a Nação como um todo, ante o recrudescimento dos abusos e a proliferação dos erros não denunciados nem combatidos".

**DIREITOS HUMANOS**

A Comissão de Direitos Humanos da ABI, em sua reunião mensal, também realizada ontem, colocou-se à disposição do conselho administrativo e da diretoria da ABI para providências e diligências que precisem ser tomadas no caso dos jornalistas presos em São Paulo, como também sobre a morte de Vladimir Herzog. A comissão, presidida por Benjamin Moraes Filho, examinou e encaminhou à diretoria da ABI apelos e pedidos de providências em favor do jornalista Orlando Bonfim Junior, preso no Rio, em regime de incomunicabilidade, e do estudante Miguel Urbano Rodrigues Filho, preso na semana passada

**BRASILIA (Sucursal) —** O senador Franco Montoro, líder do MDB na Câmara Alta, retornou de São Paulo (onde assistiu ao enterro do jornalista Vladimir Herzog) e denunciou ao Senado o clima de intranquilidade que, em sua opinião, está se registrando naquele Estado, onde — informou — foram presos mais de 70 universitários. Propôs àquela Casa do Congresso que, acima dos partidos, não fique alheia ao problema e procure, através de suas lideranças e de suas Comissões, "uma saída para o impasse, que pode levar o País a uma situação indesejável".

Em apelo, o líder do Governo, Petrólio Portela, apontou a existência de uma escalada subversiva no País e que é em razão desse fato que o Governo "prenderá quantos estejam envolvidos nas manhas da subversão".

Entrando no debate, o vice-líder do MDB, senador Roberto Saturnino, negou a existência dessa escalada subversiva, observando existir, sim, uma escalada da gravidade da situação econômica.

**ESCALADA SUBVERSIVA**

Diante da revelação de Portela, de que há uma escalada da subversão no País, Montoro pediu a ele que indicasse concretamente em que consiste essa escalada, "porque, tanto V. Exa. como nós e o Brasil inteiro, estamos interessados em evitar a subversão".

"O que propõe o líder da Minoria — respondeu Portela — é algo verdadeiramente in-

**A DENUNCIA**

Em sua denúncia sobre a ocorrência de grande número de prisões em São Paulo, o senador Franco Montoro leu, a propósito, nota oficial do Sindicato dos Jornalistas Profissionais de São Paulo, contendo a mesma denúncia, e transcreveu editorial de um ma-

O jornal Ednardo d'Ávila Mello, viré até amanhã no

Montoro in a suit looking from the left to the right, with his arms open, in the moment the congressman was pronouncing his speech. The image has two plans, in the first one Montoro is sharply and freeze framed, in the second plan at the background other three congressmen were pictured, all of them seated and looking to Montoro, as if were listening to the colleague. In respect to the scenes object, is possible to see the microphone in front of Montoro, and the long working tables of the Brazilian National Congress. Must be mentioned the lack of quality of the image, generating a background completely blank, creating an archive image, diverse from the one published in the paper. Finally, Montoro's photo was followed by the caption «Franco Montoro pede uma saída para o “impasse”». <sup>687</sup>

In the case of the picture on the right, Petronio Portela was framed in a similar way, with the great difference that the congressman during his speech was looking from the left to the right – creating a confrontation scene in the newspaper page, as with both were arguing or speaking simultaneously (field-controlfield). At this picture were framed other five congressmen in the second plan, all paying attention to the speech. Can also be seen a glass of water over Portela's table and a sheet of paper, which could have been used to the speech preparation. However, in terms of the «FSP» discourse on the case what is important to highlight are Portela's pointing finger in the image, a physical element that emphasizes the warning present in his words, rising even more the social and political tension in that moment. This confrontational element when added up to the caption «Portela adverte que a subversão será reprimida pelas autoridades» <sup>688</sup> and the information present in the text build a discursive emphasis in the repression element, attitude that can be interpreted in two different keys, by one side as a critic of «FSP» to the military action of reinforcing this coercitive element, or on the other, the attention that the newspaper was giving to the warning, as if it was amplifying the military government words.

The last of the three main headlines was «ABI pede total esclarecimento» <sup>689</sup>, this was followed by a text in which was described and published a whole «ABI's» <sup>690</sup> communicate asking for further investigation to Herzog's case and denouncing the humans' right violations that took place on it. Other six auxiliary subtitles are connected to other developments related to the case in the political, military and journalistic spheres. These all and its respective texts occupy the bottom half of the page.

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<sup>687</sup> «Franco Montoro calls for a way out of the 'impasse'».

<sup>688</sup> «Portela warns that subversion will be repressed by the authorities».

<sup>689</sup> «ABI (Associação Brasileira de Imprensa) asks for full explanation».

<sup>690</sup> «Associação Brasileira de Imprensa – (Brazilian Press Association)».

29/10/1975 – *Jornal do Brasil*

The «JB» coverage on the following of Herzog's case on that day presented itself in a slightly different form as the one proposed by the «FSP». In first place a small text in the cover under the subtitle «Ulysses pede respeito aos detidos»<sup>691</sup> refers in an indirect way to Herzog murder but without naming it. The first paragraph indicates

A oposição concorda em que devem ser presos os que infringem a lei, “mas não pode deixar de advertir a respeito das responsabilidades da autoridade policial para com o detido, sobretudo sua integridade física, resguardando o seu amplo direito de defesa” – declarou ontem o presidente nacional do MDB, Deputado Ulysses Guimarães.<sup>692</sup>

In the second one was given information about the motions made by the «ABI» and the «SIP – Sociedade Interamericana de Imprensa»<sup>693</sup> asking and reinforcing the need to fight for a free press in the country.

Other difference was the fact that even if also published in the first internal page of the newspaper, the story related to Herzog's unfolding acts received only half of a page, dividing the space with the report on the President Geisel's trip to São Paulo, an opinion column and three different publicity announces and the main difference has been, no pictures were published related to the case. Regarding the news story narration and construction, is necessary to recall the attention to the fact that also in the «JB» the debate between the congressmen Franco Montoro (MDB) and Petronio Portela (ARENA) were narrated and quoted under the subtitle «Debates», besides that the «ABI's» proposition and motion were placed alongside the Interamerican Press Society motion under the subtitles «Decisão da SIP ganha aplausos»<sup>694</sup> and «As moções»<sup>695</sup>. Although, the main difference between both newspaper concerns the «JB» page headline «Ulisses pede direito de defesa»<sup>696</sup>, that presented a new political character in Herzog's case, the «MDB» leader Ulisses Guimarães, that so far has not been mentioned. In addition to that the second paragraph of the news text was

Ao referir-se à morte do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, numa cela do DOI-CODI, em São Paulo, o Sr. Ulisses Guimarães disse que,

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<sup>691</sup> «Ulysses calls for respect for detainees».

<sup>692</sup> «The opposition agrees that those who break the law should be arrested, "but cannot fail to warn about the responsibilities of the police authority towards the detainee, especially his physical integrity, safeguarding his full right of defence" - declared yesterday the national president of the MDB, Deputy Ulysses Guimarães».

<sup>693</sup> «Intermerican Press Society».

<sup>694</sup> «SIP decision wins applause».

<sup>695</sup> «The motions».

<sup>696</sup> «Ulisses asks for the right of defence».

VLADIMIR HERZOG  
JB - 29/10/1975



# Ulisses pede respeito aos detidos

A Oposição concorda em que devem ser presos os que infringem a lei, "mas não pode deixar de advertir a respeito das responsabilidades da autoridade policial para com o detido, sobretudo sua integridade física, resguardando o seu amplo direito de defesa" — declarou ontem o presidente nacional do MDB, Deputado Ulisses Guimarães.

O Conselho de Administração da Associação Brasileira de Imprensa aprovou ontem duas moções, a primeira congratulando-se com a Sociedade Interamericana de Imprensa (SIP), por sua luta pela liberdade de imprensa, e a segunda de apelo aos veículos de divulgação brasileiros, para que façam o mesmo. (Página 2)



### Coluna do Castello O transitório e o permanente

Brasília — O engajamento do General Ernesto Geisel, como Chefe do Governo e sítio eleitoral, na Arena, e sua intenção de usar o Partido para que possa ser eleito, não lhe cabe defender algo de permanente, que é a Revolução, deverá ter estendido setores da aproximação oficial, assuas pela identificação Governo-Partido, mas terá certamente nutrido a crença de que uma eventual derrota de Arena não fim ao processo eleitoral nos termos em que este foi deflagrado em 1974. A liberdade da eleição parece, portanto, condicionada à vitória do Partido do Governo, desde que não se compreenda que o Governo queira ou possa estimular uma derrota da Revolução.

A validade das afirmações reiteradas de que será cumprido o calendário eleitoral é relativa, visto de resto aresadant estantes sem reconhecimento. Muito antes de Sr. Fernando Collor e Marchezan aludirem às dificuldades que se criaram para o regime com uma vitória do MDB, o Senador Luiz Viana Filho previa o impasse institucional em 1975, na hipótese de vitória desse partido. Quer-se a eleição, contudo que o MDB a perca, como que pelo menos o Sr. Pedro Simon não admita, firme como está no propósito de que seu Partido ultrapasse aos limites da lei e dirija a lei de maneira que o debate tenha se focalizado no extremo Sul, onde não coexistam aparentemente as reiteradas declarações do líder José Bonifácio de que se cumprirá o calendário.

No Rio Grande do Sul, como se sabe, não se dá a questão. E provavelmente lá que os ânimos de Revolução não admitem a vitória do MDB, hoje sob liderança moderada e integrada por correntes que nem sempre se identificam com o estilo frustulativo. É claro que há ainda instâncias pessoais na direita dos eleitores mais antigos dos Sr. João Goulart e Leonel Brizola, mas parece igualmente evidente que um governador eleito em 1975 pelo MDB não terá, de costas do III Exército, uma política condizente ao regime vigente, mesmo porque as medidas políticas de maior alcance estarão fora da sua alçada. Sem embargo, os plebeus, impulsionados do espírito das vitórias raras, dão como certo que será implementada uma vitória do MDB, na qual continuará a ser o padrão de trabalho e irreversível simbiose.

Essa visão do Rio Grande do Sul é a ilustração extrema dos problemas a que a política de distensão conduziu o Governo Geisel. Problemas de tal grandeza que se parece extremamente imprópria e agitada a defesa, que foge dos jornais e se faz em algum canto do Palácio do Planalto. O pleito de 1974, que foi a sua apogeu, seria, nas suas conseqüências, o seu fim, muito embora permanecesse o Presidente fiel a sua linguagem e a sua crença que já não são o dogma e a cruz dos seus assilares e portadores. Dizer que os jornais publicam tudo o que podem seria para nós uma ironia, não fosse um artigo de já rezado com licença pelo Presidente da República. O Presidente acredita nisso e o diz com calor, muito embora algumas publicações continuem a fechar a perna da notícia dos seus discursos. A luz de verdade, o conhecimento todavia que para a maioria da população há um alto subconsciente dos controles que se exercem anteriormente.

Essa, todavia, é outra problema. Tratamos do assunto eleitoral e neste terreno não cabe discutir quanto à decisão do Chefe do Governo de realizar as eleições previstas e de fortalecer seu Partido a vitória. O grande teste está em 1978, quando a Arena deverá não só vencer, como conquistar, isto é, deverá fazer o caminho dos prefeitos e apreender indicações de vitória que possibilitem ao Presidente contar a si de uma vitória geral em

### Presidente viaja amanhã a São Paulo e visita o Sesc e duas faculdades

Brasília — O Presidente Ernesto Geisel viajará amanhã para São Paulo, onde cumprirá extenso programa durante dois dias, visitando o Hospital Paulista de Medicina e a Faculdade de Saúde Pública da Universidade de São Paulo, além de inaugurar a nova sede campestre do Serviço Social do Comércio (Sesc).

No Palácio dos Bandeirantes, o Chefe do Governo concederá 13 audiências, inclusive, ao Governador Paulo Egídio Martins e aos comandantes militares da arma. Presidirá ainda a cerimônia de assinatura de contrato para a execução de obras de saneamento e visitará a XIII Bienal de São Paulo.

Além do Governador e dos Comandantes militares, o Presidente receberá ainda diretores dos Presidentes da Associação, do Tribunal de Justiça, da Câmara Municipal, dos Tribunais de Contas do Estado e do Ministério, Conselho Executivo Regional da Arena, Secretários de Indústria e das classes empresariais e a Associação dos Municípios Paulistas.

Na USP — onde o Chefe do Governo encerrará sua visita de dois dias a São Paulo — entrará uma parolada do Rector Orlando Marques de Paiva e, em seguida, percorrerá a instalação da Faculdade de Saúde Pública, e será recebido pelo mais de mil alunos, em companhia do Ministro da Saúde, Sr. Almeida Macedo.

mini KALHA TEKNO PRONTA ENTREGA

SEMINÁRIO BASA/SUDAM  
AMAZÔNIA opções de investimento

UNIDADE DE CÓPIA  
COMPRE SUA COPIADORA COM O VALOR DO ALUGUEL

# Ulisses pede direito de

Brasília e São Paulo — O presidente do MDB, Deputado Ulisses Guimarães, disse ontem que seu Partido defende que não deve ser preso o que infringir a lei. "Mas não pode deixar de garantir a respeito das responsabilidades da autoridade policial para com a defesa, sobretudo nos casos de prisão, mantendo-se o seu direito de defesa".

Após referir-se à morte do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, disse que não se trata de um caso de violência, afirmando que "uma intervenção da autoridade policial não constitui violência e ao interessado para a institucionalização do arbítrio".

### Debates

No Brasil, em virtude da proposta de líder do MDB, Sr. Franco Montoro — que nega os vícios inerentes ao sistema de liberdade para a aplicação das leis que vierem a ser aprovadas — o debate sobre a liberdade de imprensa foi suscitado em São Paulo, na noite de 22 de novembro, durante a sessão da Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São Paulo.

Falando sobre o tema, o líder da Oposição Aécio Neves disse que a liberdade de imprensa é um princípio que não pode ser violado e que a lei deve garantir a liberdade de imprensa e a integridade física do que está sob a sua guarda.

Respondendo à Oposição, disse o Senador Plínio Portia:

— Veremos que o Estado não violou e não violará a liberdade de imprensa e a integridade física do que está sob a sua guarda. O Estado não violou e não violará a liberdade de imprensa e a integridade física do que está sob a sua guarda. O Estado não violou e não violará a liberdade de imprensa e a integridade física do que está sob a sua guarda.

Diz o Sr. Plínio Portia que "a liberdade e a integridade física do que está sob a sua guarda são princípios que não podem ser violados e que a lei deve garantir a liberdade de imprensa e a integridade física do que está sob a sua guarda".

Encerrando o seu discurso, disse o Sr. Plínio Portia que "a liberdade e a integridade física do que está sob a sua guarda são princípios que não podem ser violados e que a lei deve garantir a liberdade de imprensa e a integridade física do que está sob a sua guarda".

### Falta de informações

Mesmo evitando comentar a situação realista do país, o secretário-geral do MDB, Deputado Talyr Buzaid, disse que um dos problemas mais graves para o Poder Legislativo, na atualidade, "é a falta de informações de seus membros sobre o que está realmente se passando".

Deixando claro que não a Oposição, as críticas e a morte do jornalista Vladimir Herzog são problemas que não podem ser solucionados, o dirigente apontou críticas à atuação do Poder e à atuação parlamentar, "mas reiteradamente declarando, o que é gratificante para o país que a Legislativa deve permanecer".

O Deputado Talyr Buzaid também quer ver as autoridades policiais respeitadas e o seu trabalho, em primeiro lugar, e a liberdade de imprensa.

Os líderes e dirigentes do MDB e da Arena, segundo ele, podem ou não saber o que está realmente se passando, mas não podem não saber o que está realmente se passando, mas não podem não saber o que está realmente se passando.

### Decisão da SIP ganha aplausos

O Conselho Administrativo da Associação Brasileira de Imprensa, aprovou ontem, em sessão extraordinária, a proposta de liberdade de imprensa, com o entendimento de que a liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa, com o entendimento de que a liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa.

### As noções

"A liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa, com o entendimento de que a liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa".

"A liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa, com o entendimento de que a liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa".

"A liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa, com o entendimento de que a liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa".

"A liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa, com o entendimento de que a liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa".

"A liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa, com o entendimento de que a liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa".

"A liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa, com o entendimento de que a liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa".

"A liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa, com o entendimento de que a liberdade de imprensa não é a liberdade de imprensa, mas a liberdade de imprensa".

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VLADIMIR HERZOG  
JB - 29/10/1975

nas sociedades civilizadas, é o Estado o guardião das leis e dos direitos humanos, cabendo às autoridades zelar pela vida e a integridade física dos que estão sob sua guarda.<sup>697</sup>

With these words placed in the top of the page, under the main page headline, the «JB» was presenting a narrative focused mainly in the opposition voices, rather than the debate itself, as was seen in the pages of «FSP», besides that apart from the text Portela's quotation, no emphasis was given in the subtitles and captions to words such as «subversion», «repression» or «enemies» which opens to a possible interpretation that on one side the «JB» was still concerned on its nation-wide media coverage and in that case less focused in the local or regional developments – in this case the close relation to the Journalists Union that «FSP» was presenting; and also a clearer ideological positioning of the newspaper.

*30/10/1975 – Folha de S. Paulo and Jornal do Brasil*

The fifth day of the press coverage to case pointed out to a new phase in the stories building and publishing. On this day, «FSP» and «JB» did not publish any picture related to the case, nevertheless in both cases the topic appeared in an indirect form on both first pages. In case of the São Paulo's newspaper the subject was cited in a small subtitle and text in the right corner of the cover «Governo não tolerará agitação»<sup>698</sup>, once more the Communist danger has been retaken as the major military concern in the country and its «national security» policy. «Importantes fontes do Governo afirmaram ontem em Brasília que, em nome da segurança nacional, não será permitido em hipótese alguma, que a morte do jornalista Vladimir Herzog seja transformada em Bandeira de luta de interesse do Partido Comunista»<sup>699</sup>. This has been the first time that Herzog's name appeared in the first page of «FSP». In its internal page number three, the newspaper once more emphasized the repression element that the government was pointing out, especially if we consider the headline «Governo adverte: agitação será coibida»<sup>700</sup>, almost a repetition of what was placed in the cover. Besides that, on the left column of the page appeared for the first time the organization of an ecumenic act in São Paulo in Herzog's memory and honor. «Culto ecumenico pela memória do jornalista».<sup>701</sup>

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<sup>697</sup> «Referring to the death of journalist Vladimir Herzog, in a DOI-CODI cell in São Paulo, Mr. Ulisses Guimarães said that in civilized societies, the State is the guardian of laws and human rights and it is the authorities' duty to look after the life and physical integrity of those under their care».

<sup>698</sup> «Government will not tolerate agitation».

<sup>699</sup> «Important Government sources said yesterday in Brasilia that, in the name of national security, the death of journalist Vladimir Herzog will not be allowed under any circumstances to be transformed into a Fighting flag of interest to the Communist Party».

<sup>700</sup> «Government warns agitation will be curbed».

<sup>701</sup> «Ecumenical prayer for journalist».

EXEMPLAR DE ASSINANTE  
VENDA PROIBIDA



ENCADERNAÇÃO

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

SEGUNDO CLICHÊ

Director-Presidente: Octavio Frias de Oliveira • Ano LV—N.º 17.033 • Um jornal a serviço do Brasil • São Paulo, quinta-feira, 30 de outubro de 1975 • Al. Barão de Limeira, 425 • Cr\$ 2,00

## Grupo brasileiro vai entrar no contrato de risco

O sr. Sebastião Camargo, que dirige o complexo "Camargo Correia", que tem como subsidiária uma das maiores empreiteiras do mundo, anunciou ontem a intenção de prospectar petróleo em território nacional.

Em declaração exclusiva a este jornal, ele revelou que vai propor ao governo brasileiro um contrato de risco para pesquisas de petróleo, nos moldes autorizados pelo presidente da República.

"Não aceitaremos a participação de capitais estrangeiros, mas estamos de braços abertos para quaisquer capitais brasileiros — de pessoas ou de empresa — que queiram acompanhar-nos nessa difícil, porém possível empreitada", disse.

O sr. Sebastião Camargo, que tem 66 anos de idade, mas uma firme disposição, afirmou: "Sabemos que os recursos financeiros que temos são insuficientes, mas sublinhamos, julgamos que alguém tem que começar e nós vamos fazer".

Ele se mostra extremamente confiante na infra-estrutura técnica do complexo que dirige (500 engenheiros e um total de 32 mil pessoas na folha de pagamento) e na larga experiência acumulada ao longo dos anos, realizando obras de engenharia de grande porte no País e no exterior.

"Já encontramos soluções técnicas

imedias no Brasil e poderíamos fazer isso também em relação ao petróleo. Achamos que pagaremos um tributo, com as devidas cautelas comerciais, necessárias, mas não temos lugar a esse momento".

"A Camargo Correia tem confiança na linha que adotamos para resolver problemas de grande magnitude no setor da engenharia e o afirmamos com a consciência de que possuímos uma base técnica altamente capaz."

**ASSONDA**

"Uma sonda (para perfuração) não deixa de ser uma máquina. Nossos homens — e nesse trabalho colocaremos os melhores e os mais sensíveis das nossas equipes — sabemos como faz-la funcionar. Vamos comprar sondas no exterior. Sabemos que há dificuldades para comprá-las, mas temos que obtê-las e iremos obtê-las".

O sr. Sebastião Camargo insiste em situar o empreendimento que está prestes a iniciar em bases estritamente nacionais.

"Não só não aceitaremos capitais estrangeiros — acentuou ele — como vamos criar o nosso próprio "know-how" na área da prospecção do petróleo. "Know-how" sabemos bem, custa suor, sangue e lágrimas. Mas estamos prontos a pagá-lo."



## Geisel chega a São Paulo às 10 horas

O presidente Ernesto Geisel chegará hoje de manhã a Congonhas, iniciando uma visita de mais de 24 horas a São Paulo, durante a qual cumprirá extenso programa de visitas e recepções no Palácio dos Bandeirantes.

Num dos principais itens da visita, o chefe do Governo prestará, em presença do ministro do Interior, Rangel Reis, e do governador Paulo Egidio, a assinatura de contrato de financiamento entre o Banco Nacional de Habitação e o governo de São Paulo, no valor de um bilhão de cruzeiros, para a ampliação e melhoria do sistema de esgotos sanitários, visando ao controle da poluição hídrica na área metropolitana da Capital. Este será o maior contrato já assinado pelo BNH no setor de esgotos sanitários.

**Programa**

O presidente da República desembarcará em Congonhas às 10 horas, onde será recebido pelo governador Paulo Egidio e outras autoridades e receberá as homenagens de praxe. A seguir, rumará para o Centro Campestre do Serviço Social do

Comércio — Sesc, em Santo Amaro, a fim de presidir à sua inauguração e visitar as instalações, após o que será homenageado com um churrasco.

As 15 horas, já no Palácio dos Bandeirantes, Geisel iniciará as audiências, recebendo o governador e o secretariado estadual, as autoridades militares da área e outras autoridades, entre as quais os presidentes da Assembleia Legislativa e do Tribunal de Justiça. Após presidir à solenidade de assinatura do contrato de saneamento, o presidente participará, às 20 horas, de jantar íntimo, no qual se seguirá, a partir das 21 horas, a recepção oficial.

Amanhã, às 7h35, o presidente da República, acompanhado do governador do Estado, fará uma visita à Escola Paulista de Medicina, onde inspecionará o Centro de Pesquisas sobre Doenças Infecciosas.

Dali, seguirá com a comitiva para uma visita à XIII Bienal Internacional.

As 14h45, o presidente chegará à Faculdade de Higiene e Saúde Pública, da USP, onde será recebido pelo reitor, o chefe da Nação e outros membros do corpo de Congonhas, de onde retornará a Brasília.

## Na Petrobrás lucro sobe e produção cai

Nos primeiros nove meses deste ano, a Petrobrás registrou lucro líquido de Cr\$ 4,733 bilhões, cifra 50% superior ao faturamento da empresa no mesmo período do ano passado.

Os dados foram revelados ontem, após a reunião do Conselho Administrativo da Petrobrás, que aprovou o balanço consolidado da empresa e de suas subsidiárias até setembro passado. Tais resultados significam um lucro de Cr\$ 0,36 por ação.

Contudo, a produção de óleo da Petrobrás caiu novamente em setembro, quando foram estradados 520,713 barris — 5,6% menos que em setembro do ano passado. Técnicos da empresa atribuem a redução ao esgotamento de reservas na região da Bahia.

O Conselho de Administração deverá reunir-se novamente hoje para aprovar a criação da Petrobrás Comércio Internacional, a nova subsidiária da empresa para o comércio exterior que se responsabilizará pelas importações de petróleo e outras atividades atualmente vinculadas à Braspetro. **PÁG. 31**

## Na Espanha, a expectativa



REPRESLIXIADE. As negociações pelo futuro político de Espanha refletem-se no Estanion de Alejandro Reigles de Valencian (esq.), presidente das Cortes Parlamentares, em conversa com o primeiro-ministro Carlos Arias Navarro, durante o resumo da sessão, em Madrid, comemorativa do 25.º aniversário da fundação do AP.

## Governo não tolerará agitação

Importantes fontes do Governo afirmaram ontem em Brasília que, em nome da segurança nacional, não será permitido, em hipótese alguma, que a morte do jornalista Vladimir Herzog seja transformada numa bandeira de luta de interesse do Partido Comunista. Considera o Governo que as manifestações de caráter classista que vêm ocorrendo (no caso, dos jornalistas), são justas e compreensíveis, na medida em que refletem um clima emocional.

O que não se tolerará é que essas manifestações extrapolem seu conteúdo admissível, estendendo-se a outros setores, com o claro sentido de propagar um clima de agitação por todo o País.

Nesse ponto, as autoridades governamentais foram categóricas e unânimes: eventuais agitações de estudantes, sindicatos, operários ou outros setores, gerando manifestações públicas, pronunciamentos e outras atividades que perturbem a ordem pública, acarretarão imediata e eficaz repressão dos organismos de segurança. **PÁG. 4**

## O Corinthians reencontra os gols: 4 a 1

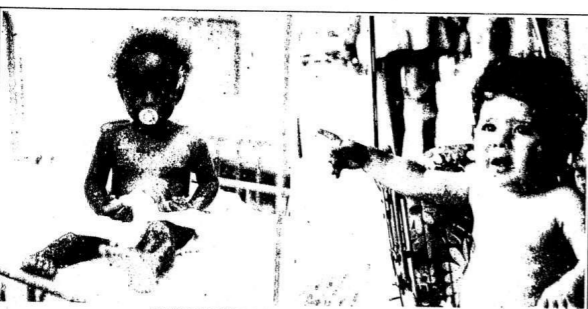
O Corinthians deu um grande passo para sua classificação para as finais da Copa Brasil, ao vencer, por 4 a 1, o América de Natal, ontem à noite, no Parque Antárctica, em Porto Alegre, por causa de uma falha do goleiro Leão, o Palmeiras perdeu grande oportunidade de vencer o Grêmio e ficou num empate de 1 a 1. Em Curitiba, o São Paulo apenas empatou com o Coritiba (2 a 2). Em Campinas, o Guarani obteve seu sétimo empate nesta fase do Campeonato: 0 a 0 com o Goiás. Em Santos (pelo grupo dos perdedores), a Portuguesa conseguiu manter o 0 a 0 até o final contra o Santos, e este resultado a beneficiou bastante na luta que seguirá a reclassificação. Nos outros jogos, o resultado mais importante foi o do América carioca, que conseguiu bater o poderoso Internacional, no Maracanã, por 1 a 0. Os demais resultados. **PÁG. 44**

**Bolsas sobem**

A Bolsa de Valores de São Paulo subiu ontem 1,9%, atingindo o índice de 114 pontos. No Rio, o Índice BV valorizou-se 2%, na medida, ficando a 227.7. Faram negativas: Cr\$ 419 milhões em São Paulo e Cr\$ 67,7 milhões no Rio.

**Pode chover e esfriar**

Temperaturas baixas de manhã em São Paulo, e tarde possível chuvosa e frescas. Possíveis tempestades entrarem de decisão. É o que prevê o Departamento de Meteorologia do Ministério da Agricultura.



**POUCA ROUPA CONTRA A DESIDRATAÇÃO**

São Paulo viveu ontem um típico dia de verão, com a temperatura atingindo o máximo de 32,4 graus, uma das mais altas do ano. Voltaram a proliferar na paisagem urbana as roupas leves e os trapalhões. A saúde de crianças, mesmo nas ruas centrais, era uma delas contra o chamado mal do verão, a desidratação, que já começou a manifestar-se. Na Clínica Infantil de Ipiranga, oito crianças foram atendidas ontem, vítimas da "doença", segundo consultor do Centro de Diagnóstico e Tratamento de grande alameda, pelo dia, a poluição do ar irrita sensivelmente as estações quentes. **PÁG. 21**

## Mais de 140 mil por dia usam o Metrô

O Metrô transportou exatamente 4.230.000 pessoas, desde o dia 26 de setembro (quando toda a linha Norte-Sul passou a operar comercialmente) até 24 de outubro, sexta-feira passada. A média diária foi de 144.355 passageiros.

Na tarde de ontem, cerca de 200 alunos do Instituto de Educação Cretano de Campos estiveram na Câmara Municipal a fim de protestar contra a anunciada transformação daquela escola em estação do Metrô. **PÁG. 25**

## Na Operação Velocidade, 80 é o limite

A Polícia Rodoviária vai pôr em prática neste fim de semana a "Operação Velocidade", fiscalização intensiva para evitar desrespeito à velocidade máxima permitida nas estradas, 80 km/h. O objetivo é ao mesmo tempo impedir desperdício de combustível (econômico) e garantir maior segurança às viagens.

Os guardas rodoviários estão preparados para exercer o controle em pontos estratégicos. **PÁG. 26**

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**PÁG. 3**



**VLADIMIR HERZOG**  
**JB - 30/10/1975**  
**Front page and p. 16**



**JORNALISTA WLADIMIR HERZOG**

O Conselho Administrativo e a Diretoria da Associação Brasileira de Imprensa e a Diretoria do Sindicato dos Jornalistas Profissionais do Rio de Janeiro convidam os jornalistas para o ato religioso que será celebrado amanhã, dia 31, às 12.15 horas, na Igreja de Santa Luzia, em memória do jornalista Wladimir Herzog.

The «JB» in its turn published in the first page the headline: «Petrônio busca com Montoro os meios de manter a ordem»<sup>702</sup> making a sort of synthesis of the debate that appeared in the press the day before between the two political leaderships in the congress, but also developing the political crisis that Herzog's murder had caused in the fragile political balance of the dictatorship. That is to say, «JB» was pointing its narrative to the developments of the case in the institutional politics, more than on the forensics unfolding or the protests connected to it. The focus were the repercussions in the official discourse and its political actions, the inside headline on the page number four stated «Líderes se reúnem em busca de consenso para manter a calma»<sup>703</sup>, half of the page was dedicated to the attempts and negotiations to keep a social and national stability after the divulgation of Herzog's death. The anti-communist elements and the actions of the Journalists Union appeared in the text, although in a lower and generic key. At last, is needed to underscore the fact that on page number sixteen, was published a small publicity box offered by the «ABI» and the Journalists Union Board from Rio de Janeiro to a religious act in Herzog's memory that would be held in the following day.

*31/10/1975 – Folha de S. Paulo and Jornal do Brasil*

The last day of October presented the same logic of the last days in both newspapers. On one side the «FSP» did not mention the case on its cover, however, a picture of President Geisel's official visit to São Paulo has been printed on without any connection to the case. The third page instead was integrally dedicated to the topic and two main headlines divided the reader's attention: «Na Sé às 16h, o culto ecumênico pelo jornalista»<sup>704</sup> and «Falcão: A ordem a paz serão mantidas»<sup>705</sup>. The first one was practically a public invite and convocation to the ecumenic act organized by the Journalists Union in the «Catedral da Sé» at the very center of São Paulo. The second headline, on its turn, goes into the opposite direction, that is to say, emphasizes the military concern in the order maintenance and attempts to avoid any further socio-political development related to Herzog's death. The «FSP» editors had chosen to underscore this preoccupation by quoting Armando Falcão, Justice Minister in the headline of that page. A third title goes into this direction of convergence in between what were the journalists as a professional group and the constraints of the military dictatorship; the subtitle «Ednardo: queremos viver em harmonia»<sup>706</sup>, proposes another quoting, in this case of the

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<sup>702</sup> «Petrônio seeks with Montoro the means to maintain order».

<sup>703</sup> «Leaders meet in search of consensus to keep calm».

<sup>704</sup> «At Sé at 4pm, ecumenical service for the journalist».

<sup>705</sup> «Falcão: Order and peace will be maintained».

<sup>706</sup> «Ednardo: we want to live in harmony».

# Na Sé às 16 h, o culto ecumênico pelo jornalista

O Sindicato dos Jornalistas Profissionais de São Paulo encerrará seu expediente, hoje, às 15h30, seguindo toda a diretoria para a Catedral Metropolitana, na praça da Sé, onde, a partir das 16 horas, será celebrado culto ecumênico em memória do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, que morreu sábado último numa dependência do DOI (Departamento de Operações Internas).

Vladimir Herzog, na Catedral da Sé.

### NO RIO

O Sindicato dos Jornalistas Profissionais do Rio de Janeiro, e a ABI (Associação Brasileira de Imprensa) convocaram todos jornalistas cariocacas a comparecerem, hoje, às 12h15, à Igreja de Santa Luzia, onde será celebrada a missa de 7.º dia pela morte do jornalista Vladimir Herzog. Nenhuma Igreja carioca aceitou oficialar a missa, com exceção da de Santa Luzia, cuja irmandade não está muito ligada ao cardeal do Rio de Janeiro, dom Eugênio Sales.

A Cúria Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro informou que o arcebispo da cidade, dom Eugênio Sales, não foi convidado para oficialar a missa de 7.º dia em intenção da alma do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, ao contrário de seu colega dom Paulo Evaristo Arns que, em São Paulo, oficia culto ecumênico.

# Ednardo: queremos viver em harmonia

Após o encontro com o presidente Getúlio, em comemoração ao aniversário de 150 anos da fundação do Brasil, Ednardo de Moraes pediu harmonia entre os poderes. Ele afirmou que o Brasil precisa de uma nova constituinte para discutir o futuro do país, considerando os interesses de todas as regiões.

# MDB não nega apoio, mas quer garantias

O MDB não nega apoio ao projeto de lei sobre o controle de armas, mas quer garantias de que o projeto será discutido em plenário, e não apenas no âmbito do Conselho Federal de Armas.

# USP: paralisação e convite ao culto

A USP anunciou a paralisação de suas atividades em homenagem ao jornalista Vladimir Herzog. O convite ao culto ecumênico foi enviado a todos os estudantes e funcionários da universidade.

# OAB denuncia mas trata de advogada

O Conselho Federal de Advogados denunciou a atuação de uma advogada que alegadamente estaria atuando em benefício de interesses particulares em casos de corrupção.

# USP: paralisação e convite ao culto

Repetição do anúncio de paralisação da USP em homenagem ao jornalista Vladimir Herzog.

# Falcão: A ordem Bonifácio condena b

BRASILIA (Sucursal) — O líder da Maloria na Câmara dos Deputados, deputado José Bonifácio, ao referir-se, ontem à noite, aos rumores de uma possível crise político-institucional, admitiu, expressamente, a existência, entre nós, de uma central de boatos, interessada em tumultuar a vida do País.

A Imprensa de Bonifácio foi corroborada em áreas do Senado, da própria agremiação majoritária, onde se dizia que alguns elementos "estavam jogando na crise, para valorizar-se como figuras providenciais". "Mas, o boato de crise, gera crise", observou, numa roda de jornalistas, um dos antigos dirigentes partidários, que, sobre isso, pediu reserva. "Se este quadro continuar evoluindo negativamente para o País — acrescentou — eu mesmo vou à tribuna e promovo uma sessão de desmistificação".

"Este arenista, muito respeitado no partido, disse, resumindo sua opinião, que, além da pretensa crise ter permitido interferências de antecâmaras, para valorização dessa ou daquela figura mediocre, poderia vir a provocar reações indesejáveis, de parte dos opositoristas mais afoitos, gerando uma crise verdadeira. No momento, a falsa crise imobilizou o MDB, mas — concluiu — como nos filmes de "faroeste", sempre há os que pensam em desafiar o xerife para o duelo".

### CLIMA

O clima do Congresso, ontem, era ainda de apreensão, ante a falta de informações sobre os acontecimentos. Por volta das 14 horas, o ministro da Justiça, Armando Falcão, apareceu no Palácio do Congresso, para as suas audiências semanais aos congressistas, mas, contrariamente aos seus hábitos, dirigiu-se imediatamente ao plenário da Câmara, onde, num canto, ficou a conversar com os parlamentares dos dois partidos, entre os quais os deputados Pacheco Chaves e Padre Nobre, ambos do MDB, e Amaral Neto, Manuel Rodrigues, Furtado Leite e muitos outros arenistas.

Insistiram os repórteres em saber se o ministro se deu conta de que estava cercado por congressistas, enquanto os oradores se sucediam na tribuna.

"Epa — observou Falcão — eu posso estar perturbando os trabalhos legislativos." A frase do ministro foi ouvida, por coincidência, pelo presidente da Câmara, Célio Borja, que chegava naquele instante e lhe disse, incontinenti, "não há motivo para tais cuidados." O regimento interno — assegurou ao ministro o direito de tomar assento em plenário.

Falcão, ainda assim, saiu do recinto, cercado por deputados, e dirigiu-se à sala do café, onde se avistou com o líder José Bonifácio e outros parlamentares.

### A NOTA DE FALCÃO

O passeio informal do ministro, segundo os arenistas, contribuiu para desanuviar o ambiente. Mais tarde, depois de receber, em audiência, vários deputados, entre os

e não adianta que o Go abusus".

Bonifácio referiu-se governos esquerdistas, tidos pelo voto, acentuação do Allende, no Chile, e derrubado, ao pas direitistas sempre caer.

"Sou terminantemente inico. Esta história palavra poluição, já se trabalha por si e não t MDB".

Adiante, explicou o pequena crise, na qual um aparte do senador B do Paraná o prout Petrónio Portela se Arena. "O aparte (nel as Forças Armadas nã que pudessem ser policiais) foi deseleg eleitores de Leite Ch conta, com toda certez

Indagado sobre se o irritado com este apa disse que "não tinha sobre o assunto". Um jornalista obser se ele, líder, era cont fato de ter ficado o MD se em silêncio, num crise, não equivalia a "Se o MDB está em dação — respondeu E que o extingam, pols sicão não tem sentido."

Insistiram os repórse siação parecia ter-se r informações.

"A Oposição não te coisa nenhuma. Que coiza? Ninguem. Dur pedir-me qualquer in No entanto, que mul acontecimentos e ju sabem disso ou Jam bruhados pelos que dados. Por que eu d meus inimigos?"

Alguém observou s mações corretas, nã artificiais, capazes de "O regime está segt e sei disso".

RAZ/ A noite, Petrónio Po encontro com o minis "fora para complen

# Na Sé às 16 h, o culto ecumênico pelo jornalista

## Bonifácio condena boatos

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Coluna da Gazeta  
Na coluna das notícias

### Teotônio sugere a reforma do Ministério

TU inspecionará Mobral em 1976 por causa dos erros nos custos de 1973

Teotônio sugere a reforma do Ministério

Comissão da Assembleia põe em dúvida correção dos dados do Orçamento do Município

3.º LOTEAMENTO DE PRAIAS BASAS E PARQUE ELDORADO, CABO FRIO - RJ

3.ª CONVOCAÇÃO

Caixa Econômica Federal  
MSB  
VISA DE 200.000

Pfoll após CPI de Nova Iguaçu

El Mercaderes de Alameda no Brasil

**AVISO JORNALISTA VLADIMIR HERZOG**

## AVISO

# JORNALISTA VLADIMIR HERZOG

Por motivos que não nos foram comunicados, autoridades eclesiásticas determinaram o cancelamento do ato religioso que estava marcado para hoje às 12h15m na Igreja de Santa Luzia, nesta cidade, em memória de VLADIMIR HERZOG.

Associação Brasileira de Imprensa  
Sindicato dos Jornalistas Profissionais do Rio de Janeiro



General of the II Army, Ednardo D'Avilla Mello that after a meeting with the President Geisel and the high ranks of the other two forces, presented himself to a collective interview in which the general reinforced his wish to coexist in harmony with press representants. This action and the further mention in the newspaper have a significant meaning due to the context, a few days after Herzog's death under the custody of the Armed Forces.

Is exactly from this declaration of the General Ednardo D'Avilla that «JB's» approach to the case starts on that day. On the cover was published a small title «Ednardo diz que Exército quer harmonia»<sup>707</sup>, a first clear difference it is the use of the indirect discourse to refer to the General's words, what generates a distancing effect from the speaking subject. The same choice was made in the internal headline on page number four «Ednardo afirma que objetivo é viver em harmonia»<sup>708</sup>, once more almost repeating the title in the cover and again using the indirect discourse to quote the General's words. Besides that, the whole page construction was made aiming to deal with the different opinions and attitudes of the institutional politics on the possible consequences of Herzog's case, at that moment the main concern was the possible turmoil's related to the ecumenic memory events to the journalist. The general proposal of the newspaper was to build an idea of consensus inside the parliament and the different opinions, treating with less emphasis key points such as the communism and the repression elements. A final aspect of that day's edition that must be highlighted is a new publicity announce on the bottom of page number signed again by the «ABI» and the Journalists Union Board Of Rio de Janeiro informing that the religious act in Herzog's memory has been canceled by the ecclesiastics authorities without mentioning the reasons to it.

#### *01/11/1975 – Folha de S. Paulo*

As already mentioned, the «FSP» 01/11/1975 edition proposed on its cover, an indirect approach to the events that took place the day before in the «Catedral da Sé», besides the photograph of a heavy traffic on the avenues in the city center of São Paulo (*photo 61*), with an auxiliary title indicating «Giant traffic jam» and the subtitle: «A traffic operation carried out yesterday afternoon on the main avenues in São Paulo that run through the center caused a huge traffic jam that disrupted life in the city. The operation started just before 4pm. was reported that one of the objectives of the operation was to avoid incidents in «Sé Square». A national headline stated: «Um clima tranquilo»<sup>709</sup>, accompanied by a small text describing the

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<sup>707</sup> «Ednardo says Army wants harmony».

<sup>708</sup> «Ednardo states that the aim is to live in harmony».

<sup>709</sup> «A peaceful atmosphere».

Luz sobe 5%; 20% o telefone

As tarifas de energia elétrica sobem hoje 5 por cento e as de telefone 20 por cento. O reajuste da energia elétrica é o terceiro deste ano e representa um aumento acumulado de 26,7 por cento em relação às tarifas de dezembro de 1974.



Incertos os caminhos de Juan Carlos

PAULO FRANCIS  
Nesse sentido especial  
MADRI — A nova promoção do príncipe Juan Carlos a chefe de Estado espanhol é interpretada por alguns círculos diplomáticos nos Estados Unidos como uma grande vitória pessoal e luta pelo poder dos herdeiros de Franco.

Na Anhanguera motos vão puxar a fila

Com o objetivo de disciplinar o movimento na via Anhanguera, impedindo o estacionamento além das calçadas nos horários de maior movimento, a partir das 8 horas da manhã, e de mais tarde, até o meio-dia, a Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, através da Companhia de Tráfego de São Paulo, vai instituir a "rotatória" na via Anhanguera, entre o km 12, na altura de Jandira, e o km 14, na altura de Jandira. Dessa forma, o trânsito de veículos será substituído por uma via de mão única.



Supermercados abertos, pedem 43 deputados

Na opinião de 43 deputados estaduais, os supermercados devem funcionar aos domingos e feriados. "A que se paulistanos, trabalhadores por tradição, tem todos os dias da semana tomando pelo estômago de construído e manter a tradição de São Paulo, reservando os sábados e domingos para as compras de lazer", afirmou o deputado estadual, através do presidente da Assembleia Legislativa, Jovino Júlio, em documento ao prefeito "Oliveira Bonfatti", solicitando que revogue o decreto que proíbe o funcionamento das lojas estabelecimentos que portagem e feriados.

Um clima tranquilo

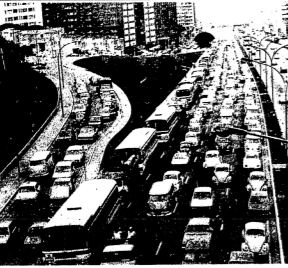
Um clima de tranquilidade foi visto pelo presidente Ernesto Geisel em São Paulo durante as 31 horas de sua visita, encerrada às 17h10 de ontem. Embora o acesso da imprensa ao longo do percurso do presidente na Capital paulista tenha sido difícil, Geisel deixou filtrar essa impressão através de seu secretário de Imprensa, Humberto Esmeraldo Barreto.

Por causa da Ex-oficiais de pinóla presas em Portugal

O governo israelense anunciou ontem que o primeiro-ministro Yitzhak Rabin voltou a visita que fez ao Estado Unidos em fins de semana. Rabin não teve tempo de inaugurar a Bienal de Arte Moderna, na Anhanguera, e nem de embarcar em seu jato de volta a Brasília. Geisel conferenciou reservadamente, numa sala da ala oficial de Congonhas, com o governador Paulo Egidio. Essa palestra durou 30 minutos, que expôs o mandato das forças de emergência da ONU no Golan, no dia 30.

A proibição da gorjeta surpreendeu

A partir da publicação, no "Diário Oficial" da União, da portaria n.º 84 da Simab, os estabelecimentos poderão cobrar uma gorjeta de 10 por cento nas mesas de jantar, como é praxe em muitas casas. A portaria, assinada anteriormente pelo superintendente da Simab, Rubem Nóbilio, cobra de usuários os proprietários de restaurantes paulistanos, que esperam a entrada em vigor, desde de sua promulgação, para evitar qualquer prejuízo econômico, e mesmo acontecendo com os parceiros.



Uma operação de "comandos" de trânsito feita ontem à tarde nas grandes avenidas de São Paulo que demandou o centro ocasionou um gigantesco engarrafamento, que perturbou a vida da cidade. A operação começou pouco antes das 16 horas. Soube-se que um dos objetivos da operação era evitar incidentes na praça da Sé. PAG. 11

Nas Bolsas

A Bolsa de Valores de São Paulo está em alta, impulsionada pela queda de 2,25 pontos no Ibovespa. O índice fechou em 10.000 pontos, com o volume negociado em 1,2 bilhão de ações.

Crescimento industrial caiu este ano

Um relatório elaborado pelo Banco Central mostra que o crescimento industrial brasileiro este ano está muito abaixo dos índices registrados em 1974, tendo sido de apenas 1,5 por cento em janeiro de 1975, contra 14,4 em janeiro de 1974. Em agosto, último mês lançado no relatório, o crescimento foi de 2,7%, contra 1,4 no mesmo período do ano passado.

São Paulo precisa vencer no Morumbi

O São Paulo, que na fase atual do Campeonato Brasileiro de futebol na estreia (1 a 1 sobre o Fluminense) e que está há seis jogos sem vencer, precisa vencer no Morumbi, contra o Cruzeiro. É não ter Maricá, substituído por Mauro, para deixar o ataque mais eficiente. São Paulo precisa vencer no Morumbi, contra o Cruzeiro, para deixar o ataque mais eficiente. É não ter Maricá, substituído por Mauro, para deixar o ataque mais eficiente.

Tempo instável

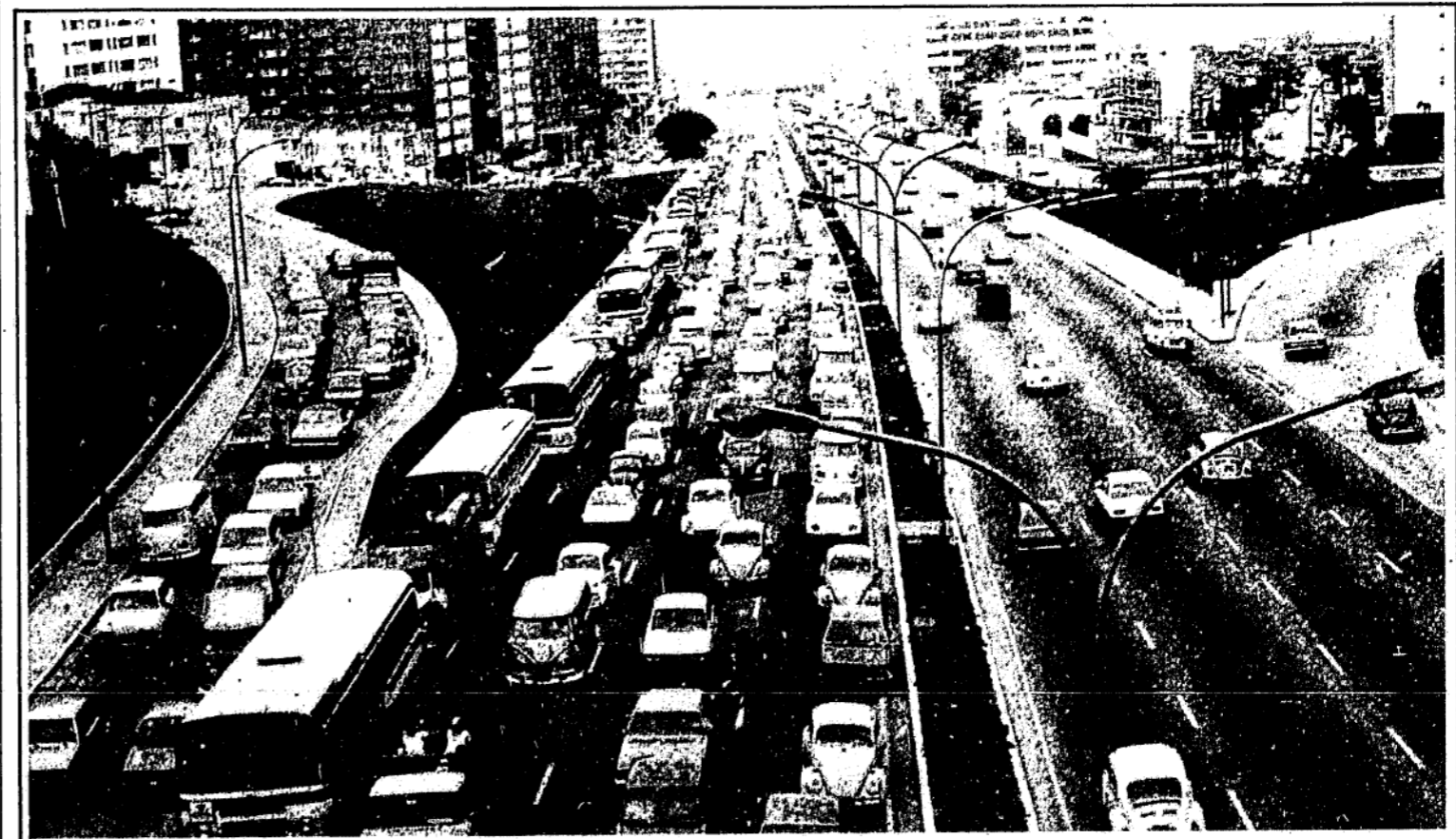
A previsão é de tempo instável hoje em São Paulo, com chuvas e ventos fortes. A temperatura máxima será de 22 graus Celsius e a mínima de 15 graus Celsius.

Um clima tranquilo adia a viagem

Um clima de tranquilidade foi visto pelo presidente Ernesto Geisel em São Paulo durante as 31 horas de sua visita, encerrada às 17h10 de ontem. Embora o acesso da imprensa ao longo do percurso do presidente na Capital paulista tenha sido difícil, Geisel deixou filtrar essa impressão através de seu secretário de Imprensa, Humberto Esmeraldo Barreto.

Um dos pontos altos do programa paulista do Presidente Bial de Arte Moderna, no Ibirapuera (acima). Antes de embarcar em seu jato, de volta a Brasília, Geisel conferenciou reservadamente, numa sala da ala oficial de Congonhas, com o governador Paulo Egidio. Essa palestra durou 30 minutos.

O governo israelense anunciou ontem que o primeiro-ministro Yitzhak Rabin adiou a visita que faria aos Estados Unidos em fins deste mês, não tendo sido marcada uma nova data para a viagem. O adiamento da visita, previamente aprovado por Washington, deveu-se à intransigência demonstrada pela Síria em negociar um acordo com os israelenses antes que expire o mandato das forças de emergência da ONU no Golan, no dia 30.



CONGESTIONAMENTO GIGANTE  
Uma operação de "comandos" do trânsito feita ontem à tarde nas grandes avenidas de São Paulo que demandou o centro ocasionou um gigantesco engarrafamento, que perturbou a vida da cidade. A operação começou pouco antes das 16 horas. Soube-se que um dos objetivos da operação era evitar incidentes na praça da Sé. PAG. 11

Formação de professores para 2º grau

O ministro Nel Braga, da Educação, entregou ontem ao Conselho Federal de Educação projeto disciplinando o preparo dos professores em 11 licenciaturas, para a implantação da reforma do ensino de 1º e 2º graus. O projeto prevê a criação de cursos de licenciatura que terão duração de 3 anos e serão divididos em áreas dos cursos profissionais e em áreas de cursos de licenciatura, Ciências e Letras, e Ciências e Letras.

TCU decide inspecionar universidade

Indícios de que estaria ocorrendo irregularidades na Universidade de Brasília levaram o Tribunal de Contas da União a decidir, ontem, pela realização de uma inspeção extraordinária naquele estabelecimento de ensino superior.

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agenda of the president Geisel in the São Paulo in the same day that the ecumenic event was held in the city's main church. The «FSP» choice of not placing in its first page the event dedicated to Herzog follows the coverage in the previous days, as a careful and calculate attempt to attend at the same time the demands of the journalistic class and group and do not contrapose a major constrain to the military government around the issue.

Nevertheless, its internal pages number three and four were fully dedicated to the act in Herzog's memory. The titles: «Calma do culto tranquiliza os congressistas»<sup>710</sup> gives continuity to what was proposed in the days before as the major government concern, the risk of a social turmoil or the agenda appropriation by the «communists» or other «subversive» groups. At the same time, the title «8 mil assistiram ao culto ecumênico na Sé»<sup>711</sup> accompanied by three pictures proposed to underscore the event's importance and its relevance to the civil society. In the left top-corner of the page was placed the biggest picture of that day (*photo 62*). The image was followed by the caption «O culto ecumênico é iniciado com a presença de aproximadamente oito mil pessoas, que participaram nos cânticos. Em ordem»<sup>712</sup>; even if almost repeating the page headline an important element was add, the «order», that is to say, the newspaper was intentionally reinforcing the fact that there were no protests or disrespect to the public order as was the militaries concern.

The shot made from the back of the Cathedral's altar, framed from the back the religious leaderships that were conducting the act, Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns, the rabbis Henry Sobel and Marcelo Ritner and the singer Paulo Novak. At the distant point of the background, is possible to see the cement columns of the Cathedral, between the altar and the entrance of the religious temple a big crowd was present in the picture. Being taken in a Deeping angle the photograph reveals the newspaper intention of portraying the people's presence in the event, as well as its order, as described in the caption. In addition to this, the almost wide-angle shot reveals structural and architectonical elements of the Cathedral, although in a backlighting image indicated in some super exposed parts of the image. However, the picture did not capture the faces of those who were conducting the prayer, and to solve this other two images were placed right below focused on the identification but also working as a humanizing tool to the event; specially considering that in the previous days almost no picture had been published and the debate around it was focused on the possible further problems connected to it rather than the death of a person. Finally, a last element that can be observed in the image are the liturgical

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<sup>710</sup> «Calm of the cult tranquilizes the congressmen».

<sup>711</sup> «8 thousand attended the ecumenical service in Sé».

<sup>712</sup> «The ecumenical service begins with approximately 8,000 people participating in the singing. In order».

## Calma do culto tranquiliza os congressistas

BRASILIA (Sucursal) - O Ministério da Justiça informou, oficialmente, ontem à tarde, no líder da maioria na Câmara, deputado José Bonifácio, que o culto ecumênico de São Paulo, em memória do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, transcorreu em clima de absoluta normalidade.

No Congresso Nacional, embora o ambiente de tensão em torno dos acontecimentos de São Paulo já se houvesse desfalecido, aguardavam-se notícias do desenrolar do culto. O desfecho tranquilo e ordeiro da cerimônia foi recebido, pelos raros congressistas que ficaram em Brasília neste fim de semana, com alívio. Os dois líderes no Senado, Petrônio Portela (Arena) e Franco Montoro (MDB), não apareceram no Congresso. Na Câmara, os líderes Laerte Vieira, da Oposição, e José Bonifácio, do Governo, seguiram os fatos de São Paulo, da mesma forma que o presidente do Congresso, senador Magalhães Pinto.

O presidente nacional da Arena, deputado Francelino Pereira, disse estar em contato permanente com a seção paulista do partido. Admitiu o dirigente arenista que, "mesmo tendo cometido algumas inodorações - Francelino não explicou quais - o MDB terminou portando-se com moderação no episódio Herzog."

"Esse espírito de compreensão - como disse - evitou radicalizações que pudessem prejudicar os partidos e as próprias instituições."

Na opinião de Francelino, os acontecimentos políticos dos últimos dias não chegaram a constituir uma crise. "Passamos - disse - alguns momentos de tensão, mas que está contida ou já se esauriu."

### PRESENÇA DE GEISEL

Em seu gabinete, Bonifácio comentou, antes de receber informações oficiais, realização do culto ecumênico, acrescentando que, "nada uma solenidade dessa ordem poderia gerar tumultos".

Admitiu, no entanto, receber a ação de elementos ex-

vista, eles usam qualquer processo."

Depois, referindo-se à presença do presidente Ernesto Geisel em São Paulo, durante dois dias, sustentou que "isso também contribuiu muito para desanuviar o ambiente".

"O general Geisel dialogou abertamente com populares, inteirando-se da situação. É verdade, no entanto, que sua ida a São Paulo estava programada há muito tempo e não tem qualquer relação com o episódio do jornalista Herzog."

O líder arenista acabou reconhecendo, ao final, depois de informado pelo Governo da situação em São Paulo, que o presidente da República tinha ficado bastante fortalecido, pessoalmente, em face do comportamento que assumiu.

O senador Magalhães Pinto negou-se a comentar a situação, explicando que o faria, mas na próxima semana.

### MDB SATISFEITO

Um ligeiro sorriso foi mostrado no início da noite de ontem pelo líder do MDB na Câmara, Laerte Vieira, ao receber, do gabinete do líder oposicionista na Assembleia de São Paulo, Alberto Goldman, a informação de que o culto ecumênico pelo sétimo dia da morte de Vladimir Herzog havia transcorrido sem incidentes.

Tal como Laerte, os empedristas que assistiram à sessão do Congresso realizada às 19 horas não disfarçavam sua satisfação pelas notícias chegadas da capital paulista, que desanuviaram o clima de apreensão existente no Congresso.

Falando aos seus liderados e aos repórteres, no plenário da Câmara, Laerte afirmou que o comportamento pacífico do povo paulistano é mais um dado a demonstrar a necessidade de o Governo adotar urgentes e energéticas medidas para conter os excessos cometidos pelos órgãos de repressão.

Segundo o líder oposicionista, este clima de normalidade facilita a adoção de soluções mais equilibradas.

"Difíceis de serem adotadas

## 8 mil assistiram ao culto ecumênico na Sé

"Essa casa é de Deus e de todos os homens que aceitam o caminho da Justiça, da verdade". Com estas palavras proferidas, em tom grave, pelo cardeal-arcebispo de São Paulo, dom Paulo Evaristo Arns, aproximadamente 8 mil pessoas silenciaram. Há poucos instantes o velho relógio da sacristia da Catedral havia batido quatro horas da tarde e estava iniciada a cerimônia ecumênica, na Catedral da Sé, em memória do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, que morreu sábado passado nas dependências do DOI (Departamento de Operações Internas), do II Exército.

Pausadamente, dom Paulo Arns continuou:

"Todos os de boa vontade estão aqui em Sua casa. Ao mesmo tempo pedimos que essa nossa comunhão tenha caráter religioso, como deve ser. Por isso mesmo purifiquemos o nosso coração de todo o ódio. Procuremos ser irmãos, que rejeitem toda a espécie de terrorismo, venha de onde vier. Observemos um momento de silêncio, para se criar um clima de oração e de solidariedade entre os homens, e por aqueles que Deus amou e ama, neste momento de dor."

O cardeal estava de pé. Sentados ao seu lado, dois rabinos da Congregação Israelita Paulista, Henry Sobel e Marcelo Rittner. Mais atrás, o cantor da Federação Israelita, Paulo Novak, uma cadeira vazia, que momentos depois seria ocupada pelo pastor presbiteriano, rev. Jaime Nelson Wright, secretário da Coordenadoria Ecumênica de Serviço. Em volta, cerca de vinte padres católicos, um pastor evangélico, Manoel de Melo, jornalistas e umas (poucas) personalidades, que, por falta de lugar, colocaram-se nas laterais do altar-mór.

Havia entre os celebrantes uma visível preocupação pelo que pudesse acontecer daí em diante e o pedido que foi feito mais de uma vez foi que se mantivesse a calma e a ordem. Momentos antes de chegar ao altar, o rabino Sobel declarou aos jornalistas:

"Estamos aqui para celebrar religiosamente e não politicamente um acontecimento relacionado a um homem que morreu, que não vive mais. Isso não nos leva a celebrar diferentemente,

dos filhos e a mãe de Vladimir, visivelmente abaladas. Em outra ala, também na frente, a diretoria do Sindicato dos Jornalistas de São Paulo.

### ECUMENISMO

Embora tivesse programada previamente, foi nos instantes que antecederam ao culto que o cardeal, os rabinos e alguns padres auxiliares organizaram a estrutura definitiva do ato ecumênico. Mesmo porque ocorreram duas falhas: não havia chegado o ministro protestante até aquela hora, nem o Corol Escola de Biologia da USP, que se encarregaria dos acompanhamentos. Acertou-se, então, que a cerimônia seria aberta com cânticos, seguindo-se a entrada dos religiosos no altar. Caberia ao cardeal as primeiras palavras para "fazer a acolhida" dos representantes das outras religiões e falariam, pela ordem, o rabino, o pastor e, por último, o cardeal. Como parte ritualística católica e evangélica far-se-ia a leitura dos Salmos de Davi, em coro, e os ministros israelitas fariam duas orações: o *El Malé Rachamin*, falando da morte e da vida depois da morte, e o *Kadish*, antigo poema aramaico, "uma declaração de fé, um apelo a Deus das profundezas da tragédia, exaltando o seu nome e louvando o dom da vida", no qual não se fala em morte, em nenhum momento.

### UM JUDEU, UM HOMEM

"Eu sou um rabino. Estou aqui na catedral para participar deste culto ecumênico, porque um judeu morreu. Um judeu que fugiu da perseguição nazista, um judeu que emigrou para o Brasil e aqui se educou, se formou e se integrou perfeitamente aqui. Estudou Filosofia, Artes, Jornalismo e Televisão. Mas para Vladimir Herzog, ser judeu significava ser brasileiro". Essa foi a parte inicial da alocução de 17 minutos feita, com forte sotaque norte-americano, pelo rabino Henry Sobel, formado em Nova York, que há cinco anos se encontra no Brasil.

"Estou aqui - continuou - não só porque um judeu morreu. O mais importante: um homem morreu. Como rabino não me preocupo apenas com os judeus, mas com todos os homens; com os direitos humanos para todas

coração digno de ser lembrado, uma mente digna de ser recordada, uma língua cuja sabedoria a morte não possa silenciar. Por isso, eu lhes digo, que mesmo na dor, mesmo no choque e na confusão, mesmo assim podemos ter esperanças."

As milhares de pessoas presentes atenderam à recomendação, feita do altar, e cantaram em coro a antífona "Confia Minha Alma no Senhor, Nele está minha esperança". A seguir, também em coro, os presentes repetiram o refrão dos Salmos: "E as nossas angústias, Senhor, estão todas na vossa presença", enquanto um jornalista fazia a leitura de trechos do livro de David.

### O PASTOR E AS OVELHAS

O segundo sermão foi proferido pelo ministro protestante Jaime Wright, fazendo também inúmeras referências ao Livro dos Salmos, e afirmando que a responsabilidade de todo pastor é estar ao lado das suas ovelhas. "Quando cal a noite, o pastor não vai para casa e jamais abandona suas ovelhas. Quando a noite vem o perigo é maior. E durante a noite que eles mais precisam dele. Quando as sombras da noite caírem, o Bom Pastor nos levará para casa. E o Bom Pastor já investiu demais em cada um de nós, inclusive em Vladimir Herzog, para nos abandonar agora".

### DONO DA VIDA

O terceiro sermão foi do cardeal dom Paulo Evaristo Arns:

"Estamos diante do Deus, único dono da vida, Senhor da História e esperança dos que nele confiam. De fato, Deus é dono da vida, ninguém que nasceu do coração de Deus, para ser fonte de amor em favor dos demais homens. Desde as primeiras páginas da Bíblia Sagrada até a última, Deus faz questão de comunicar constantemente aos homens que é maldito quem mancha suas mãos com o sangue de seu irmão. Nem as feras do Apocalipse não de cantar vitórias diante de um Deus que confiou aos homens sua própria obra de amor. A liberdade humana nos foi confiada como tarefa fundamental, para preservarmos, todos juntos, a vida do nosso irmão, pela qual somos responsáveis, tanto in-



O culto ecumênico é iniciado, com a presença de aproximadamente oito mil pessoas, que participaram nos cânticos. Em ordem.



Os rabinos Henry Sobel e Marcelo Rittner acompanham o cantor Paulo Novak na oração fúnebre hebraica El Malé Rachamin.



Com voz pausada e firme, dom Paulo Evaristo Arns lê o seu sermão.

veram um Deus que caminhasse à frente deles como uma coluna de fogo durante as noites e como uma coluna de defesa durante os dias. O Senhor da História não aceita a violência, em fase alguma, como solução de conflitos. Prefere sacrificar o próprio unigênito para que não morram os demais irmãos. No meio da caminhada, oferece-lhes o Decálogo, para os orientar. E, no meio do Decálogo, aparece a ordem, como imperativo inarredável, princípio universal, indiscutível: "Não Matarás". Quem matar se entrega a si próprio nas mãos do Senhor da História e não será apenas maldito na memória dos homens, mas também no julgamento de Deus."

"Nosso Deus é um Deus de esperança. Acontece facilmente que esqueçamos o nosso Deus, quando achamos que sozinhos resolvemos os problemas. Mas ele está aí. Na hora do caos, na hora da desesperança, nos acontecimentos sem saída, ele se

e ainda querem ser dignos da luz que desvenda a falsidade. A esperança reside na solidariedade. Aquela solidariedade que é capaz de sacrificar os egosmos individuais e grupais no altar de uma Pátria. No altar de um Estado. No altar de uma cidade. Neste momento, o Deus da esperança nos conchama para a solidariedade e para a luta pacífica, mas persistente, crescente, corajosa, em favor de uma geração que terá como símbolos os filhos de Vladimir Herzog, sua esposa e sua mãe. O Deus da vida, o Deus da História e o Deus da esperança coloca em nossas mãos a missão, exigente mas pacífica, oposta a qualquer arbitrariedade e a qualquer violência, mas fundamentada no que temos em nós de divino e de mais humano: construamos a paz na justiça e na verdade".

### O FINAL

As oito mil pessoas mantinham-se atentas ouvindo os sermões e entoando os cânticos, quando solicitada pelo

nome de Deus homem, nos pedimos paz, nós desejamos a paz. A paz que é uma necessidade do homem; nos pedimos em nome da consciência do homem. Neste momento de dor para todos nós, não só jornalistas, mas todos os nossos irmãos de todas as crenças religiosas aqui presentes, quero fazer um apelo como última homenagem ao nosso irmão morto, ao homem morto, ao Deus-homem morto, ao Deus que está em todos os homens, que em silêncio sciamos daqui, deste templo, sob o qual se reúnem todas as crenças. Salamos em silêncio e aguardemos o caminho da paz."

Retomando a palavra, dom Paulo pôs o ponto final da cerimônia, renovando o apelo à ordem, reiterando o que fizera o presidente do sindicato:

"Vamos sair em silêncio, em pequenos grupos, de cinco ou dez pessoas que se conhecem. Ninguém grite, ninguém ouça quem queira gritar."

vestments of those in the altar, such as the kippa, which reinforces the ecumenical aspect of the initiative.

*01/11/1975 – Jornal do Brasil*

The «JB» coverage to the same event showed also to be a coherent continuation to the discursive construction that was being made in the precedent days in the direction of the consensus building inside of a story narrative more related to the institutional politics and the connections inside the National Congress rather than a political dispute aligned with the ideological differences in and outside the institutional politics. That is to say, the headlines and subtitles not only reinforced the absence of public turmoil in the previous day but were dedicated to the emphasis on a collaboration between the two existing political parties to guarantee the public and national «order». On the first day of November of 1975, the «JB» in referring to the ecumenic act in Herzog's memory was extremely handy in maneuver the possible tension to a consensus element builder. The headline «Itamar garante que Geisel pode contar com MDB»<sup>713</sup> states that right on the top of the page, and the alongside text details that according to the Senator Itamar Franco (MDB) the military president Ernesto Geisel can count on the opposition party, MDB, to the maintenance of the order and in finding a solution to the institutional crisis. In addition to that, the left column of the page presents the subtitle «Gestos para a conciliação»<sup>714</sup>, followed on its turn by a story dedicated to narrating how Geisel's presence in those days in São Paulo was extremely helpful in the retaking of the peacefulness and institutional tranquility between the Armed Forces and other Institutions in the city.

Right under the main headline a photo of the event was published. Occupying around 1/8 of the page the picture was followed by a caption in which was informed: «A Catedral da Sé ficou inteiramente tomada durante a realização do culto ecumênico».<sup>715</sup> After it, a secondary headline declared «Culto ecumenico na Sé se realiza com tranquilidade»<sup>716</sup> reinforcing the element of the public order that highlighted also in the «FSP» edition, exposing that this was also a goal of «JB» demonstrating that there was no need to be concerned about it and the narrative that the ecumenic act could be considered part of the consensus and conciliation movement that the institutions were attempting. Further on the argument of building a consensual and conciliative narrative will be retaken.

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<sup>713</sup> «Itamar guarantees that Geisel can count on MDB».

<sup>714</sup> «Gestures for conciliation».

<sup>715</sup> «The Sé Cathedral was completely filled during the ecumenical service».

<sup>716</sup> «Ecumenical service in the Cathedral was held calmly».

# Itamar garante que Geisel pode

VLADIMIR HERZOG  
JB - 01/11/1975  
Photo 63

## Itamar garante que Geisel pode contar com MDB

**Gestos para a conciliação**  
Maurício Guimarães  
Chefe da Suturaal de São Paulo



**Forças armadas arca que cubra volta**  
São Paulo — O Presidente Geisel veio a São Paulo e esteve no meio do povo. Não no meio do povo escolar que, antecipada e tradicionalmente, recebe suas bandeiras para saudar as autoridades. Ele esteve com trabalhadores do comércio paulista, misturando-se com eles, sendo abraçado, festejado, aplaudido.

## Culto ecumênico na Sé se realiza com tranquilidade

São Paulo — O culto ecumênico na Catedral da Sé, realizado ontem, foi marcado por uma atmosfera de serenidade e ordem. O evento, que reuniu milhares de pessoas, contou com a participação de representantes de diversas denominações religiosas. A cerimônia foi conduzida com tranquilidade, apesar da grande multidão presente.

## Operação Gutemberg sai bem

São Paulo — A Operação Gutemberg, destinada a garantir a segurança durante o culto ecumênico, foi realizada com sucesso. As forças de segurança mantiveram a ordem e evitaram qualquer incidente. A operação foi planejada com cuidado e executada de forma eficiente.

## ABJ promove ato simbólico

São Paulo — A Associação Brasileira de Jornalistas (ABJ) promoveu um ato simbólico em homenagem ao jornalista desaparecido. O ato ocorreu em um local público e contou com a participação de muitos jornalistas e familiares.

## Forças armadas arca que cubra volta

São Paulo — O Presidente Geisel veio a São Paulo e esteve no meio do povo. Não no meio do povo escolar que, antecipada e tradicionalmente, recebe suas bandeiras para saudar as autoridades. Ele esteve com trabalhadores do comércio paulista, misturando-se com eles, sendo abraçado, festejado, aplaudido.

## Na verdade, ele simboliza o diálogo e o reencontro

São Paulo — Na verdade, ele simboliza o diálogo e o reencontro. Diálogo e reencontro que, para os brasileiros que viveram em São Paulo dias terribéis de tensão misturados com a

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**clínica de balbino**  
Rua...  
Fone...  
Atendimento...

## Gestos para a conciliação

Maurício Guimarães  
Chefe da Suturaal de São Paulo

São Paulo — O Presidente Geisel veio a São Paulo e esteve no meio do povo. Não no meio do povo escolar que, antecipada e tradicionalmente, recebe suas bandeiras para saudar as autoridades. Ele esteve com trabalhadores do comércio paulista, misturando-se com eles, sendo abraçado, festejado, aplaudido.

Horas depois, os três comandantes militares da área, após despacho com o Chefe do Governo, utilizaram o "território livre" que é a Sala de Imprensa do Palácio dos Bandeirantes.

Ambos foram dois gestos simples. Mas a humildade neles contida é que lhes dá grandeza. E, por causa deles, como por encanto, a tensão a que esta grande cidade esteve submetida nos últimos dias desanuvia-se.

A categoria dos jornalistas, envolvida na crise em meio à comição do desaparecimento trágico de um companheiro, fica desendo o gesto ao General Ednardo D'Ávila Mello. Por sua vez, e desconfio que representando fielmente o consenso dos seus companheiros, o presidente do Sindicato dos Jornalistas, que marcara sua liderança na crise pela firmeza e pela serenidade, reclama e obtém também dos estudantes, serenidade nas manifestações de apoio e apreço aos profissionais de imprensa, inclusive no ato de homenagem póstuma ao jornalista desaparecido.

E, afinal, a tensão espanta-se. São Paulo e, muito provavelmente, o país, ficam devendo este serviço ao Presidente Geisel.

Mas o seu gesto, tanto quanto o dos comandantes militares na Sala de Imprensa do Palácio, embora simples, encerra, com toda certeza, implicações muito mais profundas.

Na verdade, ele simboliza o diálogo e o reencontro. Diálogo e reencontro que, para os brasileiros que viveram em São Paulo dias terribéis de tensão misturados com a



A Catedral da Sé ficou inteiramente tomada durante a realização do culto ecumênico

## Culto ecumênico na Sé se realiza com tranquilidade

São Paulo — Cerca de 7 mil pessoas assistiram, na Catedral da Sé, num clima de serenidade e ordem, ao culto ecumênico em memória do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, morto há sete dias nas dependências do DOI/CODI, do II Exército. A cerimônia contou com a participação do Cardeal-Arcebispo de São Paulo, D. Evaristo Arns, Rabino Henry Sobel, da Congregação Israelita Paulista, e do Pastor Jaime Whight, presidente da Missão Presbiteriana do Brasil.

obrigados a parar, ou voltar. Grupos de estudantes, formados por três a cinco pessoas, no máximo, se dirigiam à catedral.

## Redações vazias

A maioria das empresas jornalísticas praticamente se esvaziou na hora da cerimônia. Repórteres, redatores e fotógrafos deixaram as redações para assistir ao culto. A viúva de Vladimir, Sra. Clarice Herzog, acompanhada dos dois filhos menores, participou do culto com serenidade. No momento em que os rabinos iniciaram os cânticos, não se conteve e chorou.

A comissão de estudantes da USP, e de faculdades particulares foi demovida de ler uma mensagem de cunho político durante a cerimônia. Quando chegou a ambulância para socorrer o padre acidentado, a tensão aumentou.

Uma repórter, muito nervosa,

## Operação Gutemberg sai bem

São Paulo — A Operação Gutemberg, envolvendo todo o policiamento civil de São Paulo, para manutenção da segurança da cidade durante o Culto Ecumênico pela morte do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, foi iniciada às 14h de ontem.

A Polícia Militar manteve-se aquartelada, e os policiais fardados inclusive de trânsito, foram afastados do centro, para se evitar provocação, mas os pontos estratégicos de entrada na cidade foram fortemente vigiados. Uma ordem sigilosa foi baixada a toda a polícia: "Evitar a prisão de jornalistas e estudantes, só em casos extremos".

ANTECIPAÇÃO

The picture (*photo 63*) is almost identical as the one published by the «FSP», there are however some differences. The first one regards the angle of the photo, taken a little bit from the right corner of the altar, an aspect that in a first look might say almost nothing, although, this sided angle serve as a mitigation action to the backlighting that was visible in the «FSP» picture, exactly before in the end of the background was the Cathedral entrance and its stained-glass windows, in the same breath this angle difference still emphasized the public attendance to the act and the religious leaderships in the altar, revealing a little bit of their faces, what might had served as justification to do not publish any other image of the that day. Another pagination aspect that must be called attention is that this picture was printed a little bit bigger than the one on «FSP» also reinforcing the importance that the photograph edition of «JB» proposed to each image as a communication tool extrapolating the illustrational aspect that a photograph can carry.

As indicated, the first week of press coverage to Herzog's case had followed, in the newspapers here analyzed, two different paths that sometimes were closer and other remarked a clear distance in the approaches. On one side the «FSP» had a bigger preoccupation with the journalist's categories reactions to the death of a colleague and at the same time underscored the government concern and repression treat to any incident related to it, especially if connected to any Communist organization. On the other side, «JB's» approach has showed to be more dedicated to a wider coverage, in being a nation-wide newspaper and, taking this national role of the mass media organ, the narrative construction of its stories has been always connected with the building a consensus goal. For this reason, the words choices showed to be more conciliatory and less aggressive, especially in respect to the reactive actions of the military government. Another important consideration regards the fact that on the basis of what was seen during the analysis, «JB» exposed a bigger care and concern about the photographs on its page. That is to say, even if in the total numbers «JB» published less images about the case, the ones that were printed were presented in a careful way in respect to the «FSP» that with the exception of the October 29<sup>th</sup>, the pictures were used in a way that emphasized its illustration purposes rather than narrative ones. Finally, has been the «JB» the first Brazilian newspaper which published the image of Herzog that became famous nationally and nowadays it is present schoolbooks<sup>717</sup>.

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<sup>717</sup> Regarding the use of photographs in the schoolbooks to deal with the issue of the Dictatorship we suggest the work of Carolina Martins Etcheverry. *Fotografias da Ditadura Civil-Militar brasileira em livros didáticos de história*. *Revista Tempo e Argumento*, Florianópolis, v. 8, n. 17. jan./abr. 2016. p. 292 - 310.

On December 20<sup>th</sup> of 1975, both the newspapers «FSP» and «JB», published the news that in the day before the II Army, in the figure of the General Ednardo d'Avila Melo, had released the final report about Herzog's death. Almost two months after the event the government presented to the society its final official version of the case. The «FSP» had chosen to place a subtitle in its first page, «II Exército divulga relatório»<sup>718</sup> followed by a small briefing text of the story in the internal pages number four and five – in the cover was already written that in the «IPM»<sup>719</sup> report's words «o jornalista praticou “suicídio voluntário, por enforcamento”». <sup>720</sup> Reinforcing the official version that has been declared in the first days after the journalist death.

In its internal pages «FSP» dedicated a page and a half to the information on that case. Page number four presented a major headline «Caso Herzog: divulgado relatório do IPM»<sup>721</sup> and a full page of text divided in eight different columns. Is important to underscore that only half of the first left column is a story text, rapidly indicating the «suicide» conclusion and the fact that no crime has been committed inside the DOI-Codi on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October. The rest of the page and a quarter of the following page presented the integrity of the II Army communicate that informed the archiving of the case and the following report produced by the «IPM». The long report presents detailed information about the investigation, the text stated that the suicide committed through a partial hanging was confirmed in all forensics exams, tests, reports and by more than the two forensic medics that took care of the case at the beginning, furthermore no signs of maltreatment or aide in the suicide were founded during the investigations. In addition to that, several testimonies of colleagues, family members and friends that were enrolled to the report, indicated, and tried to justify the journalist death relating it to a close connection and political actuation inside the «PCB», to a psychiatric treatment that Herzog was passing since 1971. Other two major arguments emerged from the testimonies according to the report, Herzog's acknowledgment that he would be released from the «DOI-Codi» in the same day and that his body had been buried in the Hebraic Cemetery section dedicated to those who committed suicide. Finally, the report's conclusion indicated also that were not found the reasons to the suicide.

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<sup>718</sup> «II Army releases report».

<sup>719</sup> «IPM – Inquérito Policial Militar – Military Police Enquiry».

<sup>720</sup> «The journalist committed "voluntary suicide by hanging"».

<sup>721</sup> «Herzog case: IPM report released».



# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

Director-Presidente: Octavio Frias de Oliveira • Ano LV—N.º 17.084 • Um jornal à serviço do Brasil • São Paulo, sábado, 20 de dezembro de 1975 • Al. Barão de Limeira, 425 • Cr\$ 2,00

## Mais listas provas e gabaritos

Com a realização das duas últimas provas — Matemática e Ciências Físicas e Biológicas — 11.582 candidatos (dos 15.900 inscritos) prestando o concurso) encerraram o vestibular da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, apenas concluído em provas, até amanhã, os candidatos da PUC aos cursos de Medicina e Biologia.

Ontem, os 12.110 vestibulandos da Universidade Mackenzie comemoraram o campus da rua Maria Antônia, durante quase todo o dia, o fim dos vestibulares daquela escola. **PAGS. 15, 16 e 17**

## II Exército divulga relatório

O Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado no II Exército para apurar as circunstâncias da morte de Vladimir Herzog, nas dependências do Departamento de Operações de Informações daquela unidade, concluiu que o jornalista praticou "suicídio voluntário, por enforcamento", não sendo constatado nenhum crime ou falta disciplinar que o induzisse a esse ato.

A integra do relatório do IPM foi liberada ontem pelo comandante do II Exército, general Ednardo d'Avila Melo, que, em consequência, considerou o caso solucionado. **PAGS. 4 e 5**

## Fecha-se hoje a barragem de Capivara

O embaixador soviético no Brasil, Dimitri Jukor, e o governador Paulo Egídio Azevedo às 11 horas de hoje o mecanismo hidráulico que fechará as últimas adugas da barragem da hidrelétrica de Capivara, situando as águas do rio Paranaíba. O sistema à razão de 3 mil metros cúbicos por segundo.

O fechamento da barragem dará início ao enchimento da bacia de acumulação, que vai fornecer água para movimentar as quatro turbinas (de fabricação soviética) de 160 mil quilowatts a partir de maio de 1976. **PAG. 21**

## Geradores nacionais para Iumbiara

O presidente de Furnas Centrais Elétricas, Luis Cláudio Magalhães, anunciou ontem que um consórcio liderado por uma empresa brasileira venceu a concorrência internacional para fornecimento dos seis geradores de 350 megawatts para a hidrelétrica de Iumbiara, no rio Paranaíba. O consórcio, formado pela General Electric canadense, fabricará os equipamentos a um índice de nacionalização de 85%. Os equipamentos importados somarão 3 milhões de dólares canadenses e os nacionais 180 milhões de cruzeiros. **PAG. 21**

## Bolsas sobem

A Bolsa de Valores de São Paulo subiu ontem 2,2%, deitando o índice Bovespa a 1.900 pontos. Houve 2 milhões 800 mil ações negociadas. Recebido a 3.104,1. Foram negociadas Cr\$ 60 milhões em São Paulo e Cr\$ 10 milhões no Rio.



AMEAÇA. A presidente argentina Isabel de Peron preside ontem um reunião de refúgio de militares argentinos, no Case Rosado, enquanto continuação preparada em Buenos Aires a crise constitucional que poderá provocar o seu queda.

## Senado proíbe ação dos EUA em Angola

O Senado dos Estados Unidos aprovou ontem, por 54 votos a 22, o projeto que proíbe a ajuda norte-americana às duas facções angolanas em luta contra o governo proclamado no país pelo Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola (MPLA).

A decisão constitui um revés para o governo do presidente Gerald Ford, que assegurou que a medida "terá as mais graves consequências para a posição dos Estados Unidos e para a ordem internacional em geral". O presidente tentara inutilmente, nas últimas horas, uma negociação com os senadores, por intermédio do secretário de Estado Henry Kissinger.

A moção aprovada — de autoria do senador democrata John Tunney — impedirá que a Agência Central de Inteligência (CIA) utilize fundos em operações secretas na África. **PAG. 8**



Isabelita resiste à rebelião

## Isabelita resiste à rebelião



Isabelita resiste à rebelião

A crise política argentina intensificou-se ontem, com a intransigência dos oficiais distretistas da Força Aérea, que mantêm sua disposição de derrubar o governo da presidente María Estela Martínez de Perón, apesar de não contarem com o apoio aparente de tropas das outras Armas.

Os rebeldes, liderados pelo brigadeiro Jesus Oriando Capellini, fizeram ontem manobras intimidativas com quatro aviões "Mentor-B-45", que executaram vôos rasantes sobre a sede do governo, onde Isabelita se encontrava em reunião extraordinária com o Ministério e as lideranças sindicais.

Ante os insistentes comunicados dos golpistas, que conclamavam as Forças Armadas a assumirem o poder, em transmissões inintermitentes da rádio Continental, ocupada pelo "Comando Condor Azul" à tarde, o governo argentino emitiu nota divulgada pela rede oficial de rádio e televisão, afirmando que "consciente do destino que está reservado à pátria, o governo nacional, expressão legítima do povo que o escolheu majoritariamente, está decidido a continuar sua luta, sem renúncias, em busca da libertação definitiva".

O comandante-chefe do Exército, general Jorge Videla, afirmou ser contra a ascensão das Forças Armadas ao poder. Videla decretou o estado de alerta em sua Arma e exortou o Exército a se manter "coeso e disciplinado".

A Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores (CGT) condenou a tentativa de golpe, manifestando total apoio à presidente da República.

No final da noite Isabelita convocou outro reunião extraordinária do gabinete, para examinar a situação juntamente com os chefes militares. Enquanto isso, o Movimento Nacional Justicialista, a CGT e as "62 organizações" peronistas convocaram uma manifestação popular na praça de Maio, em frente à Casa Rosada, "a fim de defender as instituições, ante a ação de minorias agarradas que pretendem proscrever o povo e levar a nação ao caos e à destruição". **PAG. 7**

## CAMINHOS DO FUTURO

A fim de oferecer aos seus leitores elementos para melhor compreensão do momento histórico que vivemos, a FOLHA DE S. PAULO publicará, diariamente, a partir de 25 do corrente, uma série de artigos encomendados a jornalistas de renome e especialistas em várias áreas da atividade humana. As perspectivas que se desdortinam em 1976 para o mundo, em geral, e para o Brasil, em particular, serão analisadas, entre outros, por:

- ALBERTO DINES
- RUI LOPES
- PAULO FRANCIS
- Prof. ROGÉRIO CERQUEIRA LEITE
- JOELMIR BETING
- Prof. CARLOS G. LANGONI
- FRANCISCO AGUIAR
- HELIO DOYLE
- Prof. EDUARDO M. SUPLYC
- NEWTON CARLOS
- ALEX PERCINÓTTIO
- VICTOR CUNHA RÉGO
- PERSEU ABRAMO
- DERLY BARRETO
- ODON PEREIRA



Assaltantes das mansões foram presos

Com a prisão de oito pessoas, a Polícia elucidou os quatro maiores assaltos a residências ocorridos em São Paulo nas últimas semanas, apreendendo um total de Cr\$ 7 milhões em mercadorias roubadas. O grupo era chefiado por Edson Fabiano, de 18 anos e várias passagens pelo Recolhimento Provisório de Menores, uma delas pela invasão da casa da srta. Belian, viúva de um diretor da América, caso ocorrido há três meses. O secretário da Segurança Pública cumprimentou pessoalmente todos os investigadores que participaram da operação de captura. **PAG. 13**

# II Exército divulga relatório

O Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado no II Exército para apurar as circunstâncias da morte de Vladimir Herzog, nas dependências do Departamento de Operações de Informações daquela unidade, concluiu que o jornalista praticou "suicídio voluntário, por enforcamento", não sendo constatado nenhum crime ou falta disciplinar que o induzisse a esse ato.

A integra do relatório do IPM foi liberada ontem pelo comandante do II Exército, general Ednardo d'Avila Melo, que, em consequência, considerou o caso solucionado. **PAGS. 4 e 5**

Closing the «FSP» press coverage of the report release a small text was published in the other quarter of page number five dedicated to the case in which reads: «Advogados pedem vista»<sup>722</sup> followed by a text that explains the fact that the family and the Journalists Union lawyers had access to the report only through the press, they did not receive any official communication of the government and because of that were asking for a review of the process. Finally, we underscore that, on that day, the «FSP» did not published any picture of the case, preferring to dedicate the space on its pages to the integrity of the «IPM» report.

The «JB» on its turn once more proposed a slightly different approach to that day's news. At first right on the subtitle in the first page is clear a difference: «IPM ouviu 21 e conclui que Herzog se matou».<sup>723</sup> Not only is informed that to conclude the report the «IPM» had heard twenty one different persons, but was explicit the cause of the death «killed himself», is important to highlight not only the choice of putting in the cover the official death's cause, but also the word's choice. Instead of the lower tone of a «suicide», the choice had been «killed himself». Moreover, the brief text about the complete story present in the pages, 14, 15 and 16 of that day's edition already informs the main points of the «IPM» report: Herzog committed suicide; he was connected to the «PCB»; several colleagues, family members and friends were heard, and Herzog had been buried in the Hebraic Cemetery section dedicated to those who committed suicide. So far, there are no great differences from what had published the «FSP».

In the internal pages, however, the differences are evident. The first one is still in the word and meaning choices in the headline construction. «IPM conclui que morte de Herzog foi suicídio»<sup>724</sup>, once more the action of the killing was enunciated in the title and placed in Herzog himself. Another important difference relies in the number of pages dedicated to the story, «JB» two a half pages to the case, is mandatory to indicate that in page sixteen the other half of was dedicated to publicity. In so, along those pages, a first quarter of it was fulfilled with a lead resuming the main information on the report and the fact that Herzog's lawyers and family had contact with the report only through the press; the rest was dedicated to the integrity of the «IPM's» report, nevertheless is clear a layout difference, instead of a full text in eight columns as printed in «FSP» pages, the «JB» had edited the report's text according to the individuals that made a testimony and the mains subjects. This tool had lightened the weight and load of the technical and repetitive report writing.

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<sup>722</sup> «Lawyers request view».

<sup>723</sup> «IPM heard 21 and concludes that Herzog killed himself».

<sup>724</sup> «IPM concludes that Herzog's death was suicide».

Caso Herzog: divulgado relatório do IPM

O Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército para apurar as circunstâncias em que Vladimir Herzog, em 25 de agosto de 1969, foi assassinado...

Solução

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Caso Herzog: divulgado relatório do IPM

As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Caso Herzog: divulgado relatório do IPM

As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Caso Herzog: divulgado...

As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Caso Herzog: divulgado...

As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Caso Herzog: divulgado...

As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Caso Herzog: divulgado...

As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Dom Paulo: que o Natal não seja de 30% da população

A sua mensagem de Natal, o cardeal Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns, apostou em Natal, com a cidade de Belem, a 120 quilômetros de Curitiba, dentro de uma tragédia de morte e de abandono...

Abriu a entrevista coletiva em que apresentou sua mensagem de Natal. Dom Evaristo Arns fez uma mensagem contida em um pequeno papel, dobrado e cuidadosamente colocado dentro do livro 'Passos de Jesus'...

Convidado a confirmar ou desmentir notícias que circulam sobre a possibilidade de uma viagem a Brasília, o cardeal respondeu que não se trata de uma viagem...

Depois da leitura da mensagem de Natal, Dom Evaristo Arns, disse que a Igreja está ao lado de "pessoas que procuram viver em paz e harmonia"

Advertisement for CBPO (Companhia Brasileira de Projetos de Obras) featuring a large image of a dam and text describing their services in construction and infrastructure.

Caso Herzog: divulgado...

As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Caso Herzog: divulgado...

As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

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As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

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As fontes confidenciais, de caráter não revelado, informam que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Em face das circunstâncias, verifica-se que o relatório do Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...

Relatório

O presente relatório Policial Militar foi elaborado pelo Inquérito Policial Militar instaurado pelo comando do II Exército...



# IPM ouviu 21 e conclui que Herzog se matou

Ao encaminhar à Justiça Militar os autos do inquérito sobre a morte, numa cela do DOI, do jornalista Vladimir Herzog, o Comandante do II Exército, General Ednardo d'Ávila Mello, afirma que ele "morreu por voluntário suicídio, por enforcamento, não sendo apurado qualquer crime previsto no Código Penal Militar, transgressão disciplinar ou qualquer ilícito penal".

A decisão do Comando do II Exército baseou-se em "longo e minucioso relatório" de 29 páginas, assinado pelo encarregado do inquérito, General-de-Brigada Fernando Guimarães de Cerqueira Lima. Acompanhou todas as investigações um Promotor Militar designado e todos os depoimentos foram tomados na presença de duas testemunhas.

Conforme indica o relatório, as investigações se orientaram no sentido de estabelecer se houve ou não indução direta ou indireta ao suicídio, prática de maus tratos ou outras transgressões ao Código Penal Militar e à lei comum. Foram ouvidos os peritos criminais, para apurar as condições em que foi encontrado o corpo; outros jornalistas presos no dia em que ocorreu a morte (25 de outubro), para determinar as condições de interrogatório e o tratamento recebido no DOI; e a mãe e a mulher de Herzog, entre 21 testemunhas. Nas conclusões, o relatório afirma que houve suicídio, e comprova que Herzog teve sepultura, segundo o ritual judaico, no local reservado a suicidas. (Páginas 14, 15 e 16)

Yet, the fundamental difference in between the two newspapers was the picture of Herzog dead inside «DOI-Codi's» cell (*Photo 64*). The image was printed in the top center of page fourteen right under the headline and followed by the caption «A fotografia distribuida pelas autoridades».<sup>725</sup> This caption reinforces the hypothesis presented above that the «FSP» made the choice of do not publish the picture and was not a matter related to have access or not to it. The image occupied approximately 1/8 of the page, has been taken in a deeping angle probably from the door of the cell; in it are visible from the back to the front: checkered window with what seem to be metal bars, Herzog's belt tied to one of these bars, his body hanging in front of a white wall with his legs bent to his left on the cell wooden floor. The journalist was wearing a dark cloth that is hard to detail because the picture has been taken from a medium distance in a regular plan, the official report said he was wearing a jumpsuit – this element in our interpretation presents two weak points; 1) If he was supposed to be released on the same day why would be Herzog wearing a jumpsuit and not the clothes in which he arrived in «DOI-Codi»? 2) Why would a jumpsuit have a belt as stated in the official report?

Returning to the image, in front of his body and covering the right part of it there was a desk, that according to the report and the official narrative of the facts has been where Herzog presumably had written the suicidal note. At last, in the left corner of the picture is possible to see a part of the cell's door. This image has been officially released by the II Army in the same day that the report was finished and, although is possible to infer that the aimed objective was the one of legitimization of the official version, during the following months and years the image became a symbol not only of the military repression, but as well as the indiscreetness of the militaries in building an official narrative in which there were some weak links and the justification to a death in prison has been quickly found.

Regarding the famous picture of Herzog dead in the cell, important unfolding's took place in the recent years. Due to its relevance to the present work and to the argumentation of how had changed, along the decades, the narrative strategy of the newspapers, will be quickly reported a fact of 2012. On the Febraury 5<sup>th</sup><sup>726</sup> of that year the «FSP» published in its first page the main headline «Fotógrafo da morte de Herzog diz que ditadura o usou»<sup>727</sup> and right above it a picture of Silvado Leung Vieira<sup>728</sup>, the men that made the famous Herzog's photo. In the

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<sup>725</sup> «The photograph distributed by the authorities».

<sup>726</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo.05/02/2012. N° 30.258. Ano° 91».

<sup>727</sup> «Photographer of Herzog's death says dictatorship used him».

<sup>728</sup> In 2013 Vieira was present in a Session of the São Paulo's City Truth Comission and also visited the «DOI-Codi» former headquarters nowadays a museum. Available in: <https://www.saopaulo.sp.leg.br/blog/autor-da-foto-de-vladimir-herzog-visita-dependencias-do-doi-codi/> Access in: 30/11/2022.



colored image (*photo 65*) that occupied approximately ¼ of the newspaper's coverage, the photographer appears in an american plan, seated in a bench with his gaze down and thoughtful looking to a printed version of his most famous photo. In the top right corner of the picture there is a miniature photo of the same image and, as we just saw, has not been published in the «FSP» in the time of Herzog's killing. The caption says: «Silvado Leung Vieira em Los Angeles (EUA) onde vive desde 1979; no detalhe, a foto de Vladimir Herzog». <sup>729</sup> Between the headline and the photo a small four-paragraph text brings a synthesis of the story published in the special brochure «Ilustríssima» in the internal pages «MA6» and «MA7» of that edition.

Along the two-page story that has been published, indicating that almost four decades later the photographer was located by the newspaper, living in Los Angeles (USA), some relevant information appears and must be underscored. At first, the fact that Vieira in 1975 was still a student in the Photography Course of the São Paulo's Police and his work in Herzog's case has been his first «practical lesson» after seventeen days of course. The «FSP» text mixes a journalistic narrative with long quoting's of Vieira's interview. Is worth to reproduce his description of his perspective when he arrived in the «DOI-Codi» headquarters

Havia uma vibração muito forte, nunca senti nada igual. Mas não me deixaram circular livremente pela sala, como todo fotógrafo faz quando vai documentar uma morte. Não tive liberdade. Fiz aquela foto praticamente da porta. Não fiquei com nada, câmera, negativo ou qualquer registro. Só dias depois fui entender o que tinha acontecido (FOLHA DE S. PAULO, *O instante decisivo*. 05/02/2012). <sup>730</sup>

In addition to it, must be indicated the two references that appears in the «FSP's» discourse about the publication of the famous photo in moment of Herzog's killing, at first, in the fourth paragraph it is said «Publicada na imprensa, a imagem corroborou a tese de que o "suicídio" de Herzog era uma farsa» <sup>731</sup> indicating that the image was published by press organs at the time, but not in the «FSP», still in the story's first page, after the quotation highlighted above, the narrative continues, «Ele diz ter começado a montar o quebra-cabeça no domingo, quando

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<sup>729</sup> «Silvado Leung Vieira in Los Angeles (USA) where he has lived since 1979; in the detail, the photo of Vladimir Herzog».

<sup>730</sup> «There was a very strong vibration, I've never felt anything like it. But I wasn't allowed to move freely around the room, as every photographer does when he's going to document a death. I had no freedom. I took that photo practically from the door. I didn't keep anything, camera, negative or any record. It was only days later that I understood what had happened».

<sup>731</sup> «Published in the press, the image corroborated the thesis that Herzog's "suicide" was a farce».

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**CRECHE**  
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**ESPORTE**  
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**LEITOS**  
Vagas em hospitais públicos e privados por mil habitantes (2009)

**LIVROS**  
Número de livros disponíveis em bibliotecas por habitante com 15 anos ou mais (2010)

**REGIÃO**

**COTIDIANO**  
Dados revelam a desigualdade paulistana

## Fotógrafo da morte de Herzog diz que ditadura o usou

**EXCLUSIVO** Folha localiza o homem que documentou a farsa que se tornou símbolo do regime militar no Brasil

**LOGAN FERRAZ DE BRASÍLIA**

A tentativa dos militares e policiais paulistas, que operaram na rua Tutóia, de simular o suicídio fêz-lo, e a repercussão da morte de Herzog ajudou a enterrar a linha dura do regime militar. Silvaldo é uma das poucas testemunhas. A Folha o localizou em Los Angeles, nos EUA, onde vive desde 1979, após fugir do Brasil.

“Tudo foi manipulado e infelizmente acabei ficando parte dessa manipulação”, afirma Vieira em sua primeira entrevista. “Não tive liberdade. Não fizeti com qualquer sigilo. Só depois foi entender o que tinha acontecido.” **Revista Época** Pág. 4

Depois estadual de defesa da democracia estava tombamento do 300-000. **Revista Época** Pág. 21.

**Rússia e China vetam resolução contra Síria nas Nações Unidas**

Rússia e China vetaram no Conselho de Segurança uma resolução que exigia a saída do ditador Bashar Assad. Proposta pela Liga Árabe, a resolução tinha apoio das potências ocidentais.

Antes da votação na ONU, forças sírias bombardearam a cidade de Hama, matando até 200 pessoas, inclusive mulheres e crianças, segundo grupos ativistas. O governo nega. **Mundo** A16

**Brasil vira polo de imigração de trabalhadores na América Latina**

O número de trabalhadores estrangeiros legais no país cresceu 57% no ano passado, para 1,51 milhão, segundo o Ministério da Justiça.

A chegada de trabalhadores peruanos, paraguaios e bolivianos impulsionou esse aumento. Com isso, o perfil dos imigrantes mudou.

Os trabalhadores dos países vizinhos têm baixa escolaridade e pouca qualificação profissional. **Mercado** B1

**HISTÓRIAS CRUZADAS**

Patrão reclama da empregada, que reclama da patroa; ascensão da classe C e filme levam as duas ao divórcio Pág. 29

**Folha é líder nas edições impressa e digital, diz IVC**

**Mercado** B1

**Em greve, PM da Bahia faz bunker na Assembleia**

Armados, os grevistas da Polícia Militar bahiana transformaram a Assembleia Legislativa em um bunker. A situação ficou mais tensa após o governador Jaques Wagner (PT) anunciar que a Justiça mandou prender 12 pessoas. **Polícia** A14 e A15

**EUTÓRIAS** Opinião A2

Leis “Privatização no ar”, sobre licção para a concessão de aeroportos no país a realizar-se amanhã, com alerta para uma possível elevação das tarifas.

**JANIO DE FREITAS**

Wagner tem mais responsabilidade por distúrbio **Polícia** A10

**MÔNICA BERGAMO**

Ex faxineiro, Carlinhos Brown já tem o discurso do Oscar **Revista** E2

**ESPORTE**

Neymar chega aos 20 rico, mas com só um quarto dos gols de Pelé na mesma idade

**COLEÇÃO FOLHA-FOTOS ANTIGAS**

50 Fotos Brasileiras: retrate imagens da diversidade **Folha**

**BRASIL**

Brasileiro “rei da selva” no Paraguai é alvo de sete terra

**TALK COM A FOLHA**

Depois de mais de 10 anos de trabalho, o serviço de jornalismo, no entanto, é o melhor. **Folha** [www.folha.com.br](http://www.folha.com.br)

**Silvaldo Leung Vieira em Los Angeles (EUA), onde vive desde 1979; no detalhe, a foto de Vladimir Herzog**

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o jornalista foi velado, ao descobrir que tinha fotografado Vladimir Herzog. Depois viu a foto no “Jornal do Brasil”, o primeiro veículo de imprensa a publicar a imagem, ainda em 1975». <sup>732</sup>

According to the «FSP» story, a few months later in January of 1976 Vieira has been called to work in another false suicide case, in the occasion, the goal was to create another official version of suicide to the death of the metalworker Manoel Fiel Filho also killed in the «DOI-Codi» dependences. Another two information present in the story are relevant to the present work, after interviewing the ex-governor of São Paulo’s State, Paulo Egydio Martins, has been published the information that to him existed in the period a parallel command in the Army, especially in the repression unities, that were not in favor of the beginning of a transition process proposed by the high ranks in Brasília, in addition to it regarding the killings of Herzog and Fiel Filho, Egydio declared «Tenho para mim que esses acontecimentos foram a raíz das Diretas-Já» <sup>733</sup>, reinforcing a perspective that were the controversial phenomenon’s of a new discursive proposal by the militaries confronted by a violent actions of some groups that triggered the civil society reorganization and capability of pressuring the militaries to political changes, although, as we are seeing and defending in this work, the process in a whole was much more in the control of the militaries than out of it. Finally, a last fact that interests us is the information that in the moment that the story was published, in 2012, Vieira was living in Los Angeles, city that he went in 1979 after a period of internal persecution by his superiors and that, according to him were the consequence of some of his questionings.

Is, nevertheless worth to mention an important debate that emerges from the narrative strategy of the «FSP» that was just presented; that is to say, the newspaper almost four decades later adopts an engaged posture of condemnation to the crimes that were committed during the Dictatorship, that as we are analyzing in this work, was not homogeneous along the decades of the authoritarian regime and in the moment of Herzog’s killing, was starting to be a little more combative that in the previous years. To this, an extra layer must be added that is exactly the use of the photographs in this neo-actualization of its own narrative made by the «FSP», in this case it is very explicit, if in 1975 for different reasons the famous picture has not been published in the newspaper, in 2012, the editors had composed a double metalinguistic cover, finding a way to print the image twice in the same first page. In an attitude that more than resigning the photo impact and its Memory, puts the newspaper in a new position regarding the subject, as

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<sup>732</sup> «He says he began to put the puzzle together on Sunday, when the journalist was laid to rest, when he discovered that he had photographed Vladimir Herzog. Then he saw the photo in the "Jornal do Brasil" newspaper, the first press vehicle to publish the image, back in 1975».

<sup>733</sup> «I believe that these events were the root of the Diretas-Já».

if the agenda (and the use of that picture) has always had part of the narrative reconfiguring it.<sup>734</sup> In so, if the «FSP» headline states that the to the photographer the regime had used him at the time, at this point the question if the newspaper is using him once again to reconfigure its historical positing regarding Herzog's killing might be made?

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<sup>734</sup> In this debate on the Memory of the images and its uses it is central the work of Ana Maria Mauad and Mauricio Lissovsky. *As mil e uma mortes de um estudante: foto-ícones e história fotográfica / A thousand and one deaths of a student: photo icons and photographic history*. Estudos Históricos. Rio de Janeiro, vol 34, no 72. 2021. p.4-29. On it its proposed an analysis of different uses of the same photograph along the decades by the press.

## Chapter 7 – The Amnesty Law, a blurred start to an end

### *The beginning of the end and the opening process*

Was still during Médici's term that the idea of decompression started to circulate in the corridors of the regime. The «Instituto de Pesquisas, Estudos e Assessoria do Congresso (Ipeac)»<sup>735</sup> promoted an event in which was presented the proposal of a slow political opening (CHEIBUB & FIGUEIREDO, 1982). The militaries idea was to start a sort of returning to the «normal» political life after almost ten years of dictatorship; in that moment the regime proposal was to dialogue only with some groups of the civil society in the pursue of a national consensus. In this sense, as a theoretical support to the opening process, the Samuel Huntington thesis of a slow and progressive decompression was taken as guide, proposing a path in which would be seen an endowed democracy rather than a conquered one.<sup>736</sup> The main concern was to avoid the loss of control of the process which could enable another cycle of repression or an undesired major popular participation in the process (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 238).

As part of this project was the arrival of Ernesto Geisel<sup>737</sup> to the presidency. In January of 1974, the new general was indirectly elected by the Electoral College, representing the return of the «castelista» group to power, he symbolized the retake of the regime control by the moderate and strategic wing of the militaries. The liberal historiography and memory interpreted this movement as a return to the initial military government route, putting the «years of lead (1968-1974) » as an unexpected deviation of the regime (SKIDMORE, 1988). This interpretation helped to construct an image of Geisel<sup>738</sup> as a strong autocrat general-president capable of retake the order and start the opening process (even the repression was still on).

Quando olhamos para alguns dados isoladamente, o saldo repressivo do governo Geisel não autoriza falar em

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<sup>735</sup> «Institute of Research, Studies and Advisory Services of the Congress (Ipeac)».

<sup>736</sup> In order to deepen the effects of the Harvard's professor thesis in the military politics in Brazil we suggest the works of Antonio Rago Filho (2008) and Gisele Gomes da Silva (2018).

<sup>737</sup> Born in 1907 in the city of Bento Gonçalves, interior of Rio Grande do Sul. Ernesto, attended the Military School in Porto Alegre between 1921 and 1924, being the first of his class, as well as in the Military School of Realengo, which he graduated in 1928. He also attended the Army Command School (1941-1943) and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, United States (1945). He took part in the repression of the Constitutionalist Revolt of 1932 and the Communist Revolt in 1935. After decades in different positions in the Armed Forces he took up the military command of Brasilia and of the 11th Military Region (1961), and later the 5th Military Region (1962-1963). Articulated the political-military movement that resulted in the coup in 1964. During the regime was head of the Military Cabinet under President Castelo Branco (1964-1967) and was promoted to army general in 1966. Has also been Minister of the Military Supreme Court (1967-1969) and President of Petrobras (1969-1973). Became President on March 15th, 1974 and passed away in 1996. Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/geisel-ernesto> Access in: 21/07/2021.

<sup>738</sup> In Napolitano (2014, p. 236-237) is possible to see how the mainstream press helped to construct this memory, even if sometimes this attitude seems to be a *mea-culpa* recognition.

democracia ou mesmo em distensão: durante seu governo houve 39 opositores desaparecidos e 42 mortos pela repressão. A censura à imprensa, às artes e às diversões foi amplamente utilizada, abrandando-se somente em meados de 1976; o Congresso foi fechado durante 15 dias<sup>739</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 234).

The proposal of a slow end to the dictatorship exposed a major concern inside the military ranks, a huge preoccupation with the transition and the objective of avoid any Justice condemnations to the militaries. And with that goal, the project was to bring about a guided transition of the military from power, throughout the negotiation with the liberal sectors of the society. To execute this strategic decompression the institutionalization of the transition was seen as the official road to the end; in this sense was in fact putted in action only with a liberal participation, ensuring the economical continuity in the country and the absence of any justice punishment to those militaries who had committed human rights violations. However, the opening proposal posed by the regime, had to negotiate also with the new social movements and political organizations that have emerged under the radar of the systematic repression.

In the second half of the 1970s, the «democratic» argument became central in different layers of the Brazilian society. As we saw until here, the uses of the word «democracy» has showed itself common within the military speeches, to the government simple notion of ideas discussion was already a sign of democracy. On the other hand, the plural opposition that was beginning to see a new possibility of political organization and mobilization, was trying to widen the concept of «participative democracy». The «PCB» had retaken the strategy of alliances and the attempt of building a great front against the regime.<sup>740</sup> Inside the legal opposition, the «MDB» went to a bolder attitude in the legislative elections of 1974 putting in its political program topics as the repression, the regime autocracy, economical critics to the government, the inflation issue; and beyond all of these, was inserted the public debate related to the «missing» opponents of the regime (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 243).

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<sup>739</sup> «When we look at some data in isolation, the repressive balance of the Geisel government does not allow us to speak of democracy or even détente: during his government 39 opposition parties disappeared and 42 were killed by repression. Censorship of the press, the arts and entertainment were widely used, only easing in mid-1976; Congress was closed for 15 days»

<sup>740</sup> To consolidate this strategy, it was central the influence of the so-called Eurocommunism, especially from France and Italy, symbolize in the figure of Enrico Berlinguer. (CASANOVA, 2016) Available in: <https://pcb.org.br/portal2/10987/eurocomunismo-ou-o-render-dos-ideais/> Access in: 17/07/2021 and (NAPOLITANO, 2014) Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/j/ea/a/6jkqB5cLmBpXN4Jm8kt7QHj/?format=pdf&lang=pt> Access: 17/07/2021 proposes different approaches to this debate.

In this context, the Human Rights cause had become a tremendous problem to the regime, not only due to the foreign politics problems caused, but especially in the internal scenario after the rupture with the Catholic Church in 1973.<sup>741</sup> Strong supporter of the coup in 1964, the relations between the Church and the State had suffered the first shocks after 1968 with the repression arriving to sectors of the Church that had a progressist policy. Even if the «Comissão Bipartite»<sup>742</sup> had tried, from 1970 on, to create a space of dialogue and consensus between both pillars of the society; the state violence helped to deepen its own isolation and to consolidate the rupture of the Catholic Church with the military (REIS, 2017, p. 47).<sup>743</sup> The murdering of Alexandre Vannuchi Leme in 1973, a student from «Universidade de São Paulo (USP)», killed inside the «DOI-Codi» dependences and buried as an indigent at Perus (a peripheral cemetery of São Paulo) had triggered not only the final rupture of the church with the regime lead by the Cardinal of São Paulo, Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns, but also the first major public protest after 1968. The mess dedicated to Vannuchi at the «Sé Cathedral » at São Paulo city center reunited five thousand people (IKEDO, 2008, p. 157).<sup>744</sup>

Even if Geisel in 1974, tried at least to explain what supposedly had happened with the missing people in the country, sustaining the discourse that the disappearances were the result of the so-called «terrorist» actions, the regime isolation was growing<sup>745</sup> and the elections in that year showed a growing opposition, arriving in 50% of the votes for the Senate and 37% to the Deputies Chamber, in the States assembly the MDB had also grown and gained power.<sup>746</sup> Trying to deal with the loss, the regime ended the censorship, trying to use the mainstream liberal press as a tool to measure the public opinion and what were the issues in debate, but on

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<sup>741</sup> Besides the problems related to the human rights violations denounces suffered by the Brazilian government, the Foreign Policy proposed by Geisel and his chancellor Antonio Azeredo da Silveira created other frictions especially with the USA. In 1975, a nuclear treaty signed with Western Germany, the creation of a national armaments industry, the recognition of the independence of Angola, now a communist ex-colony of Portugal; as well as a vote against Israel in the ONU Assembly, the retake of diplomatic relations with the also communist China, added by new commercial agreements with the USSR were signs of a new foreign policy and the attempt of detachment from an extremely depended policy to the USA that ended with the rupture of military agreements dated of 1952. All these events can be seen as an expression of the internal contradictions of the regime, in which coexisted the reopening objective, related to a democratic discourse and a political practice still very much connected to a state control of the society (FERNANDES, 2016, p. 85).

<sup>742</sup> «Bipartite Commission»

<sup>743</sup> In this topic we also recommend the work of Keneth Serbin (2001), «Diálogos na Sombra». Dedicated to the relations between the Catholic Church and the Military Regime.

<sup>744</sup> The São Paulo's State Truth Commission published a report dedicated to the episode Vannuchi's killing. Available in: <http://comissaodaverdade.al.sp.gov.br/mortos-desaparecidos/alexandre-vannucchi-leme> Access in: 17/07/2021.

<sup>745</sup> Also in 1974, the «Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil (OAB) – Brazilian Bar Association», former supporter of the coup and the regime, had announced the disruption in that support. The main reason was the arrest and torture of a lawyer in Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>746</sup> The Brazilian «Supreme Electoral Court» archive allowed to access the votes of the 1974 election. Available in: [https://sig.tse.jus.br/ords/dwtse/f?p=1945:2:::NO:RP:P0\\_HID\\_MOSTRA:S](https://sig.tse.jus.br/ords/dwtse/f?p=1945:2:::NO:RP:P0_HID_MOSTRA:S) Access in: 18/07/2021.

the other hand would be used as the messenger from the government to the medium class major readers of the opinions published in the press (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 247). The events in the years to come after the elections of 1974 showed that the regime was not so comfortable with the idea of having a present and active opposition; in 1975 in a famous TV speech, Geisel has taken a stand in the slowness of the reopening; rejecting the end of «AI-5» and keeping the «Lei de Segurança Nacional»<sup>747</sup> active.

Is possible to say that the State, represented in the militaries in power were each day more distant from its own population, the society wishes, expectations, and issues even under surveillance began to move, besides the «MDB» different unions, associations, neighborhood movements and part of the press were excited if the possibility of democracy; Rollemberg (1999) points out the manifestations of the exiled opposition in the left-oriented press. In the final years of the 1970s, was organized a huge opposition front, able of catalyzing many different sectors of the so-called «civil society»<sup>748</sup>. However, the distension process cannot be seen in a linear way. As we have seen, as much the consensus was a constant goal inside the barracks, was not always possible. During the last years of Geisel's term, different actions exemplify this issue; the «PCB» major represents of the unarmed left became the new target of the repression<sup>749</sup> and in this new phase of the repression took place the arrest and assassination of Vladimir Herzog as was just presented. This case has also brought problems to the relation between the government and the mainstream liberal press, Audálio Dantas, president of the Journalists Union, was one of the main organizers of several denounces to the regime that became public (DANTAS, 2012).

Herzog's assassination and repercussion is key to understand the growing isolation of the regime in its relationship with the Brazilian society, especially the medium class (a central legitimacy tool to the militaries) but also to indicate a fundamental change in the press attitude in confront of the regime. In a way, the still existing violence of the surveillance and repression systems was a symptom that the opening process wasn't accepted by all the different groups

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<sup>747</sup> «National Security Law».

<sup>748</sup> NAPOLITANO (2014, p. 249) underlines the important debate dedicated to the concept of «civil society», which was, in the context here referred, extremely wide indicating almost everyone and every organization that placed itself against the authoritarian state, in the name of democracy, creating a notion where the problem was the State. In this sense, is a way of enclosing the relations between the state and its civil connections in the regime, but also the relation that some civilians had if the militaries and were absolved only because were members of the «civil society».

<sup>749</sup> The so-called «Radar Operation» was created with the objective of eliminate the communist opposition. Several works are dedicated to this topic, we suggest the report of the «National Truth Commission» due to its institutional importance (2014, p. 640-647). Available in: [http://www.memoriasreveladas.gov.br/administrator/components/com\\_simplefilemanager/uploads/CNV/relatório%20cny%20volume\\_1\\_digital.pdf](http://www.memoriasreveladas.gov.br/administrator/components/com_simplefilemanager/uploads/CNV/relatório%20cny%20volume_1_digital.pdf) Access in: 18/07/2021.

inside the armed forces and can be interpreted as demonstration that the so-called «hard line» were yet in control of significant parts of the regime and wouldn't accept so easily the path to democracy, even if controlled and under the auspices of the high ranks (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 252). The end was in the horizon, but the road was still a long.

In order to retake the control of the transition process the regime created in 1976 the «Lei Falcão»<sup>750</sup> with the objective of reduce the power of the «MDB» and give more strength to the candidatures of the «ARENA», the new law transformed the political campaigns in TV in a tedious spectacle, no debate was allowed, and the candidates must be presented only by a photo and a narration in off-image. The result was considered satisfactory, because the opposition party was able to elect four times less city council's representants than the «ARENA», according with the TSE.<sup>751</sup> Still aiming the dialogue in direction of the democratic opening and the goal of consensus, the senator Petrônio Vilela became the Senate's president due to his transit with the «MDB».

Although, Geisel, wasn't fully convinced that the path of dialogue was being successful, and afraid that the opposition had the majority in the National Congress in the following year, in so were lunched the so-called «Pacotes de Abril»<sup>752</sup> in 1977. In brief, the president's mandate was extended from five to six years, indirect elections for a third of the Senate, the so-called «Senadores biônicos»<sup>753</sup> named by the state governors were created, the same indirect elections were kept for the State governor office. As a result, the representation of the states with smaller populations in which the «ARENA» was stronger was extended, and also changed the parliamentary *quorum* for the approval of amends to the Constitution, from two thirds to the simple majority (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 257). The idea was clear once again, the regime wanted the control of the opening while more space for political participation was being conceded. With these actions the militaries were trying to reinforce their «cesarismo militare», that is to say, they own capability of controlling the political conflict that the transition to a democratic regime was indicating. In this sense, the goal of the «Pacotes de Abril» was « [...] di controllare la crescente mobilitazione popolare attraverso la repressione e l'indirizzamento

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<sup>750</sup> The Law's name is a reference to the, at the time, Ministry of Justice, Armando Falcão.

<sup>751</sup> Available in:

[https://bibliotecadigital.tse.jus.br/xmlui/bitstream/handle/bdtse/1554/1979\\_boletim\\_eleitoral\\_a28\\_n340.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://bibliotecadigital.tse.jus.br/xmlui/bitstream/handle/bdtse/1554/1979_boletim_eleitoral_a28_n340.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y) Access in: 18/07/2021.

<sup>752</sup> «April Packages» were a group of constitutional and juridical reforms, that after another closure of the Congress (using the still vigent AI-5) on April's 1<sup>st</sup> 1977, imposed to the country the Constitutional Emends N°7 and N°8.

<sup>753</sup> « Bionic Senators».

dell'azione politico-sociale verso le strutture partitiche, elettorali e sindacali». <sup>754</sup> (MACIEL, 2022, p. 237).

However, the society was moving, and not all of its movements were clearly seen by the government, especially because of the growing distance between the center of decisions and its own legitimacy within the society. In the same year, the Student's Movement returned to the scene with the goal of expanding the debate to a bigger share of the population, leaving the armed struggle behind. With a major participation of a significant group of Law students, the demonstrations went back to the streets in the center of São Paulo. The recent killing of Alexandre Vannuchi Leme served at the same time, as a fear and preoccupation generator within the organizations, but also reorganized the actions to the objective of regaining the democratic rights, rather than making a socialist revolution; that can be seen with the bigger participation of a liberal-oriented wing of the students (MULLER, 2010). In this context, Brasília was also moving, but the order of the events, sometimes, indicates, that these movements were a sort of reactions to unexpected transformations in society. In this case Armando Falcão, the Ministry of Justice had forbidden any kind of protest in public spaces.

According to Napolitano (2014, p. 259) the logic of the liberal press in this moment was to amplify the government discourse, mostly because the owners of these communications groups were also afraid of the population in the streets. Perhaps the two main examples were the newspapers «O Estado de S. Paulo» and «O Globo», both proposed a conservative interpretation of the regime, the last one tried to justify the militaries in power until the very end of the regime. So, the main objective was to keep the politics under control and inside the institutions, yet was not the time to take the streets. On the other hand, Matos (2008, p. 51) points out that in the case of «Folha de S. Paulo» despite the endorsement of the coup in 1964 and the regime in the first decade, already in the 1970s was visible a growing opposition to the regime. The objective of the present analysis is exactly the detailing of part of the press actions and attitude regarding this moment of change inside the regime.

In the same breath, during the growing of the student mobilization, the repression was still undergoing, in June was seen a national mobilization day for the Amnesty with the spread of demonstrations in many states capitals as Salvador, Porto Alegre, Rio de Janeiro and even the national capital, Brasília. In September 1977, the III «Encontro Nacional dos Estudantes» <sup>755</sup>

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<sup>754</sup> «[...] to control the growing popular mobilization through repression and the targeting of political and social action at party, electoral and trade union structures».

<sup>755</sup> «National Meeting of Students».



that occurred in the «PUC - Pontifícia Universidade Católica»<sup>756</sup> in São Paulo was invaded and repressed by the State Police; a demonstration that the regime would not be permissive with a social-civil organization so participative (MULLER, 2010, p. 165). According to Napolitano (2014, p. 263), this police invasion in a Catholic University had straight connection with the rupture between the Catholic Church and the Regime, especially after the government had approved the «Divorce Law» also in 1977.<sup>757</sup> As a synthesis, after this major repression in São Paulo, not until 1979 the student's movement came back to the streets and had undergone a moment of internal reorganization. Albeit their mobilization had had an important role in that moment, giving space to the democratic issue in the public opinion, fundamental on pressuring the government that, in the end of 1978, revoked the «AI-5»<sup>758</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 262).

When Geisel and the government realized the dimensions of the medium class and the intellectual opposition that were growing, the regime tried to establish a dialogue with this many groups, but in the meantime the «MDB» was stretching the cord and raised the critics to the government tone. What was promptly responded by Geisel with the cassation of a deputy. At this point the «MDB» was being pressured on both ends of the dispute, in the one hand by the regime that was trying to organize a consensus transition and on the other by the society that was desiring more a more effective agenda against the dictatorship. To the militaries the situation was only escalating, the opposition lived the encounter of several civil associations, the opposition official party, street protests and now, even a significant part of the industrial elite was changing sides; in this case, mostly preoccupied with the excessive (in their view) interferences of the state in the economy. The «Manifesto do Grupo dos 8»<sup>759</sup> helped to isolate even more the government. There was a main catchphrase in the streets «Pelos liberdades democráticas»<sup>760</sup>. Generic enough to put together an extremely diverse opposition.

Nevertheless, there was still another issue that Geisel had to deal with: the opposition inside the barracks, in this case, as has been previously indicated, the problem was related with the dissatisfaction within the possibility of opening the regime. The far-right wing of the dictatorship attempted a coup against Geisel when came the time to choose his successor in

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<sup>756</sup> « Pontifical Catholic University (PUC)».

<sup>757</sup> The «Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil (CNBB) - National Conference of the Bishops of Brazil» strongly criticized the regime and the need of looking to a humanity aspect of the society.

<sup>758</sup> In this item, we must highlight the protagonism that the liberal wing had in this movement, the Law School of the «Universidade de São Paulo» was the main cradle of liberal opposition that was being organized from the different groups of the civil society that were showing themselves against the regime.

<sup>759</sup> «Group of 8 Manifesto». The complete document is available until nowadays in the official website of «Votorantim», the biggest cement industry in Brazil, which the owner is Antônio Ermírio de Moraes. Available in: <https://www.votorantim100.com/noticia/a-integra-do-documento-dos-oito> Access in: 18/07/2021.

<sup>760</sup> «For democratic liberties».

presidency. Silvio Frota<sup>761</sup> was from 1974 the Ministry of the Army, he strongly defended the thesis that the distension would weaken the battle against communism. Inside the «ARENA» that was also an articulation that tried to make him the candidate of the government for the next indirect elections. Knowing that his position was in danger, Frota published a manifesto criticizing the, in his view, too many concessions made by the Geisel and convoke an emergency Army high ranks meeting. The coup was engineered. Albeit Frota's political ability, Geisel was politically stronger. He sacked Frota during a national holiday, on October 12<sup>th</sup> 1978,<sup>762</sup> Brasília was empty, especially of public employees, in the same day was published a special edition of the «Diário Oficial»<sup>763</sup> with Frota's demission. Finally, to dissolve the meeting that had been convoked, the president called the generals to the presidential palace, emptying the meeting that Frota has first schedule (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 271).

After that, the path was clear to the arrival of João Baptista Figueiredo<sup>764</sup> to the presidential office. His election took place on the 15<sup>th</sup> October of 1978 and his victory was not so easy as the other generals. The former member of the «SNI» made an effort to create a self-image of a younger, more friendly and strong president. The 1970s in the major Brazilian cities were a period in which the day-to-day life and its demands, mostly related to the deepening of the economic crisis, forced the peripheric population to a self-organization that had a strong component related to the Catholic Church and the «Teologia da Libertação»<sup>765</sup>. Another example was the «Movimento do Custo da Vida (MCV)» that was born in São Paulo as a popular association dedicated to confronting the regime, especially in the topics related to the

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<sup>761</sup> The entry dedicated to him dedicated in the CPDOC/FGV Archive, brings an interesting biography and details about this episode. Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/silvio-couto-coelho-da-frota> Access in: 18/07/2021.

<sup>762</sup> October 12<sup>th</sup> is the day in which is celebrate in Brazil the day of «Nossa Senhora Aparecida» patron saint of the country.

<sup>763</sup> «Official Journal».

<sup>764</sup> Born in Rio de Janeiro in the year of 1918 inside of family with tradition inside the Brazilian Army. In 1935 was enrolled in the Military School of Rio de Janeiro and took part in the repression to the Communist Revolt that occurred in that year. During his career occupied different positions inside Military Schools in the states of Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul, in 1960 went to the «Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG)», during Goulart's terms he was one of the main names inside the Military Academy which formed most of the militaries that acted during the dictatorship. After 1964, between 1966 and 1967 was the commander of the «Força Pública de São Paulo», in 1969 was Chief of Staff of the 3rd Army, in 1974 became the Chief of the «Serviço Nacional de Informações (SNI)» and finally, in 1978 was elected to be the last military president. After the end of the dictatorship he has chosen to be way of the political life, even if his candidacy to president has been speculated in 1994. Figueiredo, at the age of 81 years old, died in 1999. Available in:

<http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/joao-batista-de-oliveira-figueiredo>

Access in: 21/07/2021.

<sup>765</sup> Camilo (2011) in the work «A Teologia da Libertação no Brasil: das formulações iniciais de sua doutrina aos novos desafios da atualidade» discuss the origins and the relations of the so-called «Liberation Theology» and the military dictatorship. Available in:

[https://files.cercomp.ufg.br/weby/up/253/o/Rodrigo\\_Augusto\\_Leao\\_Camilo.pdf](https://files.cercomp.ufg.br/weby/up/253/o/Rodrigo_Augusto_Leao_Camilo.pdf) Access in: 18/07/2021.

raising of the life-cost in the country, mostly connected with the return of the inflation growth (MONTEIRO, 2015).

But a bigger component to the socio-political scenario was yet to come. A significant political background work has been done during the decade in the workers neighborhoods, and the working conditions raised as a central issue. In May of 1978, the workers from São Bernardo do Campo<sup>766</sup> pointed to the resurgence of the labour movement when two thousand workers of the «Saab-Scania» factory stopped to work; without barricades or rallies, they used the strategic of going to work, but not work. This has been the first act of a movement that would grow in the next years, and according to Napolitano (2014), «A questão democrática encontrava a questão operária».<sup>767</sup> Although, even with new breath and power brought to the anti-regime agenda, the new syndicalism carried problems to the wide opposition front.

During Figueredo's term, the opposition managed not only to held itself together, but each day stronger, due to the ability of some of the leaders to keep unified some agendas against the regime. One of the forms founded to keep a wide range of opposing parties together had become the idea of a social democracy as a sort of consensus between all the ideas in dispute. In face of this wide front of opposition, the regime entered the new decade putting in motion a set of reforms that tried to weaken the opposition with three main strategies: an Amnesty Law, a party reform, and the return of direct elections for state governor. In so, in 1979 was discussed and created the Law N°6883, that became known was the «Amnesty Law». The law creation was in a part and a consequence of the slow process of political opening that the military government was imposing to the Brazilian society. In brief, the ruling class had realized that would be more controlled and safer, especially for them, if they controlled and oriented their proposal of a path back to a bourgeoisie democracy, rather than continuing in an violent and authoritarian regime, risking a major rupture without control; an example of a «Passive Revolution» inside the regime (MACIEL, 2022, p. 233).

In this context, beyond the groups that were presented above, others were born pressuring for a political amnesty process in the country. According to the Deputy's chamber Sessions Register Archive, the «Movimento Feminino pela Anistia»<sup>768</sup> was funded in 1976, the creation in Lisbon of the «Comitê Pro-Anistia Geral»<sup>769</sup>; was approved also in 1976, of a

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<sup>766</sup> The region known as «ABC» located in the southeast part of the metropolitan region of São Paulo, has this nickname because is formed by the cities of Santo André, São Bernardo e São Caetano. During the decade of 1970 concentrated 45% of the Brazilian industry.

<sup>767</sup> «The democratic issue meets the labour issue».

<sup>768</sup> «Comitê Brasileiro pela Anistia – CBA».

<sup>769</sup> «General Pro-Amnesty Committee».

motion in favor of the amnesty by the «Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência – SBPC».<sup>770</sup> In 1977, was created the «Comitê de Anistia Primeiro de Maio»<sup>771</sup> in the PUC/SP; and the organization in 1978, of a «Comitê Brasileiro pela Anistia – CBA», in Rio de Janeiro. These groups took the path of actions initiated by the «Frente Ampla» in 1967 in favor of a political amnesty, as well as a first «draft» of an amnesty proposal organized by a group of «MDB» congressmen in 1972.<sup>772</sup> Nevertheless, the Amnesty agenda was in the order of the day only during the second half of the decade; in addition to these organizations some important facts gave even more relevance to it, such as the ex-president João Goulart’s funeral, in which his coffin was covered by a flag in which was written «Amnesty»<sup>773</sup>, or even the presence of banners in diverse football matches, within the supporters, but also being carried by some teams<sup>774</sup>. The most famous case has been the «Corinthians Futebol Clube» from São Paulo and the movement that during the years for the direct elections campaign would become known as «Democracia Corintiana».

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1979, President Figueiredo sent to the National Congress the Amnesty Law Project. Nevertheless, the text that was sent to voting, according to the opposition and different civil society groups and organizations presented two major problems. In first place, the Amnesty that was being proposed was not complete, that is to say that the so-called crimes of «Terrorism» would not be included in the amnesty process keeping apart from it all the Brazilians that were responding for crimes related to the Armed Struggle – the reaction to this fact has been a hunger strike made by some of these political prisoners in the country<sup>775</sup>, as well as a nation campaign for a «Anistia, ampla, geral e irrestrita»<sup>776</sup>. The second major problem was directly connected to this one, if in one hand the regime was not proposing the amnesty to the «terrorist» political prisoners, on the other hand, the proposal guaranteed

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<sup>770</sup> «Brazilian Society for the Advancement of Science – SBPC».

<sup>771</sup> «May First Amnesty Committee».

<sup>772</sup> Available in:

<https://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/plenario/discursos/escrevendohistoria/destaque-de-materias/lei-da-anistia> Access in: 12/09/2022.

<sup>773</sup> This information is indicated in the text produced by the «Agência Senado» to the Brazilian Senate Archives in the moment of the Amnesty Law forty years celebrations in 2019. Available in:

<https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/especiais/arquivo-s/ha-40-anos-lei-de-anistia-preparou-caminho-para-fim-da-ditadura> Access in: 12/09/2022.

<sup>774</sup> In February of 1979 in a football match between Corinthians and Santos, the biggest Corinthians’s organized fanbase «Gaviões da Fiel» helded up a banner which read «Anista, ampla, geral e irrestrita». More details about this episode and further references can be seen in Isabela Lisboa Berté (2016), available in:

<https://ludopedio.org.br/arquibancada/anistia-ampla-geral-e-irrestrita-um-estudo-sobre-relacao-entre-futebol-luta-pela-anistia-e-torcidas-organizadas/> . Access in 15/09/2022.

<sup>775</sup> During the months of July and August 1979 a Commission created by the «MDB» senator Teotônio Vilela went to several penitentiaries with the objective of promoting the prisoners protest and also indicate that they were not terrorists.

<sup>776</sup> «Amnesty, wide, general, and unrestricted».

full remission to the State agents that were responsible for kidnappings, torture, missing persons and murders, these individuals would not even be prosecuted.<sup>777</sup> This element was present in the first paragraph of the first article of the Law proposal, in which the text stated

Art. 1o É concedida anistia a todos quantos, no período compreendido entre 02 de setembro de 1961 e 15 de agosto de 1979, cometeram crimes políticos ou conexo com estes, crimes eleitorais, aos que tiveram seus direitos políticos suspensos e aos servidores da Administração Direta e Indireta, de fundações vinculadas ao poder público, aos Servidores dos Poderes Legislativo e Judiciário, aos Militares e aos dirigentes e representantes sindicais, punidos com fundamento em Atos Institucionais e Complementares

§ 1o - Consideram-se conexos, para efeito deste artigo, os crimes de qualquer natureza relacionados com crimes políticos ou praticados por motivação política.<sup>778</sup>

The fact that one element was directly connected to the other is an important hypothesis, exactly because that a few months later, the prisoners that were still in jail would be freed by presidential indults or even their process revision in Justice. In so, according to a declaration of the historian Carlos Fico published in the Senate's Archive, the main goal of the military was guarantee the amnesty of their crimes, and «Enquanto todo mundo ficou tentando de todas as formas incluir os condenados pelos “crimes de sangue” na anistia, o perdão aos torturadores ficou em segundo plano e foi aprovado com facilidade».<sup>779</sup>

Having as project relator Ernani Satyro, an «ARENA» congressman and ex-Minister of the Military Tribunal, the government by also having the majority in parliament, approved the Amnesty Law N°6883 in the way that was desired by the military, guaranteeing their non-accountability for the crimes committed. During the voting, also the «MDB» congressmen voted for the proposal by considering that even if with problems and not ideal having an

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<sup>777</sup> «Agência Senado». Available in: <https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/especiais/arquivo-s/ha-40-anos-lei-de-anistia-preparou-caminho-para-fim-da-ditadura> Access in: 12/09/2022.

<sup>778</sup> «Art. 1 Amnesty is granted to all those who, in the period between 02 September 1961 and 15 August 1979, committed political crimes or crimes related thereto, electoral crimes, to those who had their political rights suspended and to servants of the Direct and Indirect Administration, of foundations linked to public power, to Servants of the Legislative and Judiciary Branches, to Military personnel and to leaders and union representatives, punished on the basis of Institutional and Complementary Acts

§ For the purposes of this article, crimes of any nature related to political crimes or committed with political motives shall be considered as related». The Law N°6883 complete text it is available in: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/leis/l6683.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/l6683.htm) Access: 12/09/2022.

<sup>779</sup> «While everyone kept trying by all means to include those condemned for "blood crimes" in the amnesty, the pardon for torturers took a back seat and was easily approved». Carlos Fico. *Além do Golpe: versões e controvérsias sobre a ditadura de 1964*. Ed. Record. São Paulo. 2004.

Amnesty was better having none. What has been considered a victory to the opposition in that context.<sup>780</sup> The fact is that the Law that has been approved on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August of 1979 allowed the return to the country of important opposition names that were in the exile such as Leonel Brizola, Miguel Arraes, Luís Carlos Prestes, Fernando Gabeira and Paulo Freire.

From this moment on and due to the ending of the bipartidism in the same year, as has also already been presented, the opposition started to divide itself in different political parties, being less effective in confronting the militaries that strategically were still concentrated in the ex-ARENA, now «PDS». Regarding the political rights and the legal unfolding's that the Law N°6883 allowed, major changes were made in the year of 2002 when has been approved the Law N°10559<sup>781</sup> which regulated some aspects present in the 1979's Law. The major change regarded the period that the Amnesty was dedicated, was replaced from «September 02<sup>nd</sup> of 1961 until August 15<sup>th</sup> of 1979» to «September 18<sup>th</sup> of 1946 until October 5<sup>th</sup> of 1988»<sup>782</sup>, including all those cases and legal frameworks which were left apart in the first Law. However, the crimes committed by the militaries were still not included.

### *The Amesty Law in paper*

Before entering in the analysis of each newspaper issue that has been selected in the present section, some overall comment on the aspects regarding the news coverage that both daily organs had proposed to the Amnesty Law agenda are necessary. In first place, during the three-day period that has been under scrutiny, the main difference relies in the quantity of front cover pictures that were published, while the «FSP» published only one photo dedicated to the topic, the «JB» had made the choice of printing three images about it. At the same time, the number of headlines, internal pages and photos published by both newspapers appeared in a swayed balance; the «JB» dedicated two pages more than the «FSP» and published three additional pictures in respect to the São Paulo's newspaper. However, the size of the photographs and the space occupied by the agenda proved to be different, in general is possible to affirm that «JB» dedicated more space and larger photographs to the theme (the details will be indicated in the following pages).

In relation to the approach of the agenda was also seen some balance with «JB» proposing on one hand a more governmental and official posture in its headlines and, on the

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<sup>780</sup> «Available in: <https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/especiais/arquivo-s/ha-40-anos-lei-de-anistia-preparou-caminho-para-fim-da-ditadura> Access in: 12/09/2022.

<sup>781</sup> Available in: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/leis/2002/L10559.htm#art22](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/2002/L10559.htm#art22) Access in: 12/09/2022.

<sup>782</sup> The objective with this range change was to include the whole period of the Military Dictatorship.

other hand, a more combative one in the inside pages, especially regarding the use of the photographs. Meanwhile, in the case of the «FSP» the overall atmosphere of the coverage presented a more protocolar attitude, with little engagement and with strong presence of regional elements, especially the local political arrangements of São Paulo State. This last aspect might be connected if the fact that the end of the 1970s decade was the moment in which the «FSP» was still consolidating itself as a major political importance newspaper in the country, and as has been presented in the previous pages, was undergoing a phase of growing profits that would later allow a stronger change of route in its editorial goals and attitude.

In the case of «FSP» is also important to highlight that in the period under review, especially between the August 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>, the Amnesty Law promulgation agenda shared attention with the protests related to the «Movimento Custo de Vida»<sup>783</sup> which, as was already pointed out, was another element of the civil society that guaranteed a new impetus to the resurgence of political claims within the Brazilian society. Both newspapers, in the analyzed editions, made a frequent use of photographs, on its front covers and inside pages, but not always related to the Amnesty issue; this fact may indicate practical difficulties of access to the subjects that were responsible or affected by the agenda, or even the constraint of not registering in images the political leaderships responsible for the decision-making and legislative process. Regarding this last hypothesis, in the «FSP» case might be applied because of the mentioned consolidation process in which the newspaper owners were extremely handy in repositioning the editorial line of the daily news and at the same time do not create inconveniences to and with the militaries. The «JB» on its turn, was undergoing a strong boycotting process, resulting in several economic difficulties, what in many cases resulted in an auto censorship posture, also trying to avoid new repressive actions.

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<sup>783</sup> «Cost of Living Movement». Alongside the civil movement that appeared in the newspaper issues during that period, another important political movement that helped to increase the pressure towards the military's government has been the uprising of the Union's organization, especially in the metropolitan region of São Paulo.

Case / Data		TOTAL
<b>Period analysed</b>	28/08/79; 29/08/79; 30/08/79	
<i>JORNAL DO BRASIL</i> <sup>1</sup>		
N° of front pages	3	3
N° of headlines	2 – indirects (28/08/79); 1 (29/08/79); 1 (30/08/79)	
N° front page photos	1 (29/08/79); 2 (30/08/79)	3
Main headlines	«IBOPE diz que maioria é centro-conservadora»; «Brizola em 64 faria aliança até com o diabo» (28/08/79); «Auditor cumpre anistia e liberta quatro» (29/08/79); «Petrônio nega valor à posse de cassados» (30/08/79).	
N° of internal pages	3 (28/08/79); 3 (29/08/79); 3 (30/08/79)	9
N° of internal photos	2 (28/08/79); 7 (29/08/79); 3 (30/08/79)	11
Main internal titles	«Figueiredo consulta Ramalhete sobre veto»; «Ibope revela que maioria quer democracia conservadora» (28/08/79); «Figueiredo sanciona lei da anistia com nº6683»; «Vereadores cassados reassumem os seus mandatos»; «General assegura que Revolução não admite retrocesso» (29/08/79); «Vereadores são reempossados e Petrônio vê ilegalidade»; «Anistia solta 4 presos no Rio e na Bahia»; «DPF substitui as Forças Armadas no combate à subversão» (30/08/79).	
<i>FOLHA DE S. PAULO</i> <sup>1</sup>		
N° of front pages	3	3
N° of headlines	1 (28/08/79); 1 (29/08/79); 1 (30/08/79)	3
N° front page photos	1 (30/08/79)	1
Main headlines	«Indulto não sai, revela Passarinho» (28/08/79); «A anistia em vigor, com veto» (29/08/79); «No Sul, primeira crise da anistia» (30/08/79).	
N° of internal pages	2 (28/08/79); 2 (29/08/79); 3 (30/08/79)	7
N° of internal photos	1 (28/08/79); 1 (29/08/79); 3 (30/08/79)	5
Main internal titles	«Críticas de Brizola irritam emedebistas»; «Figueiredo poderá vetar expressão que amplia a anistia» (28/08/79); «Figueiredo sanciona a lei apenas com veto parcial»; «Dirigentes do MDB minimizam críticas feitas por Brizola» (29/08/79); «No Rio, 3 presos são libertados»; «Auditores de S. Paulo ainda esperam comunicação oficial»; «No Sul, anistiados são reintegrados na Câmara» (30/08/79).	



<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S. Paulo»	«No indult, reveals Passarinho» (28/08/79); «Amnesty in force, with veto» (29/08/79); «In the South, first amnesty crisis» (30/08/79).
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Folha de S. Paulo»	«Brizola's criticism irritates MDB leaders»; «Figueiredo may veto expression that expands amnesty» (28/08/79); «Figueiredo sanctions law with only partial veto"; «MDB leaders play down criticisms made by Brizola» (29/08/79); «In Rio, 3 prisoners are released»; «Auditors from S. Paulo still await official communication»; «In the South, those granted amnesty are reinstated in the Chamber» (30/08/79).

<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«IBOPE says that the majority is center-conservative»; «Brizola in '64 would make alliances with the devil» (28/08/79); «Auditor fulfills amnesty and frees four» (29/08/79); «Petronio denies value of possession of expelled» (30/08/79);
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Figueiredo consults Ramalhete about the veto»; «Ibope reveals that the majority wants conservative democracy» (28/08/79); «Figueiredo sanctions amnesty law with n°6683»; « Expelled councillors resume their mandates»; «Auditor frees amnesty holders and revokes Arraes' imprisonment»; «General assures that the Revolution does not allow for regression» (29/08/79); «Councillors are reappointed and Petronio sees illegality» ; « Amnesty frees 4 prisoners in Rio and Bahia»; «DPF substitutes the Armed Forces in the combat to the subversion» (30/08/79).

*Folha de S. Paulo – 28/08/1979*

Getting into what has been the press coverage that the «FSP» made regarding the Amnesty Law agenda the first issue that will be analyzed is the one that has been published in the day in which the Law has been signed by Figueiredo. On that occasion even if appearing in the front cover and initial pages of the edition, the topic did not occupy the main spaces in the newspaper. In so, the headline «No indult, reveals Passarinho» was not the main one that appeared in that day's first page, but a secondary one. Right under it a three-paragraph text detailed that Jarbas Passarinho, the «ARENA» leader in the Senate revealed that the President will do not give an immediate indult to those who crimes or condemnations will not be attended by the Amnesty Law. Still in the small text were also presented information on the return of Leonel Brizola (ex-Guanabara State governor) to the country. In addition to it, no picture about this agenda was published in the first page even if there were four images on it.

In the inside page number four the topic indicated in the front cover received a further development. The main headline of the page was «Brizola's criticism irritates MDB leaders» and was followed by a reportage text in which was reperussed the interview that Brizola gave

FSP - 28/08/1979

## Terroristas do IRA matam Lorde Mountbatten

O conde Mountbatten da Birmânia, primo da rainha Elizabeth 2.ª e tio do príncipe Philip, herói de guerra e último vice-rei da Índia, morreu ontem numa explosão a bordo de seu iate nas costas da Irlanda do Sul. O Exército Republicano Irlandês (IRA) e uma facção dissidente dessa organização terrorista, o Exército Nacional de Libertação da Irlanda (INLA), responsabilizaram-se pela morte, porém a polícia não tinha certeza de que tenha havido realmente de um atentado.

Um neto do conde e um marinheiro irlandês também morreram na explosão, quatro outras pessoas ficaram feridas, a filha do conde, Lady Patricia, de 33 anos, seu marido, Lord e Brabourne, a mãe deste, a duquesa de Dowager, e o outro neto do conde.

O conde, de 75 anos, saía para pescar no Noroeste da República da Irlanda. Um porta-voz da polícia disse que não foi possível determinar a causa da explosão, mas que os investigadores se baseiam na hipótese de que havia uma bomba-relógio a bordo. Num telefonema anônimo a um jornal de Dublin, o suposto atentado foi reivindicado pelo INLA, mas um comunicado da organização, citado pela AFP, o desmentiu. O IRA, entretanto, consultado pela UPI, confirmou que assassinara o conde.



O conde Mountbatten, herói do 2.º Guerra. AP



O corpo de Paul Maxwell, que trabalhava para Mountbatten, é corrigido para uma ambulância. AP

## Postos até 19h, mesmo

### Gov. aceita decisão dos revendedores

O Ministério das Minas e Energia recuou de sua posição inicial e resolveu não interferir na decisão dos donos de postos de gasolina de São Paulo de alterar o horário de funcionamento desses estabelecimentos para apenas das 7 às 19 horas, com intervalos de duas horas para almoço, quando será mantido um atendimento precário. A informação é de fonte categorizada que expressou o novo entendimento oficial, no sentido de que a redução do funcionamento dos postos "até que trará resultados positivos, em termos de racionalização".

Ontem, o presidente do Sindicato do Comércio Varejista de Combustíveis Minerais do Estado de São Paulo, Rubens Apovian, esteve com o ministro César Cals e reiterou a disposição dos proprietários de seguir o novo horário, a partir de 1.º de setembro, a não ser que o governo aumente a margem de lucro de revenda dos postos, dos atuais 77 centavos para Cr\$ 1,30 por litro de gasolina. Ele afirmou, também, que com a redução do horário de atendimento os postos passarão a funcionar apenas com uma turma de empregados, em jornada de oito horas (mais duas horas extras) o que significará a dispensa de cerca de 50% do pessoal, ou seja, aproximadamente, 50 mil frentistas.

Apovian informou que dos 15 sindicatos que formam a federação da categoria, os do Rio de Janeiro, Brasília, Joinville, Ceará, Blumenau, Florianópolis e Pôrnam-

buco já manifestaram a intenção de seguir o exemplo de São Paulo. **PAG. 21**

**Problemas no risco IPT-Cesp**

As negociações entre a Petrobrás e o consórcio paulista IPT-Cesp, para prospecção de petróleo, chegaram a um impasse. Ontem, técnicos da empresa federal comunicaram aos representantes do governo paulista que não irão aceitar algumas das alterações propostas pelo consórcio no contrato de risco, entre elas maior autonomia na condução dos trabalhos e a obtenção de grande área na Baía do Paraná para exploração. **PAG. 20**

## Tabelamento para juros sairá amanhã

O ministro Carlos Rischbieter, da Fazenda, disse ontem em Brasília que os juros serão tabelados amanhã, na reunião do Conselho Monetário Nacional. Explicou que sua proposta (a decisão final sobre a medida e suas formas caberá ao CMN) prevê o tabelamento das taxas de captação em torno de 47,48% ao ano, "não muito acima nem muito abaixo" da inflação dos últimos doze meses.

"Não se pode pretender uma taxa, por exemplo, de 30%; temos que instituir uma taxa real, como se faz em qualquer país do mundo", afirmou o ministro, acrescentando que não se pode também baixar taxas inferiores à desvalorização da moeda.

No Rio, fontes do sistema bancário disseram que o tabelamento a ser proposto pelo Banco Central tem um nível de taxas único, que baixará periodicamente. **PAG. 19**

## Indulto não sai, revela Passarinho

Após encontro que manteve ontem no Palácio do Planalto, o senador Jarbas Passarinho negou que seja intenção do governo conceder indulto aos não beneficiados pelo projeto de lei da anistia, que será sancionado hoje pelo presidente João Batista Figueiredo.

"Esta notícia — disse o líder da Arena no Senado — até causou um certo mal-estar no governo. Que sentido faria o presidente conceder uma anistia restrita, com o aval do Congresso, e depois conceder o indulto, que é uma iniciativa pessoal do presidente? Isto não faz o menor sentido."

Passarinho, bem como o líder da Arena na Câmara, deputado Nelson Marchezan, também admitiu que o chefe do governo, ao sancionar o projeto da anistia, vote a expressão "e outros diplomas legais", que abrirá a possibilidade de extensões, que medida aos condenados por crimes comuns. Ressalvou, porém, que "a decisão só

será tomada hoje", após o exame do parecer do consultor jurídico Clóvis Ramalho.

No Ministério da Justiça, assessores de imprensa tinham como certo o veto àquela expressão.

**Brizola**

O ex-governador gaúcho Leonel Brizola segue hoje para Nova York, iniciando sua viagem de retorno ao Brasil, onde deve chegar no próximo dia 6, descendo em São Borja (RS). Algumas fontes, no entanto, indicaram ontem que Brizola — a menos que consiga uma autorização especial do governo brasileiro — não poderá descer primeiro em São Borja, devendo, antes, passar por Uruguaiana, cidade onde existem uma alfândega e outros controles legais para quem procede do exterior. **PAGS. 4 e 5**

Ver editorial "Retorno", na Página Dois.

## OPINIÃO

"A manipulação dos ministérios", de Barreto Leite Filho, e "Co-gestão", de Flavio Bierrenbach. Página Três

## EXTERIOR

Os rebeldes curdos de Mahabad, no Azerbaijão Ocidental, estão treinando jovens voluntários, inclusive mulheres, no manuseio de armas, enquanto aguardam um ataque do Exército, aquartelado nas proximidades da cidade. Em Sarqez, as tropas governamentais assumiram o controle da cidade, mas os guerrilheiros rejeitaram um ultimato para depor as armas. **PAG. 9**

A bailarina soviética Ludmila Visnova conseguiu ontem convencer o governo norte-americano de que não pretendia pedir asilo nos Estados Unidos, como fez seu marido, o bailarino Alexandr Godunov. **PAG. 10**

## LOCAL

O prefeito Reinaldo de Barros admitiu, ontem, que os supermercados poderão voltar a abrir aos domingos de manhã, "se não houver impedimentos legais". Disse que, antes de decidir, estudará com muita atenção o assunto. "para não prejudicar ninguém". **PAG. 13**

O delegado Oliveira-Pentoura da Silva Filho, ex-assistente do 46.º DP (Perus) e um dos implicados na morte do motorista Homero após nas dependências da delegacia, confirmou ontem que tanto a vítima como outro preso, Raimundo Barbosa Lima, foram torturados por vários policiais, mas não teve participação no caso. **PAG. 15**

## EDUCAÇÃO

A Secretaria da Educação do Estado informou ontem que as inscrições aos próximos exames supletivos de 1.ª e 2.ª graus (Educação Geral) poderão ser feitas de 13 a 20 de setembro, nas escolas da rede oficial de ensino. As provas estão previstas para fins de novembro. **PAG. 17**

## ECONOMIA

A Bolsa de Valores fechou em alta de 0,4% ontem, movimentando um total de Cr\$ 184,55 milhões. No "open market", as operações "overnight" foram realizadas à taxa média de 1,65% ao mês.

## ESPORTES

Pessimista quanto à renovação de seu contrato com a Copersucar por causa da crise financeira da empresa e da saída de seu presidente, Jorge Wolney Aiala, seu grande amigo, Emerson Filipecki desmembrou ontem em Congonhas e imediatamente começou a procurar outro patrocinador.

## ILUSTRADA

Stan Kenton, criador do "jazz progressivo" e uma das principais estrelas da música norte-americana na segunda metade da década de quarenta, morreu de um ataque cardíaco em Los Angeles.

## OTEMPO

Tempo bom hoje em São Paulo, com névoa úmida de manhã e nebulosidade durante o dia. Temperatura em ligeira elevação. Ontem, na Capital, a máxima foi 15 graus e a mínima 12.

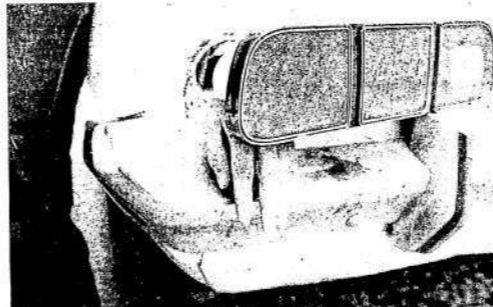
Na cidade "Agenda", pág. 16, a previsão para o Grande São Paulo,itoral e interior do Estado e vários outros do País.

## Cidade pode perder 10% dos ônibus

As empresas de ônibus da Capital continuam afirmando que vão tirar de circulação 10% de sua frota, se o prefeito Reinaldo de Barros não autorizar a antecipação, do dia 22 para 1.º de setembro, do aumento das tarifas para Cr\$ 5,00. Como o prefeito não tem poder para modificar as decisões do CIP, que fixou aquela data para o aumento, os empresários querem apelar para os ministros da área econômica, sob a alegação de que sofrerão grandes prejuízos se a antecipação não vier.

**Pontos livres**

Já os motoristas de táxi entregarão amanhã ao prefeito um pedido para criação de pontos livres, onde poderiam esperar os passageiros sem ficar rodando inutilmente e gastando gasolina. Embora o secretário municipal dos Transportes, Laurio Rios, tenha se pronunciado contra a medida, sob a alegação de que falta espaço na cidade, os táxis dizem que os pontos podem ser criados no lugar das atuais zonas azuis. **PAG. 14**



## Seis horas de desespero

O estudante Joel Rouverí Tomás, de 24 anos, contou ontem os detalhes do sequestro de que foi vítima durante a noite. Ele estava parado em seu carro, em Santo Amaro, quando foi abordado por quatro menores que assaltaram e o prenderam no porta-malas. De posse do veículo, os rapazes percorreram estradas e cidades do litoral durante cerca de seis horas, quando decidiram abandoná-lo na praia de Itararé, em São Vicente. Para pedir ajuda, Joel desmontou parcialmente a lanterna

traseira esquerda do carro, conseguiu enfriar sua mão e passou a acenar para os que passavam (na foto, ele reconstrói o gesto). O estudante conta que "muitos motoristas chegaram a diminuir a marcha ao ver minha mão acendendo, mas provavelmente ficaram com medo e não pararam, sem avisarem a polícia". A persistência de Joel, finalmente, foi recompensada quando alguém decidiu chamar o patrulhamento, que o libertou. **PAG. 15**

## Para peritos, fogo no Detran foi provocado

Os primeiros exames periciais, feitos ontem, revelaram que foi criminoso o incêndio ocorrido no prédio do Detran, domingo à noite. Essa, pelo menos, é a opinião inicial dos peritos, após localizarem dois focos de fogo no sexto andar, em locais onde não há instalações elétricas capazes de provocar fogo.

Com base nesses dois focos, a 30 metros um do outro, descobriu-se que o incêndio começou quase à mesma hora, nos dois pontos, espalhando-se depois. Os focos, porém, foram facilmente identificados pelos peritos que, inclusive, arrebicam um palpite sobre o combustível usado para propagar o fogo: óleo cru.

As conclusões sobre "incêndio criminoso" têm, ainda, como base, o fato de que nenhum dos fusíveis da caixa elétrica geral estava queimado, afastando, em princípio, a hipótese de um curto-circuito. Também registrou-se que toda a rede elétrica do sexto andar estava desligada, na hora do incêndio.



Nos escombros, foram localizados dois focos de fogo que não poderiam ser naturais. **PAG. 15**

## Os vigilantes vão à greve; pedem 100%

Os empregados das empresas de vigilância e segurança declararam-se ontem em greve, reivindicando um aumento de 100% retroativo a 1.º de maio último, pagamento do acréscimo de 25% nas horas extras e recebimento em dobro das horas trabalhadas em dias de folga. Mais de 2.000 vigilantes compareceram à assembleia, na sede do Sindicato dos Bancários e, com apenas meia hora de discussão, decidiram pela greve a partir de hoje. **PAG. 23**

**Venturini adverte**

"O governo está preocupado por duas razões: primeiro, por procurar assegurar o direito, sobretudo das classes menos favorecidas, de reivindicar, e segundo porque sente que não pode, da noite para o dia, dar soluções aos problemas, porque os recursos disponíveis não permitem."

A afirmação foi feita ontem, no Rio, pelo general Danilo Venturini, chefe do Gabinete Militar da Presidência da República, após proferir conferência na Escola Superior de Guerra, sobre segurança nacional. **PAG. 8**

## Revelação sobre acordo nuclear é caso encerrado

O governo federal decidiu abster-se de qualquer providência legal contra o jornal "Gazeta Mercantil", ameaçado de processo por ter publicado, no último dia 22, matéria jornalística contendo a substância básica do acordo de acionistas celebrado entre a Nuclebrás e a empresa alemã KWU para a formação da Nuclen.

O ministro da Comunicação Social, Said Farhat, informou, no mesmo dia da publicação da matéria e da apreensão frustrada da tiragem do jornal, que "o governo irá adotar as medidas legais cabíveis". No entanto, examinando a possibilidade legal do processo, o governo decidiu dar a questão por encerrada. O ministro Petrônio Portela, da Justiça, considera — embora o programa nuclear brasileiro seja assunto pertinente à segurança nacional — a publicação do jornal paulista não configurar violação da lei. Ponderou-se também que o processo traria estímulos negativos, atenuando o compromisso de abertura.

to the «JB» a few days before in which the politician, that was about to return from the exile, was criticizing the «MDB» parliamentarians in the slow pace on pressuring the militaries about the possible return to a multi-partidarism national politics. The right column text indicated and comment on the different three possible forms of reorganization of the opposition, meanwhile, the left column text was dedicated to the information that to the government the existence of diverse political parties will be possible only after the return of the exiled and its political absorbent in the society. Nevertheless, the Communist Party would still be left apart from the possibility of a legal existence in the country. In the lower half of the page, another small text was dedicated to the itinerary of Brizola's return to Brazil and the probable arrival in Uruguaiana in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

In the following page, number five, a picture (*photo 66*) was published alongside a reportage dedicated to the last updates on the Amnesty agenda. The main headline of the page was «Figueiredo may veto expression that expands amnesty», in this context, the following text placed right under the title has been published a report on the political negotiations occurred the day before around the president's veto of the expression that would also give the amnesty to what are called common crimes, and the fact that was still early for the debate or application of an indult for those who have not been beneficiated with the Amnesty.

In the middle of the text a small photograph was present, the image occupied approximately 1/10 of the page and in a long distance american plan exposed the two main leaderships of the «ARENA», the Deputy Néelson Marchezan and the Senator Jarbas Passarinho. Both were wearing suits, Passarinho a light tone one, while the second, a dark suit. The two of them presented a serious expression and seemed to be framed in a moment in which they were walking; the two-plan picture indicates that a third person was in the background, although is not possible to identify who it was. The caption, «Jarbas Passarinho e Néelson Marchezan deixam o gabinete de Figueiredo após discutir a anistia»<sup>784</sup> informs what was the context of the shot and proposes a not so important interaction with the page, in a protocolar illustration of the institutional events connected to a major political change in the country.

Finally, the left-column text of the page was dedicated to the debate that was happening inside the «MDB» in São Paulo State, in which the leader of the party Ulysses Guimarães was trying to keep the party united even with the possibility of the recreation of other opposition parties in a close future. In the second half of the page after the secondary title «Redação dúbia abre polêmica», the story text was presenting the discussion on the specific text of the Law

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<sup>784</sup> «Jarbas Passarinho and Néelson Marchezan leave Figueiredo's cabinet after discussing amnesty».

reço-folha, 28 de agosto de 1979

# Ulisses procura manter unidade do MDB paulista

**RENATO FALERIOS**  
Após as convenções municipais e distritais de domingo, as facções do MDB paulista procuram manter os diversos entendimentos em torno da disputa pela direção geral do partido em outubro. Todos concordam em que é preciso formar uma junta única para substituir a atual Comissão Executiva, tanto desligada das eleições locais quanto das eleições estaduais. Os principais grupos que disputam a liderança são os de Ulisses Guimarães, Fernando Henrique Cardoso e os de Fernando Henrique Cardoso e Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

Os primeiros resultados da capital, por exemplo, foram favoráveis ao grupo de Ulisses Guimarães, o deputado Orestes Quércia, e do deputado Alberto Goldman, que no final, sumam-se a disputa pela liderança sobre a máquina de partido contra as correntes lideradas pelo senador Franco Montoro e pelo suplente Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

Por causa desse equilíbrio e pelo interesse de não provocar desde já uma divisão prejudicial ao MDB como "frente de oposição" no momento em que o governo está com a economia dos atuais partidos, as principais correntes emedebistas em São Paulo estão dispostas a "negociar" a direção regional da agremiação.

Dos primeiros entendimentos, Ulisses já participou, além do próprio Ulisses Guimarães, presidente nacional do partido, os senadores Franco Montoro, Orestes Quércia, principais articuladores, respectivamente, das candidaturas do deputado Mário Covas e do deputado federal Alberto Goldman à presidência do MDB paulista.

Em Campinas, a chapa "Unidade", liderada pelo senador Orestes Quércia, teve 56 por cento dos votos na convenção para o diretório municipal do MDB, enquanto a chapa "Resistência Democrática", liderada pelo vice-prefeito José Roberto Magalhães, teve 44 por cento.

Em Santos, o último prefeito eleito da cidade, Ezequiel Tarquínio, cassado antes de assumir o cargo, venceu as eleições para a "frente de oposição", vencida por profundista direita.

# Associação é contra GT para informática

**RIO (SUCURSAL)** — O grupo de trabalho reservado quando se iniciou um debate mais aberto verificou-se a contradição, que consagra a dependência do Brasil, no setor, por enquanto". Ele também fez observações quanto à insegurança dos profissionais da área, face à própria composição do grupo (que inclui representantes do SNI e forças militares), destacando que, antes diversas APFD's, isto é, a política nacional de informática, não tem sido designada oficialmente ao presidente da República.

Companhado pelo presidente da APFD do Distrito Federal, Ezequiel Pinto Dias, disse considerar positivo o fato de ter sido convocada uma entidade de profissionais para manifestar-se perante o grupo. Mas, mesmo este ponto, no seu entender, foi obscurecido pelo próprio método de trabalho da "Comissão Cotrim".

Paralelo com a área nuclear, o presidente da APFD disse que não havia um grupo bem intencionado para desenvolver uma determinada atividade, tanto

# Figueiredo poderá vetar expressão que amplia a anistia

**BRASILIA (SUCURSAL)** — Com a possibilidade de veto à expressão "e outros diplomas legais", contida no artigo 1.º da proposta de lei de anistia, apresentada por seu autor, o presidente João Batista Figueiredo sancionará hoje o projeto de lei de anistia, mas não o substitutivo aprovado pelo Congresso Nacional.

Segundo o senador Jarbas Passarinho e o deputado Nelson Marchezan, que também eschiveram com o presidente, examinando principalmente o comportamento da bancada arenista na votação do projeto, o voto é possível, "mas a decisão só será tomada depois" de uma sessão plenária do Conselho Jurídico Cívico Hamalheite. Disse Passarinho que a sanção "pode até mesmo ser total", desde que conforme esclareceu o porta-voz do Palácio do Planalto, não haja dúvidas quanto à abrangência da lei, excluídos os crimes comuns.

Tanto Passarinho, como Farhat asseguraram que "ninguém quer uma abrangência maior para o projeto além dos crimes políticos ou por motivações políticas".

**POSIÇÃO ARENISTA**  
Tanto Passarinho, como Farhat asseguraram que "ninguém quer uma abrangência maior para o projeto além dos crimes políticos ou por motivações políticas".

**SEM PUNIÇÕES**  
Embora o presidente desejasse maior votação no projeto do governo, Marchezan garantiu que não haverá punições para os arenistas dissidentes. "O presidente — observou — gostaria de ter conseguido o voto de todos, inclusive do MDB. Alguns arenistas tiveram motivos locais e queriam reunir com eles para saber quais foram estes motivos, mas não houve punições".

— Não teria sido mais um problema de consciência? Não, respondeu. Todos estão vendo clientes que o projeto era o máximo que poderíamos conseguir. Garantiu ainda que não foi ao chefe do Executivo "fazer reclamações dos camaradas dissidentes".

**CEDO PARA INDULTO**  
O senador Passarinho, desmentindo as informações correntes antes da votação do projeto, garantiu que é muito cedo para o governo pensar em indulto a encargados do crime que não conseguiram o benefício da anistia.

— Não é indulto não está de pé, indagou uma repórter.  
Passarinho, rindo: "Você está querendo colocar palavrões na minha boca. Eu não disse se ele estava delatado".

Recordou-se ao senador que as informações sobre indulto saíam do Ministério da Justiça Militar.

# Redação dúbia abre polémica

**BRASILIA (SUCURSAL)** — Apesar dos principais juristas do Congresso Nacional acharem desnecessário o veto do presidente da República à expressão "e outros diplomas legais", incluída no artigo 1.º do projeto de anistia, esta possibilidade é defendida no Congresso Nacional por alguns deputados arenistas, liderados pelo deputado João Linhares (Arena-ES), que acham a redação "dúbia".

O próprio líder da Arena na Câmara, deputado Nelson Marchezan (ES), concordou com esta interpretação e chegou a incluir em seu texto a emenda n.º 35, do vice-líder Cantídio Sampaio (Arena-SP), com o fim de modificar a redação do artigo 1.º. A lei torna-lhe mais clara. Cantídio propunha a expressão: "e quaisquer outros diplomas legais". Esta emenda não foi votada pelo Congresso Nacional em consequência do acordo que retirou todos os desistidos, com exceção da emenda do deputado Djalma Maranhão.

**COMISSÃO**  
A redação inicial do art. 1.º encaminhada ao Congresso Nacional pelo presidente da República, era a seguinte: "É concedida anistia a todos quantos, no período compreendido entre 2 de setembro de 1961 a 31 de dezembro de 1979, cometeram crimes políticos ou conexos com estes, aos que tiveram seus direitos políticos suspensos e aos servidores públicos vinculados ao poder público, aos dos poderes legislativo, judiciário e aos militares, punidos com fundamento em atos institucionais e complementares".

No dia 15 último, data da reunião da comissão mista para apreciar o parecer do senador Rui Brás, deputado Ernani Sátiro (Arena-DF), ao presidente da Comissão Mista, o deputado Petrólio Portela. Da última reunião, que terminou cerca de quinze minutos antes do início da reunião da comissão mista, marcada para às 21 horas, participaram, também, os líderes Nelson Marchezan e senador Jarbas Passarinho.

# Honaiser ainda não aceita sua cassação em 69

**BRASILIA (SUCURSAL)**  
Lembra o comandante Honaiser que a sanção oficial dividiu durante o período em que o marechal Costa e Silva se manteve afastado da Presidência pelas ministros militares até morrer em dezembro de 69) informa que o antigo presidente governou que "a vigência da anistia não deve restringir o direito e o dever de civis e militares afastados do serviço público reclamarem a recuperação integral de seus prerrogativas, mesmo que esse empenho possa apresentar resultados que nos permitam esclarecer alguns aspectos da História dos últimos anos, que ainda continuam misteriosos".

Assesores Dalmir Honaiser que ele próprio, apesar da anistia, não vai desistir de contestar na Justiça a autenticidade do decreto de anistia. Honaiser declarou que se encontrou em Brasília em 27 de agosto de 69.

— Nesse caso não se trata apenas de recuperar os direitos de um oficial da Marinha, mas sobretudo de saber se o presidente Costa e Silva assinou ou não o decreto do dia 27 de agosto. É preciso apurar para a História se há qualquer coisa em 1961 anos, o presidente da República estava bem de saúde e em condições de assinar documentos da maior importância. Isso não aconteceu diretamente a vida de pessoa que trabalhavam para esta Nação.

**REGIMENTO**  
A aplicação dos processos dos anistia é determinada pelo dispositivo do regimento do STF, que deve ser favorável aos que foram condenados por delitos aos que foram condenados em razão dos recursos apresentados. Durante os julgamentos dos casos dos beneficiários da anistia, os ministros do STF terão oportunidade de manifestar-se para dizer em que caso vai ou não beneficiar os que recorrerem àquela corte para anular ou reformar acordos da Justiça Militar.

**BRIZOLA**  
Ao que se apura, dependendo ainda das informações solicitadas ao STM, os dois pedidos de habeas-corpus requeridos em favor do ex-governador Leonel Brizola, que pretendem anular condenação imposta por decisão militar de 1961 (11 anos de reclusão e de 7 de multa de R\$ 11 mil), poderão ser julgados "sem objeto". Confirmado pelo STF, Brizola foi efetivamente beneficiado pela lei da anistia. STF levava a julgamento os dois habeas-corpus para, atendendo a uma determinação restritiva julgá-los pedidos "sem objeto" em face da lei da anistia.

Recordou-se ao senador que as informações sobre indulto saíam do Ministério da Justiça Militar.

# Sindicato dos Empregados em Estabelecimentos Bancários de São Paulo

**A TODOS BANCÁRIOS DEMITIDOS POR ATUAÇÃO SINDICAL**  
Considerando a aprovação pelo Congresso Nacional do projeto de anistia que, embora restrita, vem a salvar trabalhadores punidos por motivo de greve ou reivindicações, o Sindicato dos Bancários de São Paulo convoca TODOS os bancários que foram DEMITIDOS ou PUNIDOS por greve ou por qualquer outra atividade sindical entre o período de 1961 até hoje, para comparecerem à reunião onde discutiremos o encaminhamento da luta pela reintegração dos punidos nos respectivos empregos.

**SEÇÃO LIVRE**  
Sindicato dos Empregados em Estabelecimentos Bancários de São Paulo  
**BANCÁRIOS ASSEMBLEIA DECISIVA !**  
Os banqueiros continuam oferecendo uma proposta humilhante. Este ano nem os velhos foram poupados. A convocação é geral.

Vamos dar nossa resposta!  
Chega de Miséria!  
Todos à Assembleia!  
CASA DE PORTUGAL — AV. LIBERDADE, 602  
HOJE — 28 DE AGOSTO — 19-30 HORAS.

# FALTA 250 DIAS para inauguração do Rio Sul Shopping Center

**"O Rio é um brinco de cidade, e o Rio Sul Shopping Center, com todos os seus atrativos, é o lugar ideal para a Dryzun Joalheiros instalar sua loja carioca."**

**Rubens Dryzun**  
Diretor da Dryzun Joalheiros  
A Dryzun Joalheiros é mais uma loja paulista a brilhar no melhor ponto comercial do melhor Shopping Center.

**rio sul shopping center**  
Informações no Pavilhão de Locações de Empreendimentos Imobiliários Capri S.A. — Rua Lanoir Muller, 116 — Tel.: 295-0947, 295-1297, 295-9847 e 295-5197 — Rio de Janeiro. Financiamento: Caixa Econômica Federal/Consórcio Norberto Odebrecht S/A. Fiscalização: Morfologia e Urbanismo/Secretaria S/A/Projeto: Escritório Ulisses P. Buriamack.

NACIONAL — 5

**CHALÉS HOTEL**  
Fazenda Vale do Sol  
RESERVA S.P.  
Av. São Luiz - 112, 129 and.  
Cooj. 1202 - São Paulo  
259-0481-257-9705

**LUA DE MEL**  
FINS DE SEMANA TEMPORÁRIAS FÉRIAS  
Genial Diferente  
FACHADAS ZETAFLEX

**ASSOCIAÇÃO MÉDICA BRASILEIRA**  
Eleições — 30 de Agosto  
De conformidade com a publicação feita no dia 05.06.79, bem como correspondências remetidas às entidades dos Estados, Territórios e Distrito Federal, a Associação Médica Brasileira lembra aos seus associados que as eleições de sua Diretoria e dos Delegados à sua Assembleia serão realizadas, em todas as federadas, no próximo dia 30 de agosto.

**Sindicato dos Empregados em Estabelecimentos Bancários de São Paulo**  
A TODOS BANCÁRIOS DEMITIDOS POR ATUAÇÃO SINDICAL  
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Jarbas Passarinho e Nelson Marchezan deixam o gabinete de Figueiredo, após discutir a anistia

Nº6883 and the possible inclusion of other categories. In an overall is possible to say that the «FSP» was starting to present a more open political debate in its pages, even if on that day's edition the photos did not have a central role.

*Jornal do Brasil – 28/08/1979*

In the case of the «JB» the first page of that day's edition also did not present any picture connected to the Amnesty Agenda, the two images published were related to the International newscast. In addition to this, the main headline proposed an indirect approach to the topic and was «IBOPE says that the majority is center-conservative», in the right side of it a secondary title proposed an information that would be further develop on page number five and in the editorial, «Brizola in '64 would make alliances with the devil». Regarding the first headline the information presented in the following text was dedicated to the fact that according to the «IBOPE», the Brazilian population desired a center-conservative democracy the three more popular politicians were the President Figueiredo, the ex-governor Leonel Brizola and the ex-president Jânio Quadros, moreover, one of the objectives of the opinion polling was to have a reference to what could be the process of recreation of diverse opposition political parties. In the last lines of the text was also informed the fact that the «ARENA» Congress leader, Nelson Marchezan would listen to the party's deputies which vote in favor of an unrestricted amnesty.

The two-paragraph short text that was dedicated to Brizola's headline exposed the start of his trip back to Brazil, a result of the Amnesty Law approval and also the previous relations of the ex-governor as an indirect way of indicating what might represent the return of the exiled ones. In this case is worth the quoting

O Sr Leonel Brizola admitiu ontem que se, em 1964, “nos aparecesse o demônio com suas patinhas de cabrito disposto a lutar, nós o mandaríamos entrar em forma na mesma hora”. A afirmação foi feita depois que o ex-Governador tomou conhecimento do documento da CIA, de 1967, publicado pela *Veja*, revelando um acordo do Sr. Brizola com Cuba para fazer guerrilha no Brasil.<sup>785</sup>

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<sup>785</sup> «Mr. Leonel Brizola admitted yesterday that if, in 1964, "the devil appeared to us with his little goat's paws willing to fight, we would tell him to get into shape at the same time". The statement was made after the former governor learned of the 1967 CIA document, published by *Veja*, revealing an agreement by Mr. Brizola with Cuba to wage guerrilla war in Brazil». This critical tone directed to Brizola has been further developed in that day's editorial».

The presence of the indicated headline and this paragraph in the front cover of that day's edition is a demonstration of an alignment between the «JB» and the official discourse of the regime. Whether for political or economic reasons as indicated above, the newspaper was acting in accordance with the desires of the militaries regarding what might mean to the Brazilian society the Amnesty Law and the return of some individuals to the political life the country. In this case is interesting to underline that did not take too long until different Brazilian Press organs had access to «CIA» documents regarding the first years after the military coup and its opposition, meanwhile, the access to documents that are proof of the cooperation between the Brazilian Armed Forces and the USA government was possible only after some decades.

In its internal pages, that day's edition dedicated two pages to the unfolding of the topics indicated in the front cover. On page number three the main headline stated «Figueiredo consults Ramalhete about the veto», following it the story text was detailing that the President had consulted Clóvis Ramalhete, the Presidency Consultor in respect to the presence of the expression «e outros diplomas legais»<sup>786</sup> and a possible veto. According to the text this expression would transform the Amnesty in unrestricted allowing the inclusion of common crimes. In the same page, the other texts published offered to the reader the opinion and attitude of other congressmen, and also the confirmation by the Justice Minister, Petrônio Portella that the expression would be removed from the final text of the Law. From this page texts emerges important information on what has been the political acting, specially of the «ARENA» parliamentarians in order to approve the text Law that the militaries desired.

The only picture (*photo 67*) related to the Amnesty agenda has been published in the following page. Right under the main headline, «Ibope reveals that the majority wants conservative democracy», alongside the text dedicated to the polling survey, and over the secondary title «José Sarney encontra Figueiredo e quer Governo com um só Partido»<sup>787</sup>, the image was used to promote a development of the debate that was proposed in the first page and that was connected to the polling data. The horizontal picture occupying 1/6 of the page presents in its left-half the «ARENA» leader the senator José Sarney. He has been framed in an american plan, made in a close distance and having the image focus on his figure, the right-half of the image can be seen in a slightly blur and framed what probably were journalists during an interview. This can be inferred from the microphone, recorders and, transmitters that they were holding; in the first plan of the photo, is possible to identify the senator's right hand

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<sup>786</sup> «and other legal diplomas».

<sup>787</sup> «José Sarney meets Figueiredo and wants a one-party government».

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

## IBOPE diz que maioria é centro-conservadora

Uma pesquisa realizada em junho pelo IBOPE, por encomenda da Secretaria de Comunicação Social da Presidência, revela que a maioria dos brasileiros quer uma democracia do tipo centro-conservadora. A maioria dos cariocas e dos gaúchos defende a volta dos antigos Partidos, o que não é o desejo da maioria dos paulistas.

O IBOPE revela também que o político mais popular do país é o Presidente João Figueiredo, e a surpresa ficou com o segundo lugar obtido pelo ex-Governador Leonel Brizola, que chegou a superar em um ponto o Chefe do Governo na preferência popular dos gaúchos. O terceiro é o Sr Jânio Quadros.

O porta-voz do Planalto, Marco Antônio Kraemer afirmou que a pesquisa será mais um ponto de referência do Governo no estudo da reformulação partidária, como aconteceu com a pesquisa anterior sobre os limites da anistia.

O presidente da Arena, Senador José Sarney, esteve ontem no Palácio do Planalto e, após um encontro com o Presidente Figueiredo, defendeu a criação de um Partido único de apoio ao Governo. O líder Nelson Marchezan anunciou que vai ouvir os 15 parlamentares arenistas que divergiram da orientação do Governo e votaram a favor da emenda Djalma Marinho que tornava a anistia irrestrita. (Página 4)

## Brizola em 64 faria aliança até com o diabo

O sr Leonel Brizola admitiu ontem que se, em 1964, "nos aparecesse o demônio com suas patinhas de cabrito disposto a lutar, nós o mandaríamos entrar em forma na mesma hora". A afirmação foi feita depois que o ex-Governador tomou conhecimento do documento da CIA, de 1967, publicado pela Veja, revelando um acordo do Sr Brizola com Cuba para fazer guerrilha no Brasil.

O ex-Governador despediu-se ontem das autoridades portuguesas e hoje inicia sua viagem de volta ao Brasil, embarcando para Nova Iorque. Ontem, diversos emedebistas criticaram os termos de sua entrevista, na qual reprovou o comportamento de Ulysses Guimarães e Miguel Arraes. (Pag. 5 e editorial)

## Aulas vão até o Natal para compensar a greve

As aulas das escolas de ensino médio do Rio de Janeiro vão até o Natal, por causa da greve dos professores. Os estudantes vão fazer aulas extras para compensar o período de férias. O diretor da Secretaria de Educação, Carlos de Aguiar, anunciou que as aulas serão realizadas em horários especiais, de manhã e à noite, para garantir que os alunos não tenham prejuízo no aprendizado.

## Controle dos preços também é com Delfim

O Ministério do Planejamento anunciou ontem a criação de um Conselho Nacional de Preços, sob a presidência do Sr Delfim Neto, ministro da Fazenda. O Conselho terá o objetivo de controlar os preços de produtos essenciais, como alimentos e medicamentos, para evitar a inflação e garantir o acesso da população a bens básicos.

## Terror da Irlanda explode o ídolo de Lord Mountbatten

Uma bomba colocada sob um carro de Lord Mountbatten, o ex-Comandante em Chefe da Marinha Real Britânica, explodiu ontem em Dublin, Irlanda. O ataque ocorreu durante uma visita ao local onde ele nasceu. O incidente causou danos materiais, mas não houve feridos.

## Promotor já admite rever seu parecer sobre o caso Aécio

O promotor de Justiça do Rio de Janeiro já admite rever seu parecer sobre o caso Aécio Neves. O promotor afirmou que o caso é complexo e requer uma análise cuidadosa de todos os fatos envolvidos.

## Alemão entra na Nuclerp com preço superfaturado

O Sr Delfim Neto, ministro da Fazenda, anunciou que a Alemanha entrou no mercado brasileiro de energia nuclear com um preço superfaturado. O contrato para a construção de uma usina nuclear foi considerado excessivamente caro em comparação com outros projetos internacionais.

## Petrobrás não tolera novos formas de risco

A Petrobrás não tolera novos riscos no setor de exploração de petróleo. A empresa afirmou que qualquer atividade que possa comprometer a segurança ou a integridade dos campos de petróleo será imediatamente interrompida.

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# IBOPE diz que maioria é centro-conservadora

Uma pesquisa realizada em junho pelo IBOPE, por encomenda da Secretaria de Comunicação Social da Presidência, revela que a maioria dos brasileiros quer uma democracia do tipo centro-conservadora. A maioria dos cariocas e dos gaúchos defende a volta dos antigos Partidos, o que não é o desejo da maioria dos paulistas.

O IBOPE revela também que o político mais popular do país é o Presidente João Figueiredo, e a surpresa ficou com o segundo lugar obtido pelo ex-Governador Leonel Brizola, que chegou a superar em um ponto o Chefe do Governo na preferência popular dos gaúchos. O terceiro é o Sr Jânio Quadros.

O porta-voz do Planalto, Marco Antônio Kraemer afirmou que a pesquisa será mais um ponto de referência do Governo no estudo da reformulação partidária, como aconteceu com a pesquisa anterior sobre os limites da anistia.

O presidente da Arena, Senador José Sarney, esteve ontem no Palácio do Planalto e, após um encontro com o Presidente Figueiredo, defendeu a criação de um Partido único de apoio ao Governo. O líder Nelson Marchezan anunciou que vai ouvir os 15 parlamentares arenistas que divergiram da orientação do Governo e votaram a favor da emenda Djalma Marinho que tornava a anistia irrestrita. (Página 4)

# Brizola em 64 faria aliança até com o diabo

O sr Leonel Brizola admitiu ontem que se, em 1964, "nos aparecesse o demônio com suas patinhas de cabrito disposto a lutar, nós o mandaríamos entrar em forma na mesma hora". A afirmação foi feita depois que o ex-Governador tomou conhecimento do documento da CIA, de 1967, publicado pela Veja, revelando um acordo do Sr Brizola com Cuba para fazer guerrilha no Brasil.

O ex-Governador despediu-se ontem das autoridades portuguesas e hoje inicia sua viagem de volta ao Brasil, embarcando para Nova Iorque. Ontem, diversos emedebistas criticaram os termos de sua entrevista, na qual reprovou o comportamento de Ulysses Guimarães e Miguel Arraes. (Pag. 5 e editorial)

holding what probably was a transmitter. Sarney was framed seated in a serious expression, wearing a black suit, surrounded by four persons, most probably journalists that were crouched down listening to the senator's declaration. The caption of the image presented more interactions with the text below rather than with the picture «O Senador José Sarney acha que a sublegenda combate a ditadura das cúpulas partidárias».<sup>788</sup>

The text related to the image was dedicated to the senator's declarations in favor of the maintenance of a unique political party that would embrace all the Militaries government supporters in it, trying to avoid a «dictatorship of parties cupulas», in addition to it, Sarney stated that the reformulation of the political parties that existed so far in the country would be the following step in the opening process and moreover, would be the better way to listen the social demand that were emerging. In this sense, the publication of his picture in that page and being the only image related to the whole process of retaking the democracy (even if according to the militaries desires), can be interpreted as an official and protocolar coverage that the «JB» was proposing in that moment to those agendas. Is also our interpretation that this more official tone in the enunciation that the «JB» was proposing can be seen as a reflect of the series of economic and relation problems that the directors of the newspapers had with the military's cupula specially during the Geisel's term years.

*Folha de S. Paulo – 29/08/1979*

In the following day of the president's Amnesty Law endorsement the first page of the «FSP» presented an important headline on the topic, although it was not the main agenda of that newspaper's edition. Two other subjects were dividing the reader's attention in the front cover, the fuel issue (in the top of the page and main headline) and the security guard's strike. To this last one was dedicated the main photo of the cover; a vertical picture of a category's Assembly realized in the day before, registering a small crowd gathered and in a political working demonstration. Is important to mention and underline this event, exactly because allows a better understanding of the changing socio-political context that the country was undergoing. The text connected to the photo describes the arresting of two hundred strikers on that day, in brief, at the same time the country was witnessing a political opening, repression and authoritarian elements were still in place, creating a complex context.

Returning to Amnesty Law agenda, the top-left column of the page was dedicated to it presenting the headline «Amnesty in force, with veto». Right under it a small four-paragraph

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<sup>788</sup> «Senator José Sarney thinks that the sublegenda combat the dictatorship of the party hierarchies».



**Ibope revela que maioria quer democracia conservadora**

Resultado de uma pesquisa realizada pelo Instituto Brasileiro de Opinião Pública e Estatística (Ibope) revela que a maioria dos brasileiros quer uma democracia conservadora. Segundo o levantamento, 67% dos entrevistados preferem um sistema de governo em que o poder seja exercido por um único partido, enquanto apenas 29% defendem a democracia pluralista.

Os dados foram obtidos em uma pesquisa realizada em 23 estados e no Distrito Federal, com uma amostra de 1.000 pessoas. O estudo também mostrou que 78% dos brasileiros acreditam que a atual situação política do país é insatisfatória.



**José Sarney encontra Figueiredo e quer Governo com um só Partido**

Em uma reunião em Brasília, o senador José Sarney encontrou o presidente Figueiredo. Sarney afirmou que deseja um governo formado por um único partido, o que gerou uma discussão com o chefe do Executivo. Segundo Sarney, a ideia é fortalecer a democracia e evitar a fragmentação do poder.

Figueiredo, por sua vez, defendeu a importância de um sistema multipartidário para garantir o equilíbrio das instituições. A reunião ocorreu em um momento de tensão política, com debates sobre o futuro do Brasil após o fim da ditadura.

**Qual o candidato para presidente em 1984?**

Candidato	Votos	%
Colégio Eleitoral	1.000	67
Democracia Pluralista	300	29

**Os brasileiros acreditam que a atual situação política do país é insatisfatória?**

Resposta	Votos	%
Sim	780	78
Não	220	22

**Os segredos da indústria naval brasileira já andam pelas esquinas.**

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O Senador José Sarney acha que a sublegenda combate a ditadura das cúpulas partidárias

text described Figueiredo's veto to the expression «em quaisquer outros diplomas legais»<sup>789</sup>, furthermore, pointed out that the Law N°6883 would be in force from that day on being also published in the «Diário Oficial».<sup>790</sup> The most important element of that text was the fact that according to a Presidential source, to the government the plan was to assure that until 1981 no more political prisoners would exist in the country. Still in the text, its final element was a reference to the will of the «MDB» senator, Ulysses Guimarães, of keep fighting for a wide and unrestricted amnesty. In the rest of the left column further information on the freeing of prisoners in São Paulo and Brizola's return to Brazil were indicated.

That day's edition dedicated two of its internal pages to the detailing on the topics presented in the left column of the front cover. Page number four had as rubric the title «A anistia já está em vigor»<sup>791</sup>, followed by, the main headline in the page's left-upper part that indicated «Figueiredo sanctions law with only partial veto». The story's text presented in the upper half of the page exposes the details of the veto and the justifications sent by the president to the National Congress. In addition to it, the whole page was dedicated to the agenda and had other five different secondary titles echoing other elements, opinions and unfolding. Most of them dedicated to the fact that the President's veto was transforming the Law N°6883 in a very controlled and restricted Amnesty proposal.<sup>792</sup> Is important to underscore the secondary title «Para juristas, veto aumentou a restrição»<sup>793</sup>, in the following text different specialists' opinions were published confirming that with the veto the Law could be applied in some cases and in other almost identical could not. Nevertheless, is fundamental to point out that the elements present in this edition, so far corroborate Fico (2004) hypothesis which understands that the militaries were using the debate around the veto and wideness of the Law in order to guarantee the approval of their impossibility of accountability on the crimes committed.

Still in that page has been published the unique picture (*photo 68*) that was related to the Amnesty Agenda on that day's edition. Placed in the top of the page, between the three different titles that were previous indicated the squared photo occupied approximately 1/10 of the page and presented in a close-up plan the president Figueiredo in the moment he would sign the new law. This element can be inferred only with the help of the caption that stated, «O

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<sup>789</sup> «in any other legal diplomas».

<sup>790</sup> «Official Diary».

<sup>791</sup> «The amnesty is already in force».

<sup>792</sup> The text published after the secondary title «"Até 1981 não haverá no país preso político" – Until 1981 there will not be political prisoners in the country», details the indult's possibility that was being presented by the president and that could be applied to the cases that would not be framed in the Amnesty Law.

<sup>793</sup> «For jurists, veto increased the restriction».

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

Editor Responsável: Boris Casoy • São Paulo, quarta-feira, 29 de agosto de 1979 • Um jornal a serviço do Brasil • Ano 58 • N.º 18.410 • Al. Barão de Limeira, 425 • Cr\$ 10,00

## A anistia em vigor, com veto

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Apesar do veto, segundo esclareceu o ministro Said Farhat, a lei entra em vigor imediatamente, pois apenas a parte vetada volta ao Congresso para apreciação dentro do prazo constitucional. A lei da anistia será publicada no "Diário Oficial" que circula hoje.

Após a sanção, uma alta fonte do Palácio do Planalto assegurou que "até 1981 não haverá mais presos políticos no País", em consequência das medidas que se seguirão ao ato assinado ontem.

O MDB, contudo, continuará lutar pela anistia ampla, geral e irrestrita, conforme anunciou ontem Ulisses Guimarães.

Presos Beneficiados

Em São Paulo sete presos políticos foram beneficiados pela anistia e deverão ser postos em liberdade brevemente. Em Pernambuco, 3 foram anistiados.

Ontem, o presidente do CBA-SP, Luis Eduardo Greenhalg, denunciou que no mesmo momento em que o Congresso aprovava a anistia foi procurado por pessoas que "foram seguidas pela polícia política e estão recebendo telefonemas ameaçadores".

PAGS. 4 e 5

Leito editorial "A espera do indulto", no Página Dois.

Nova opção para a volta de Brizola

Ainda persistem dúvidas sobre a possibilidade do ex-governador Leonel Brizola desembarcar no território brasileiro em São Borja, como é seu desejo.

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OPINIO

"Ilótopos, convicções e distorções", de Newton Rodrigues, e "Nacionalismo, por que não?", de Jairo Boaventura. Página Três

NACIONAL

A Marinha brasileira realizou, no início de agosto, manobras nas costas de Senegal, Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde, para demonstrar que o governo brasileiro defenderia estes países em caso de agressão — informou alta fonte do governo, em Brasília. PAG. 4

EXTERIOR

O primeiro-ministro Hua Kueifeng aceitou o convite que lhe foi transmitido pelo vice-presidente norte-americano Walter Mondale para visitar Washington, na primeira viagem de um dirigente chinês deste porte aos Estados Unidos desde a Revolução de 1949. O presidente Jimmy Carter, por sua vez, deverá ir à China em janeiro do próximo ano. PAG. 5

O cardenal chileno Raúl Silva Henríquez criticou ontem as chamadas teorias de segurança nacional adotadas por vários países da América Latina, sobretudo os do Cone Sul, afirmando que "essa doutrina está vinculada a um modelo político e econômico que suprime a participação do povo e desenvolve um sistema repressivo de guerra permanente". PAG. 9

EDUCAÇÃO

O Instituto Americano de Lins é a mais provável entidade mantenedora da Faculdade de Medicina de Taubaté, fechada há pouco mais de duas semanas. A decisão será tomada hoje de manhã, em Brasília, pelo Conselho Federal de Educação. PAG. 15

Se o Ministério da Educação não receber a implementação de recursos, poderá ocorrer este ano o indelimitamento de mais de 21 mil bolsas de estudos destinadas ao 2.º grau, informou ontem o ministro Eduardo Portela, após despachar com o presidente da República. PAG. 15

ECONOMIA

A Bolsa de Valores fechou em alta de 0,8% ontem, movimentando um total de Cr\$ 107,8 milhões. No "open market" as operações "over-night" apresentaram uma taxa média de 7,75% ao mês.

ILUSTRAÇÃO

"Duas horas" e "Haja marmalada", de Lourenço Diáferia. PAG. 29

"No Rio" crônica de Flávio Rangel. PAG. 38

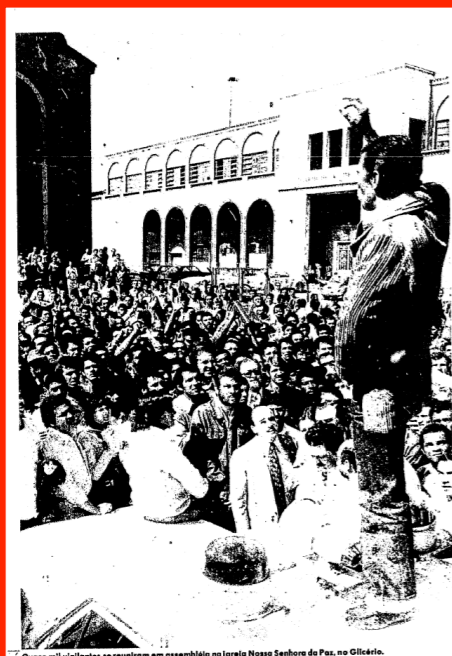
TEMPO

Tempo bom hoje em São Paulo, com nebulosidade aumentando à tarde, quando poderão ocorrer instabilidades. Temperatura estável. Ontem, na Capital, a máxima foi 25 graus e a mínima 16.

Na coluna "Agenda", pág. 12, a previsão para a Grande São Paulo, litoral e interior do Estado e várias regiões do País.

## Gasolina a 13,20 segunda-feira

O aumento, homologado ontem pelo Conselho Nacional do Petróleo, fica abaixo dos índices anteriormente previstos, o que está sendo considerado uma "vitória de Delfim Neto". O botijão de gás passa para Cr\$ 115,00. — Página 19



Quase mil vigilantes se reuniram em assembleia na Igreja Nossa Senhora da Paz, no Glicério.

## O reajuste semestral é escalonado

As duas propostas para mudança da política salarial no País, a serem analisadas hoje pelo Conselho de Desenvolvimento Econômico (CDE), preveem mais de um reajuste salarial por ano para faixas de até 20 salários mínimos. Pela primeira proposta, todas as faixas até 20 salários mínimos teriam reajustes semestrais, mas os trabalhadores de 1 a 5 mínimos receberiam, no primeiro semestre, o índice de custo de vida mais 10% deste índice; no segundo semestre os salários seriam reajustados com base no custo de vida mais a taxa de produtividade.

Na segunda proposta, os reajustes seriam trimestrais (de 1 a 5 mínimos), quadrimestrais (6 a 10 e semestrais (11 a 20 salários mínimos), também de acordo com o custo de vida. PAG. 18

## Vigilantes decidem continuar a greve

Acompanhados de perto pela polícia, que realizou 200 prisões (todas foram liberadas ainda ontem pelo Dops), os vigilantes de indústrias e bancos de São Paulo decidiram ontem à tarde continuar a greve desencadeada na segunda-feira, apesar do início das negociações com os patrões encaminhadas pela Delegacia Regional do Trabalho.

Hoje, a categoria se reúne novamente às 19 horas, na DRT, para apreciar possíveis contrapropostas patronais, e às 19 horas haverá assembleia geral na igreja Nossa Senhora da Paz, no Glicério.

Os bancários paulistas também rejeitaram ontem as novas propostas feitas pelos banqueiros e insistiram na reivindicação de 50% de aumento mais Cr\$ 3 mil fixos. PAG. 18

## Postos vão abrir dia 8 de setembro

O próximo dia 8 de setembro, sábado, os postos de gasolina de todo o País funcionarão das 6 às 12 horas, tendo em vista o feriado de 7 de setembro, na sexta, quando esses estabelecimentos estarão fechados e não poderão prestar nenhum serviço.

## Ministro confirma os novos horários

O ministro das Minas e Energia, César Cals, confirmou ontem que os postos de gasolina poderão mesmo permanecer abertos, nos dias úteis, somente das 7 às 19 horas, e disse que a margem de revenda dos derivados de petróleo será aumentada nas próximas semanas. Contrariando suas próprias palavras na semana passada, quando afirmou, de forma categórica, que "a lei não será desrespeitada", Cals explicou ontem sua nova posição: "Lamentamos, mas deixaremos que os postos operem na hora que desejarem. Não podemos fazer nada contra este item de funcionamento, porque está ateto diretamente à legislação comercial."

Fontes do setor comentavam ontem que o governo poderia oficializar o novo horário em todo o País. PAG. 19

## IRA fere dez num atentado em Bruxelas

Num atentado do Exército Republicano Irlandês (IRA), ontem, em Bruxelas, ficaram feridos dez pessoas — inclusive quatro soldados britânicos e duas crianças.

A bomba destinava-se a matar os integrantes da banda musical do regimento "Duke de Edimburgo" e foi colocada pelos extremistas irlandeses sob o pretexto de uma festa de apresentação.

O número de vítimas não foi maior porque a banda se atrasou para a apresentação.

Em Londres, a primeira-ministra Margaret Thatcher convocou os ministros da Defesa, Interior e Relações Exteriores para uma reunião de emergência, a fim de analisar a situação criada com as novas investidas do IRA. Anteriormente, em dois atentados, os extremistas mataram Lord Mountbatten, primo da rainha e herói de guerra, e 18 pára-quedistas. PAG. 10



Já em Moscou

A bailarina soviética Ludmila Vlasova chega a Moscou na foto, com sua mãe, no aeroporto, após passar quase três dias retida num avião da Aeroflot em Nova York. Seu marido, o bailarino Alexander Godunov, ficou assilado nos EUA. (Radiodif. FCP)

## Guerra contra as kombis que fazem lotação

Os motoristas de táxi que fazem lotação para a zona Leste, no parque D. Pedro, estão ameaçando virar e incendiar as "kombis" que, há anos, lhes fazem concorrência considerada desleal e ilegal. Nos próximos dias, os profissionais vão entregar um abaixo-assinado ao prefeito Renaldo de Barros, pedindo providências "para coibir o abuso".

Eles acusam a fiscalização municipal de omitir-se porque "os proprietários das kombis, em sua maioria, são da Polícia Militar".

No último dia 11, durante uma discussão, o dono de uma "perua" estapeou um motorista de táxi. PAG. 13

## Guarani, outra ameaça à noite para Teixeira

Se cada jogo do Corinthians significa uma ameaça à permanência do técnico José Teixeira, hoje ele enfrentará um grande risco: o Guarani, que entra no Pacaembu com os mesmos titulares que conquistaram o último Campeonato Brasileiro de Futebol. O jogo começa às 21 horas. A volta de Zé Eduardo, em lugar de Mauro, é a única alteração na equipe corinthiana em relação àquela que derrotou o São Paulo domingo último. Santos e Portuguesa defendem sua boa fase jogando no Interior, contra o São Bento e o Marília, respectivamente. A rodada começa à tarde, com o jogo entre Juventus e Ferroviária, na rua Javari. ESPORTE!

## A anistia em vigor, com veto

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PAGS. 4 e 5

Leito editorial "A espera do indulto", no Página Dois.

## Nova opção para a volta de Brizola

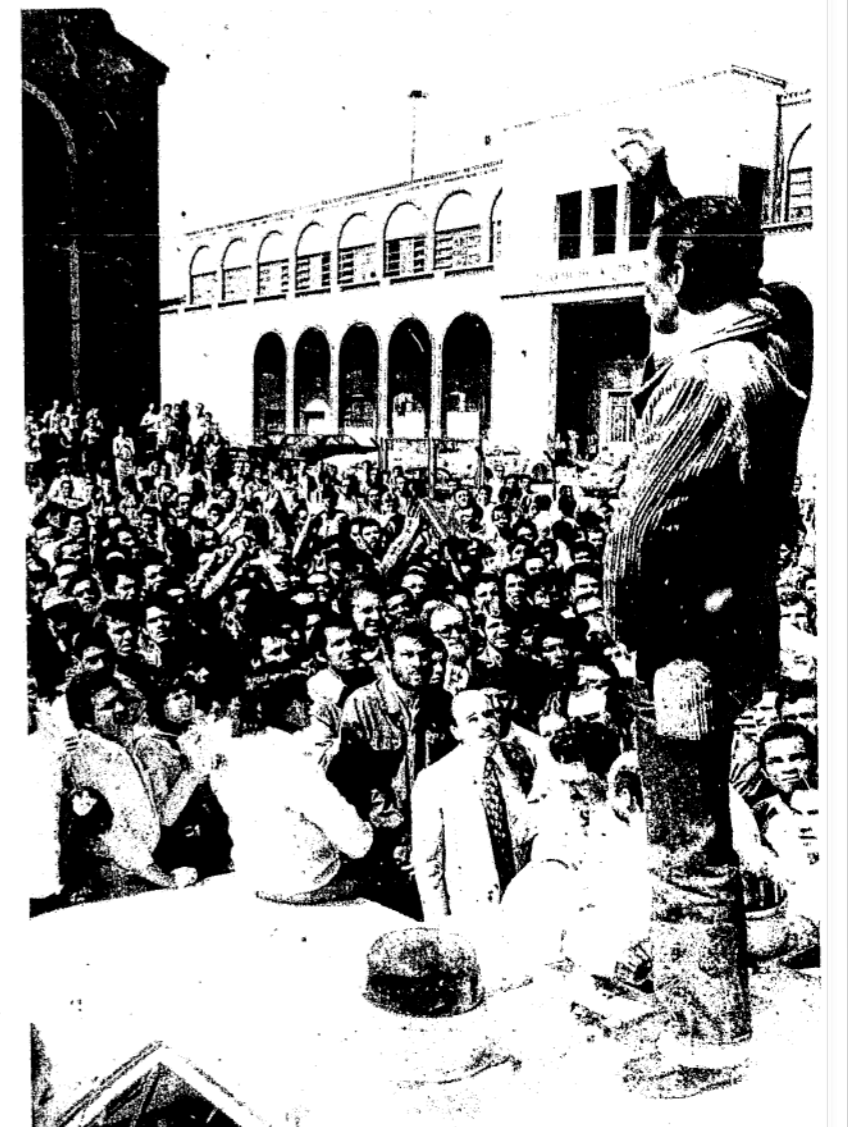
Ainda persistem dúvidas sobre a possibilidade do ex-governador Leonel Brizola desembarcar no território brasileiro em São Borja, como é seu desejo, devido à inexistência, naquela cidade gaúcha, de alfândega e dos serviços da Polícia Federal.

Brizola voou ontem de Lisboa para Nova York, onde desembarcou às 15 horas (16h30 de Brasília). Na cidade norte-americana, o ex-governador permanece até dia 5, quando viaja para Assunção, no Paraguai, última etapa antes de entrar em território brasileiro.

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presidente Figueiredo relê o texto da lei, antes de sancioná-la». <sup>794</sup> In the image can also be seen other aspects of the room in which he was, the picture framed an empty chair on President's right, behind it, in a second plan, other two photographs can be seen indicating that the scene was previously scheduled and previewed the press presence, allowing the registering of this historical and official event. In the background of the photo a long dark curtain delimits the end of the photo and reaffirms the internal characteristic of it. A final aspect is the President's serious expression, and the gaze directed to the paper, transmitting a sense of commitment.

Finally, in the following page, the «FSP» presented no pictures on the topic. Under the rubric «Anistia: a volta dos exilados e a situação dos presos políticos» <sup>795</sup>, the main headline was «MDB leaders play down criticisms made by Brizola» still echoing the ex-Governor declarations and critics to the official opposition party made some days before. Moreover, the whole page was dedicated to the law promulgation associated events such as the liberation of determined prisoners, the legal issues that still existed and the Armed Forces reaction to it. In brief, the present interpretation retains that the «FSP» approach to the approval of the Amnesty Law was timid and tried to balance the civil society wills and the military's caution in the political opening process that was in course and under their control.

#### *Jornal do Brasil – 29/08/1979*

The coverage made by the «JB» on the following day of the Amnesty Law signing proposed a few more visual elements. In first place, two pictures were published in that day's front cover and the main one (*photo 69*) was dedicated to the agenda, the second one was an international newscast photo indicating elements of the ongoing conflict in Iran. The main headline of the first page was also dedicated to the Amnesty, «Auditor fulfills amnesty and frees four». The four-paragraph text placed in the center column of the page was indicating the subsequent facts after the law signing and at the same time that were presented the immediate actions of judges in Recife and Porto Alegre that culminated in the release of political prisoners and the reinstatement of city councilors, the last paragraph quotes the words of the Chief of Staff of the Army, General Ernani Ayrosa da Silva, according to his declarations, the government would guarantee no retrogression to the «Revolution» has also been quoted the general tribute to those who, in his view, gave their lives to prevent the «communization of the country». This small text can be seen as a good example the balance that was previous

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<sup>794</sup> «President Figueiredo rereads the text of the law before sanctioning it».

<sup>795</sup> «Amnesty: the return of exiles and the situation of political prisoners».



indicated, in the case of the «JB», these elements are even more latent due to the financial instability of the newspapers and its political problems with the cupula's regime.

Regarding the photo that was published, the vertical rectangular image occupied approximately ¼ of the page, was shot in an internal space, presenting in a medium plan two standing men that seemed to be walking from some other place. The caption present important information, identifying who were the two men in the photo, «Valmir Costa e Edilson Freire deixam a prisão alegres e tristes».<sup>796</sup> Detailing the image, were framed two men standing carrying small suitcases, bags, and a birdcage. The first, in the front, was wearing a checkered shirt and presented a happy expression. His gaze was directed to the camera, while the other one, in the second plan was wearing dark clothes and had a serious expression in his case, the gaze was directed towards the background of the photographer, perhaps an exit door. The two seem to be in an antechamber of the «Bom Pastor Penal Colony» as was indicated in the page's text, considering that in the background wall there was what seems to be a door and a crucifix, besides a rug on the floor. The constant and recurring mentioning on the emotional aspect of the freed prisoners was made exactly because, as a result of the text law that was approved, there was an imbalance in the prisoners' perspectives of been released or quickly granted by a new presidential indult.

The internal pages of the «JB» on that day proposed important topic regarding the national politics. In pages two and three the main subject was proposed the political reform and the possibility of several parties'existence. Furthermore, were pages four and five that presented the debate and consequences of the Amnesty Law approval. Page number four has been divided in three different sections, each of them occupying approximately 1/3 of the page and having as guiding thread three distinct headlines. Right in the top of the page the main headline was «Figueiredo sanctions amnesty law with n°6683» the following text presented details related to Figueiredo's veto on the expression «and other legal diplomas», indicating what the final text of the law was. In addition, small sub-items indicated the reasons for such action by the president, also what could be the next legal steps for possible changes to the law. The final part of the text published the complete Figueiredo's message to Congress justifying his veto. This fact reaffirms the notion that in many situations, such as this one, the «JB» chose to affiliate itself to a rather official coverage of the main political agendas of the country.

Alongside the text, was placed also in the top of the page a small, squared picture that occupied approximately 1/10 of the page (*photo 70*), in the slightly dipping image, is possible

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<sup>796</sup> «Valmir Costa and Edilson Freire leave the prison happy and sad».

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

## Auditor cumpre anistia e liberta quatro



Valmir Costa e Edilson Freire deixam prisão alegres e tristes

O Auditor-geral Antônio Theodoro Miranda de Barros, após ter em 1978 que a Fundação João Pinheiro reconheça e dê de anistia a libertação de quatro presos políticos por via administrativa, sempre sob o comando de grupos vinculados ao Povo, como os casos Miguel Arrascaeta, Francisco de Assis e Francisco de Assis. Segundo o Auditor, os quatro presos políticos são: Edilson Freire, Valmir Costa e Edilson Freire, os quais foram presos em 1978. O Auditor também mencionou os casos de outros presos políticos, como o caso de Edilson Freire, o qual foi preso em 1978. O Auditor também mencionou os casos de outros presos políticos, como o caso de Edilson Freire, o qual foi preso em 1978.

### Macedo quer que reforma dê mais a quem ganha menos

Um projeto de reforma tributária, elaborado pelo deputado federal José Macedo, prevê que a carga tributária seja reduzida para quem ganha menos. O projeto também prevê a criação de uma nova alíquota para quem ganha mais de R\$ 100.000 por ano.

### Caminhoneiros no Sul param por aumento de fretes

Um greve dos caminhoneiros no Sul do Brasil parou o transporte de mercadorias devido ao aumento dos fretes. Os caminhoneiros exigem uma redução de 20% nos valores cobrados.

### Brisola requer seu passaporte

O deputado federal José Brisola, do Rio Grande do Sul, requer o seu passaporte para viajar ao exterior. Ele alega que o seu passaporte foi apreendido sem justificativa adequada.

### Thatcher declara guerra total ao terrorismo inglês

A primeira-ministra britânica, Margaret Thatcher, declarou guerra total ao terrorismo inglês. Ela afirmou que o governo britânico não se deixará intimidar por grupos terroristas.

### Juiz garante que servente Aézio não se enforcou

Um juiz garantiu que o servente Aézio não se enforcou. Ele afirmou que não encontrou nenhuma evidência de suicídio e que o caso está sendo investigado.

### Arena interpela os seus infelizes

O partido Arena interpelou os seus membros por não terem cumprido suas obrigações. O partido afirmou que os membros não estão fazendo o suficiente para melhorar a situação do Brasil.

### Ministro da Saúde quer duplicar o quadro de pessoal

O ministro da Saúde quer duplicar o quadro de pessoal do ministério. Ele afirmou que a atual situação não é sustentável e que é necessário contratar mais profissionais.



Alunos de uma escola comemoram a vitória de uma das equipes de futebol. Os jogadores estão sendo homenageados pelos pais e professores.

### Providência apura quem lhe deve e divulga os nomes

O governo providenciou a apuração de quem lhe deve e divulgou os nomes. Ele afirmou que a lista de débitos foi atualizada e que os nomes serão divulgados para que os devedores possam regularizar suas obrigações.

**TEMPO**

**Belo Horizonte** — parcialmente nublado, passando a nublado, suavia a instabilidade no fim do período. Temperatura em elevação. Ventos fortes a moderados. Máxima 26,3 e mínima 12,4.

**Belo Horizonte** — parcialmente nublado, a nublado suavia a instabilidade o ponto do tarde. Temperatura em elevação. Ventos fortes a moderados. Máxima 25,7 e mínima 12,4.

**Belo Horizonte** — parcialmente nublado, a nublado suavia a instabilidade o ponto do tarde. Temperatura em elevação. Ventos fortes a moderados. Máxima 25,2 e mínima 10,3.

**Cuiabá** — parcialmente nublado, passando a nublado. Temperatura em elevação. Ventos fortes a moderados. Máxima 22,4 e mínima 2,7.

**Florianópolis** — instável, com chuva esporádica. Temperatura em elevação. Ventos fortes a moderados. Máxima 22,5 e mínima 12,2.

**Pelo Alegre** — instável, passando a nublado. Temperatura em elevação. Ventos fortes a moderados. Máxima 22,6 e mínima 11,2.

**Vitória** — parcialmente nublado, a nublado. Temperatura em elevação. Ventos fortes a moderados. Máxima 22 e mínima 12,4.

\* As temperaturas são das últimas 24 horas.  
(Ver na página 20)

**PREÇOS, VENDA AVULSA**

**Minas Gerais**

Dias Úteis ..... 7,00  
Domingos ..... 8,00

**Outros Estados:**

Dias Úteis ..... 12,00  
Domingos ..... 13,00

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**510** ACHADOS E PERDIDOS

COMUNICO O EXTRAVIO — do Anota nº 31164352, endereço



Valmir Costa e Edilson Freire deixam prisão alegres e tristes

to see President Figueiredo, wearing glasses, sitting in front of a table with some papers on it, while holding a sheet of paper in his hands that he was probably reading. The caption explains to the reader the context and the action of the President in that sense, «Figueiredo lê o texto da anistia depois de sancioná-lo com veto».<sup>797</sup> Beside him in the photo there was a leather chair. Clearly this is the same situation and scene that was portrayed in the «FSP»; however, this image does not picture other individuals nor extra elements of the scene.

Still on that page, two other titles were dedicated to the unfolding facts connected to the approval of the Amnesty Law, the one right in the center of the page was «Expelled councilors resume their mandates». The text below exposes, alongside two passport photographs (*photo 71*) of the two «MDB» removed councilors, Marcos Klamman and Glênio Peres, details of the case. The two were expelled in 1977 and were the unique cases of politicians that had the benefit of the Amnesty Law and still had a term to complete. The photographs used in this case, as has been indicated in the note above the images, were archive images, and in our interpretation were published in that page as a form of giving a human face to those individuals that would have the Amnesty benefit, humanizing the narrative and the sense construction. As has been seen in a precedent subitem, this proposal the same strategy that has been used in the case of Marighela's murder, although in a opposite sense construction direction. At the same, as will be detailed in the following paragraphs, no image was dedicated to the Army General Ernani Ayrosa da Silva that was defending and playing tribute to the, called by him, «Revolution». This might be interpretate as a use alternative discursive use that the «JB» was giving to the pictures in its pages, by presenting the photographs of opposition politicians and humanizing the Amnesty political process, the photos were trying to say things that the texts were constrained not do so.

The last third of that page had as main headline «Auditor frees amnesty holders and revokes Arraes' imprisonment». The following text presented the story exposed in the front cover in which the action of the Judge Theódulo Miranda in the city of Recife, based in the Amnesty Law, had resulted in the liberation of four political prisoners and the extinction of punishment of 101 other individuals, among those the ex-Governor of Pernambuco State, Miguel Arraes and the ex-deputies Francisco Julião and Gregório Bezerra. The second part of the text is a list with the names of all the one hundred and one beneficiaries of the decision. At the bottom-left corner of the page, were placed three archive images of the cited politicians

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<sup>797</sup> «Figueiredo reads the amnesty text after sanctioning it with a veto».



# Figueiredo sanciona lei da anistia com o nº 6683



Figueiredo sanciona a lei da anistia com o nº 6683

**Regresso a castela**  
Figueiredo sanciona a lei da anistia com o nº 6683. O presidente da República sancionou a lei da anistia com o nº 6683, em 29 de agosto de 1979. A lei trata da anistia de crimes políticos cometidos durante o regime militar. A sanção foi assinada no Palácio do Planalto, em Brasília.

## Veto causa dúvidas no Congresso

O veto de Figueiredo à lei da anistia causou dúvidas no Congresso. Os deputados e senadores estão discutindo o assunto e há expectativa de que o Congresso possa aprovar a lei sem o veto do presidente.

## ABR explode e pede ampliação

O ABR (Associação Brasileira de Repórteres) explodiu e pediu a ampliação da lei da anistia. O órgão defende que a lei deve abranger todos os crimes políticos cometidos durante o regime militar.

# Vereadores cassados reassumem os seus mandatos



Regresso a castela

Vereadores cassados reassumem os seus mandatos. O Congresso Nacional aprovou a lei que reestabelece os mandatos dos vereadores cassados durante o regime militar.

Os vereadores cassados reassumem os seus mandatos. A lei da anistia prevê a reintegração dos vereadores cassados durante o regime militar.

# Auditor liberta anistiados e revoga prisão de Arraes

## Prisões comemoram liberdade

Prisões comemoram liberdade. O auditor-geral da União libertou anistiados e revogou a prisão de Arraes. A decisão foi baseada na lei da anistia.

Prisões comemoram liberdade. O auditor-geral da União libertou anistiados e revogou a prisão de Arraes. A decisão foi baseada na lei da anistia.

## Os beneficiários

Os beneficiários da lei da anistia são os presos políticos e os anistiados. A lei prevê a libertação de todos os presos políticos cometidos durante o regime militar.



Regresso a castela



Figueiredo lê o texto da anistia depois de sancioná-la com veto



Marcos Klamann

Glênio Peres

(*photo 72*), the photos occupied around 1/10 of the page and have the same goal as the other two already indicated, give a face to the persons, and say what could not be said in the text.

Page number five in its turn, even presenting almost half of it filled with advertisements, gave continuity to important topics presented in the front cover. The main headline was «General assures that the Revolution does not allow for regression», the text under it published a few more details and declarations given by the Gen. Ayrosa in the previous day during a visit to a weaponry industry in São Paulo. The words of the military and the notion that was trying to be transmitted were in compass with the official government discourse in which the military control and absence of «revanchism» were the main tone of the opening process, from which the Amnesty Law was a part of it. The presence of this headline and the General's quoting in the pages of the «JB» corroborate with the hypothesis line that our interpretation is defending, the newspaper board was directly or indirectly constrained in adopting an editorial line in which must be present elements of the government official narrative. In so, the indicated headline and text report was serving the balancing propose. Especially having in consideration, the fact that on the right side of it, was placed the secondary title, «Brizola requires passport to return to Brazil», followed on its turn by two-paragraph giving an update on Brizola's travel and his scheduled arrival in the country. In addition to this, other two elements give strength to the notion that a humanizing process was being proposed by the newspaper regarding some opposition individuals. A small archive picture (*photo 73*) of the ex-governor was published, being the unique picture of the page, furthermore, an emotional quotation of Brizola's feeling ended the text, «Só mesmo quando chegar lá e ouvir português brasileiro à minha volta, ver aquelas caras familiares do nosso povo, é que perceberei que finalmente cheguei em casa. Por enquanto só consigo entender que uma coisa muito boa me espera».<sup>798</sup> Reenforcing that the interaction between the verbo-visual aspects of the page were fundamental also to make the tool-photograph-speech an efficient strategy along the newspaper pages.

*Folha de S. Paulo – 30/08/1979*

Two days after the endorsement of the Amnesty Law, the first practical consequences of it were emerging. On that day's edition of the «FSP» the agenda appeared in the first page, although without occupying the most important place or headline those were dedicated to economical topic of the country's life; at the same time, the biggest image (*photo 74*) present

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<sup>798</sup> «Only when I get there and hear Brazilian Portuguese around me, see those familiar faces of our people, will I realise that I've finally arrived home. For now I can only understand that something very good is waiting for me».

# General assegura que Revolução não admite retrocesso

STM espera publicação da anistia

Brasília, 29 de agosto — O Supremo Tribunal Militar (STM) espera a publicação da lei de anistia para iniciar o julgamento dos militares acusados de crimes políticos durante a ditadura militar.

## Brizola requer passaporte para voltar ao Brasil



Leonel Brizola

Nova Iorque — O ex-governador do Rio Grande do Sul, Leonel Brizola, requer um passaporte para voltar ao Brasil. Ele está atualmente em Nova Iorque, onde se encontra em busca de uma autoridade consular para conseguir o documento.

## Auditor considera ilegal incommunicabilidade na Bahia

Salvador, 29 de agosto — O auditor-geral do Estado da Bahia, João de Deus, considera ilegal a declaração de incommunicabilidade emitida pelo governador da Bahia, Paulo Costa, em relação a um grupo de militares.

## Chefe de ENFA pede anistia ao Governo

Brasília, 29 de agosto — O chefe do Departamento Nacional de Fomento (ENFA), João de Deus, pede ao Governo a anistia dos militares acusados de crimes políticos durante a ditadura militar.

## Anistiado pede sua readmissão

Brasília, 29 de agosto — Um anistiado pede sua readmissão no serviço público. Ele afirma que foi injustamente excluído do serviço durante a ditadura militar.

## Ulysses responde a críticas com orgulho

Brasília, 29 de agosto — O presidente da República, Ulysses Guimarães, responde a críticas com orgulho. Ele afirma que o Brasil está caminhando para a democracia e a liberdade.

## O segredo é a alma do negócio

Brasília, 29 de agosto — O segredo é a alma do negócio. Este é o tema de uma palestra dada por um especialista em administração.

**PARTICIPAÇÃO DE FAJIMENTO**  
 O Sr. Paulo de Almeida, filho de Sr. João de Almeida e Sr. Maria de Almeida, faleceu em 29/08/1979. Deixou esposa e filhos. Para maiores informações, consulte o advogado Sr. Paulo de Almeida, Rua 15 de Novembro, 150, Centro, Salvador, Bahia.

**PAUL ZIVI**

Após a morte do Sr. Paulo de Almeida, o Sr. Paulo Zivi, filho do Sr. Paulo de Almeida e Sr. Maria de Almeida, faleceu em 29/08/1979 em Salvador, Bahia.

Home Page 200 011

**BRASCAN**  
 PROMENADE SÃO CLEMENTE

Apartamentos de 2 ou 3 quartos com churrasqueiras e muito lazer.

**A QUALIDADE CANTA MAIS ALTO NO BONZÃO.**

**Dormitório**  
 Sofá-cama dobrável, guarda-roupa, mesa de cabeceira, TV, ar-condicionado, piso de madeira, cortinas, etc.

**Área de Serviço**  
 Cozinha completa, banheiro, lavanderia, etc.

**Comunidade**  
 Piscina, quadra de tênis, salão de festas, etc.

**PREÇOS**  
 R\$ 1.100,00 a R\$ 1.300,00  
 R\$ 1.400,00 a R\$ 1.600,00  
 R\$ 1.700,00 a R\$ 1.900,00

**Bergamo**

**PandaFria Bonzão**

# Brizola requer passaporte para voltar ao Brasil

**Nova Iorque (da correspondente) —** A lei da anistia foi sancionada enquanto o Sr Leonel Brizola voava de Lisboa para Nova Iorque e ao pisar solo americano ele anunciou sua primeira providência: procurar uma autoridade consular para conseguir um passaporte pois "seria um desconforto para mim voltar ao Brasil com um documento concedido por outro país". Depois ele agradecerá ao Governo dos EUA "a cortesia que teve comigo".



**Leonel Brizola**  
 çeberei que finalmente cheguei em casa. Por enquanto só consigo entender que uma coisa muito boa me espera".

in the front cover was related to the subject. In so, the headline regarding the Amnesty was placed in the middle of the page and stated, «In the South, first amnesty crisis». A three-column text was introducing the aspects of the crisis and indicating that the elements would be further developed in three internal pages of the newspaper edition.

The first part of the text indicated that the Minister of Justice, Petronio Portela and the leader of the «ARENA» in the Senate, Jarbas Passarinho, called the Porto Alegre City's Council, Cleo Guatimozin, action, reinstating the two councilors, as mentioned in the caption of the photo, «Glênio Peres (de terno escuro) e Marcos Klassman, na Câmara de Porto Alegre, sendo ouvidos pela imprensa»<sup>799</sup>, of a «violence» and «provocation». As was previously indicated, these were the only ones who had the right to regain their mandates. According to the text and the ruling parties, the recovery of mandates was not guaranteed by the Amnesty Law. The second part of the text briefly lists the situations in Rio de Janeiro, where three prisoners were released, and the caution adopted in São Paulo. Finally, a statement by Brizola, still out of the country, was published in which he says he is not a radical. The politician was due to return to Brazil on 6<sup>th</sup> September.

The picture present on that day's first cover, occupied around a 1/6 of the page and presented in a rectangular horizontal medium plan, in a slightly deeping angle, indicating that the photographer was probably standing while made the shot. Based on what was presented in the caption, the two councilors were portrayed sitting inside the City Hall of Porto Alegre (capital of Rio Grande do Sul) during the ceremony held to return them to their positions. The image shows Peres in a dark suit, Klassman, in his turn, in a light color suit. The last one is looking straight ahead, probably while talking to someone else. Peres, on the other hand, looks to his right while talking to journalists who were interviewing him. Is possible to identify at least two reporters, the one closest to the councilor is slightly lowered, also wearing a suit, holding a wired microphone while looking at the councilor. The second one, on the other hand, did not have his face photographed and seems to be holding a tape recorder. In the background, is possible to see that many people were around the scene, however, without any other type of identification possible. In an overall, considering that the Amnesty agenda was not the most central one on that first page, our interpretation indicates that the approach dedicated to it can be inserted in a socio-political moment in which the major press organ were trying to understand what were the limits of the narrative proposal, and balancing the discourse with the

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<sup>799</sup> «Glênio Peres (in dark suit) and Marcos Klassman, at the Porto Alegre City Hall, being interviewed by the press».

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

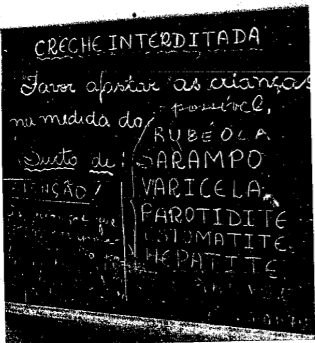
Responsible: Boris Casoy • São Paulo, quinta-feira, 30 de agosto de 1979 • Um jornal a serviço do Brasil • Ano 58 • N.º 18.411 • Al. Barão de Limeira, 425 • Cx 10,00

## Reajustes semestrais já em novembro

A política salarial aprovada ontem prevê aumento com base no índice de produtividade. Não há teto, mas os reajustes serão escalonados. Página 21

### Sete doenças ameaçam a creche das Clínicas

A ocorrência de sete doenças infecto-contagiosas foi constatada há uma semana, na creche do Hospital das Clínicas, destinada aos filhos dos funcionários e que recebe, atualmente, cerca de 20 crianças de até 3 anos. As doenças são: hepatite, estomatite, cavumba, varicela, sarampo e varicela. A creche, apesar de interdita até o dia 21 de setembro, continua sendo utilizada por grande número de crianças, segundo declaração do presidente da Associação dos Funcionários do HC, Domingos Braga Santana. Ontem, por exemplo, o berçário abrigava 12 bebês e cerca de 20 crianças foram fotografadas brincando no salão. A administração do HC não manifestou sobre o problema, alegando que somente o superintendente do hospital, Primo Curti, poderia prestar declarações. Curti, entretanto, não pôde ser ouvido pois, segundo funcionários do HC, participou de várias reuniões e se ocupou com "compromissos".



Cerca de 20 crianças brincavam ontem no salão da creche.

### Terrorismo faz Papa cancelar ida ao Ulster

O Vaticano anunciou ontem que, com profundo pesar, o papa João Paulo 2.º desistiu de estender ao Ulster a viagem que fará, no fim de setembro, à Irlanda do Sul, devido aos recentes atentados da "ala provisória" do Exército Republicano Irlandês (IRA), em que 23 pessoas foram mortas. A Santa Sé qualificou esses atentados como "crimes horríveis". Em Belfast, a primeira-ministra britânica Margaret Thatcher, que foi ontem à capital da Irlanda do Norte reunir-se com os responsáveis pela segurança no Ulster, desafiou o perigo e passou durante 15 minutos pelo centro comercial da cidade.

OPINIÃO • "Preços políticos", de Luiz Alberto Bahia, na Página Dois; "A última matrona", de Tânia de Albuquerque, e "A China e o imperativo do desenvolvimento (2)", de Luiz Breneser Pereira, na Página Três.

EXTERIORS • Os embaixadores dos países não-alinhados decidiram ontem, em Havana, transferir o resumo dos caracteres do movimento de decisão sobre qual representação cambaiana deverá participar da conferência de cúpula não-alinhada. PAG. 1

• O Conselho de Segurança da ONU iniciou ontem o debate sobre pedido de emergência para discutir a questão dos contêineres e incassadas bombas realizadas por Israel contra o Sul do Líbano. PAG. 1

LOCAL • Dois trens de subúrbio da Fepasa colidiram ontem cedo, nas proximidades da Estação Júlia Prestes. Apenas uma pessoa ficou ferida com gravidade e foi internada no Hospital das Clínicas. PAG. 1

EDUCAÇÃO • O Conselho Federal de Educação decidiu ontem em Brasília abrir inquérito para apurar as denúncias contra a Faculdade de Direito de São Carlos e os Colegios "Professor Luiz Furlan", de São Paulo. PAG. 18

ECONOMIA • A Bolsa de Valores fechou estável ontem, movimentando um total de Cr\$ 217,65 milhões. No "open market", o custo médio do dinheiro ficou em torno de 3,35% ao mês, nas operações "overnight".

ILUSTRADA • "Dina Rita, a Fábula da novela "Os Gigantes" explica por que o público está achando sua personagem antipática — e garante que ele "ainda vai mudar de opinião". PAG. 35

TEMPO • Tempo nublado hoje em São Paulo, sujeito a chuvas ocasionais. A temperatura permanecerá estável. Ontem, na Capital, a máxima foi 22 graus e a mínima 11. Na colônia "Arenópolis", São 18, e prevista para a Grande São Paulo,itoral e interior do Estado e várias regiões do País.

## Os postos abrem aos domingos em áreas turísticas

A partir deste fim de semana, os postos de gasolina das estações hidrominerais e cidades turísticas situadas a mais de 150 km das regiões metropolitanas poderão funcionar aos domingos, das 12 às 21 horas. Ficarão porém ao meio-dia de sexta-feira, permanecendo fechados durante todo o sábado e a manhã de domingo. A decisão foi tomada ontem, no Rio, em reunião do ministro das Minas e Energia, César Cals, e do presidente do Conselho Nacional do Petróleo, general Otzel Almeida Costa, com o presidente da Embatur, Miguel Colassouso. Segundo a Assessoria de Imprensa do Ministério das Minas e Energia, a autorização "beneficia a vida econômica de 71 cidades", impedindo o desemprego de cerca de 14 mil pessoas ligadas a atividades turísticas. A nota distribuída diz ainda que "a medida de emergência foi aprovada hoje mesmo (ontem), por telefone, pelo presidente Figueiredo e não

### Taxas de juros sofrem redução de 10 por cento

O Conselho Monetário Nacional decidiu ontem reduzir em 10% as taxas de juros praticadas atualmente nas aplicações de bancos comerciais, de investimento, sociedades de crédito, de investimento e financeiras. No caso de uma taxa de 70%, por exemplo, o juro cairá para 63%, isto é, 10% sobre o atual valor. A medida, que entra em vigor na próxima segunda-feira, abrangendo as taxas de juros do mercado financeiro, mas o crédito rural, emprestimos para pequenos e médios empresários e linhas do BNDE, estão fora.

## No Sul, primeira crise da anistia

Num ato qualificado de "violência" pelo ministro da Justiça, Petrônio Portela, e de "provoação" pelo senador Jarches Passarinho, o presidente da Câmara Municipal de Porto Alegre, Cleon Guatimulim, reintegrou ontem em seus cargos os vereadores cassados e anistiadados Glênio Peres e Marcos Klassman do MDB. Eles foram os únicos cassados pelo AI-5, em todo o País, que ainda tinham seus mandatos em vigor. Três saem no Rio Três presos políticos do Rio foram libertados ontem, devido à aplicação da lei de anistia: Inês Etiene Romer, Fernando Cristiano e Paulo Roberto Jabour. Em São Paulo, no entanto, a aplicação da lei está sendo adiada, devido à alegação dos juizes auditores de que aguardam ter em mãos o Diário Oficial da União em que a lei foi publicada e o recebimento de uma comunicação do Superior Tribunal Militar a respeito dos casos que se encontram sob a alçada daquele Tribunal. Seu assessor, enquanto isso, confirmaram que Brizola deverá mesmo desembarcar em São Borja, dia 6, apesar de a cidade não possuir aliança.

Embora não especificasse que instrução legal poderia ser utilizada para anular o ato, o ministro Petrônio Portela afirmou que o governo vai agir "para que a lei seja cumprida".



Glênio Peres (de terno escuro) e Marcos Klassman, na Câmara de Porto Alegre, sendo ouvidos pela imprensa.

### Com 5 chapas, começa hoje a eleição para a UEE

Precedidas de intensa campanha dentro das escolas, serão realizadas hoje e amanhã as eleições para a diretoria da União Estadual dos Estudantes (UEE). Cinco chapas concorrem: "Liberdade e Luta", "Voz Alva", "Chegou a Hora", "Convenção" e "Inovação". Apesar do número de candidatos, que aparentemente revela um interesse crescente dos universitários pela vida política estudantil e preparação para as eleições da União Nacional dos Estudantes, em outubro, os programas publicados pelas chapas criticam a pouca participação das bases.

### Taxistas pedem ponto livre e mais segurança

Cerca de 150 motoristas autônomos de taxi foram ontem ao Itaipu para pedir à Prefeitura, entre outras medidas, implantação de pontos livres nas áreas ocupadas por Zonas Amis, utilização das faixas privativas de ônibus para embarque e desembarque dos passageiros, permissão para que os taxis com mais de sete anos continuem em circulação. Ontem, também, o Sindicato dos Motoristas Autônomos solicitou à Secretaria da Segurança Pública "maior segurança para os motoristas que trabalham à noite".

### Juiz extingue a associação dos cambistas

O juiz Gilberto Valente da Silva, da 1.ª Vara dos Registros Públicos, determinou ontem o cancelamento do registro da Associação dos Cambistas de Esportes Desportivos e Artísticos do Estado de São Paulo, por julgar a "ilícita, imoral e nociva à ordem social e ao bem público". O registro fora obtido em 1976, com autorização da Coordenadoria de Interações e Operações — Cioop. O juiz ordenou que cópias da sentença e do processo sejam enviadas ao atual secretário da Segurança, "para que tome as providências cabíveis".

### Houve crime no "caso Homero", diz o inquérito

O motorista Homero Lopes morreu em consequência das torturas sofridas no quadro do 46.º Distrito Policial, em Perus, dia 29 de julho. Esta é a conclusão do inquérito feito pela Secretaria da Segurança Pública, que apontou a versão de colúmbio, sustentada pelos policiais daquela delegacia. O inquérito foi entregue ontem ao delegado Rubens Liberatori ao 4.º Distrito da Segurança, Otávio Gonzaga Júnior. Na ocasião, o secretário afirmou que o ponto de honra da administração por "ilus ac servitias".



Glênio Peres (de terno escuro) e Marcos Klassman, na Câmara de Porto Alegre, sendo ouvidos pela imprensa.

objective of re-positioning themselves in a opposition stand against the militaries, although without triggering any further repressive action by the government.

In page number four, the «FSP» presented under the page rubric «A morosa aplicação da anistia de Figueiredo»<sup>800</sup> an entire page dedicated to the events connected to it in Rio de Janeiro. In this case is important to underline the fact that, the newspaper's editors chose to give more relevance (in the page ordering) to what had happened in Rio rather than in São Paulo, indicating at the same time a self-comprehension of a new nationwide characteristic of the newspaper and indicating a major importance to an event that was the liberation of political prisoner in comparison with the caution that was being adopted in São Paulo by the Justice. In so, the major headline of the page was «In Rio, 3 prisoners are released».

The text of the article presents a summary of what had happened the previous day in Rio, three prisoners had been released, among them was Inês Etienne Romeu, the only female political prisoner in the state. Also informs that on that day another two prisoners should be released, but at the same time another eleven political prisoners would not benefit from the Amnesty Law. In the same article, the names of all those who had received amnesty the previous day were listed, with special attention to individuals who had participated in armed combat groups such as «MR-8» and «VPR». Finally, twice was stated that the individuals released were promptly placed themselves as participants in the national mobilization in favor of a revision of the law towards a «wide, general and unrestricted» amnesty. Another important textual element of the page has been published on the right of the photograph of the page, after the title «Para exilados, medida é injusta e arbitrária»<sup>801</sup> a text signed by the correspondent of the newspaper in Paris details a document produced by Brazilian exiles in France criticizing the lack of breadth of the law, as well as the benefit given to the military. Finally, is worth noting that half the page was taken up by advertisements.

The small, vertical-squared photograph (*photo 75*) was published in the center top of the page right under the main headline. The image occupied approximately 1/10 of the page and one more time seem to be working as a humanizing tool. The image framed the prisoner Paulo Roberto Jabour in the moment he was leaving the prison, is possible to infer such, considering that, in the image, he appears crouched leaving through a door in the metal bars. His horizontally striped shirt creates a strong contrast with the vertical bars of the jail, reinforcing the reader's gaze to identify the scene. At the same time, his mother, as described

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<sup>800</sup> «The slow application of Figueiredo's amnesty».

<sup>801</sup> « For exiles, the measure is unjust and arbitrary».

in the caption, «Paulo Roberto Jabour, ao lado da mãe, o primeiro preso político a ser beneficiado pela anistia no Rio»<sup>802</sup>, is placed on the opposite side from where he was coming from, that is, outside, indicating the direction of the movement he was making. With a long hair and looking towards the photographer's camera, the now ex-political prisoner seems to be saying something. The photo presents a single plane, with focus centered on the protagonist of the scene, his mother on the left corner of the image, appears extreme brightly in a strong contrast with the rest of the image and slightly blurred.

In the following page, under the same rubric of the previous one, the «FSP» dedicated the page to the details of the amnesty updates in the city of São Paulo. In so, a picture has been published (*photo 76*) and the main headline of the page was «Auditors from S. Paulo still await official communication». According to the text of the article, the political prisoners of the state had not yet been released, because the auditors of the Justice were claiming to have to wait until have in hands the previous day's edition of the «Diário Oficial da União»<sup>803</sup> where the law had been published and also the receiving of a communication from the «Superior Tribunal Militar»<sup>804</sup>, the instance in which the cases were being processed at that moment, authorizing the release of the prisoners. Throughout the text, which occupies the entire left-hand column of the page, the report points out the existence of a lot of disinformation among the different Courts and judges. In addition, the various legal attempts presented by the prisoners' lawyers for the release as soon as possible were described, but by the end of the day no prisoner had been released. The rest of the page was dedicated to details and opinions on the progress of the processes connected to the political prisoners in the state of São Paulo, and also to a case of a prisoner who was in the state of Bahia and had been released.

On that page considering that there was not an image of one of the political prisoners that could be published, the editor's choice has been to print a photo of the waiting. In so, the photo chosen was taken from a medium distance and, as indicated by the caption, «Na prisão do Barro Branco, parentes e a imprensa esperam em vão pela libertação de algum preso político em São Paulo»<sup>805</sup>, at the entrance to the prison. The backlighting that the night image allowed, framed the silhouette of those who were waiting (eight people) standing with their backs to the camera and looking towards the entrance of the building, on what appears to be a sidewalk. In the left corner of the photo there is a pick-up truck, which is not possible to identify if was a

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<sup>802</sup> «Paulo Roberto Jabour, next to his mother, the first political prisoner to benefit from amnesty in Rio».

<sup>803</sup> «Official Diary of the Union».

<sup>804</sup> «Superior Military Court».

<sup>805</sup> «In Barro Branco prison, relatives and the press wait in vain for the release of a political prisoner in São Paulo».

4 - NACIONAL

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FOLHA DE S. PAULO

Quinta-feira, 30 de agosto de 1979

**No Rio, 3 presos são libertados**  
*Para exilados, medida é injusta e arbitrária*

Paulo Roberto Jabour, ao lado da mãe, o primeiro preso político ser beneficiado pelo anistia no Rio.

**Ex-líder da UEE reaparece após 8 anos**  
**Auditoria de Recife conclui os despachos**

**A única presa do Rio já em liberdade**

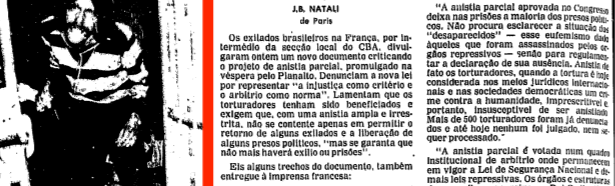
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A morosa aplicação da anistia de Figueiredo

# No Rio, 3 presos são libertados

## Para exilados, medida é injusta e arbitrária



Os exilados brasileiros na França, por intermédio da seção local do CBA, divulgaram ontem um novo documento criticando o projeto de anistia parcial, promulgado na véspera pelo Planalto. Denunciam a nova lei por representar "a injustiça como critério e o arbítrio como norma". Lamentam que os torturados tenham sido beneficiados e exigem que, com uma anistia ampla e irrestrita, não se contente apenas em permitir o retorno de alguns exilados e a liberação de alguns presos políticos, "mas se garanta que não mais haverá exílio ou prisão".

Esses alguns trechos do documento, também entregue à imprensa francesa: "A anistia no Brasil transformou-se numa questão nacional. A luta por uma anistia ampla, geral e irrestrita ganhou as ruas, traduzindo-se em manifestações públicas com vários milhares de participantes nas principais cidades do País."

"Largado por várias entidades englobadas na defesa dos direitos humanos e por familiares de perseguidos políticos, o movimento pela anistia se expandiu e ganhou o apoio de amplos setores da população, que compreendem que a luta contra a ditadura militar e por um regime de plena liberdade democrática, política e sindical passa, hoje, pela conquista de uma anistia ampla, geral e irrestrita."

"Nos dias que antecederam a votação do projeto de anistia no Congresso Nacional desenvolveram-se múltiplas manifestações em todo o Brasil, que culminaram com o deslocamento a Brasília de uma caravana popular que foi levar nos congressistas a voz da opinião pública nacional."

De sotura a partir da decisão do Conselho, para Paulo Roberto Jabour, o único que reuniu condições para ser libertado, Nelson Rodrigues Filho, Manuel Henrique Ferreira e José Roberto Gonçalves. Também, des três Nelson Rodrigues e José Roberto Gonçalves, que estavam em mesmo, com pedido de liberdade condicional porque já cumpriram tempo para a concessão da medida, Manoel Henrique deverá fazer o cumprimento da pena em casa.

FESTA Foi o próprio secretário de Justiça do Estado, Erasmo Martins Pedro, que levou ao presidente Milton Dias Moreira. As 10 horas, o alvará de sotura de Paulo Roberto Jabour. Estava acompanhado pelo diretor do Departamento do Sistema Penitenciário, Antônio Vicente, e pouco partilhou da festa pela libertação de Jabour que ficou para as 30 pessoas que se concentraram na porta do prédio gritando "slogans" pela anistia ampla, geral e irrestrita.

Jabour, ao sair, disse que iria se "integrar na luta de todo o povo brasileiro pela anistia ampla e pela democracia de todo o Brasil". Além disso, fez questão de afirmar que não se considerava beneficiado uma vez que não poderia se reintegrar completamente à vida política. Já que cumprira duas condenações por atos armados e foi incluído na sua ficha penal. Na saída, abraçou-se por longo tempo com seu companheiro de lutas clandestinas Carlos Alberto Muniz que acabava de sair da clandestinidade, também beneficiado pela anistia.

CONDICIONAL O juiz Antônio Carlos de Seixas Teles expediu alvará de sotura a partir da decisão do Conselho, para Paulo Roberto Jabour, o único que reuniu condições para ser libertado, Nelson Rodrigues Filho, Manuel Henrique Ferreira e José Roberto Gonçalves. Também, des três Nelson Rodrigues e José Roberto Gonçalves, que estavam em mesmo, com pedido de liberdade condicional porque já cumpriram tempo para a concessão da medida, Manoel Henrique deverá fazer o cumprimento da pena em casa.

30 de agosto de 1979



Paulo Roberto Jabour, ao lado da mãe, o primeiro preso político a ser beneficiado pela anistia no Rio.



military one or not. In general, is possible to interpret that, since there was not the possibility of photographing the prisoners specifically, the proposed image presented a generic element of its characters that may represent the «waiting of an entire country», or just a form of self-identification applicable to different subjects and families.

In the last page dedicated to the Amnesty agenda the main headline was «In the South, those granted with amnesty are reinstated in the City Council», in addition to it the two-column text in the left side of the page was detailing the arrival of Leonel Brizola in the country on the next week. The picture published in the page (*photo 77*), however, referred to the main title of the page. The article resumed the political polemic that has been created around the returning of the two city's councilors to their positions. As they were the unique cases of politicians that had been expelled in 1977 and would still have a part of their terms to complete, reinstatement a quick ceremony (no more than ten minutes according to the article) has been organized by the City's Council president, Cleon Guatimozin «MDB». On the other hand, different spheres of the Brazilian Justice adverted and warned that the reinstatement could not be done. In an overall, the article respected the journalistic praxis of presenting the different perspectives of the case, giving a balanced space to declarations of the parts involved. The small two-column text in the right-top corner of the page, right after the title «Segurança interna passa para o DPF»<sup>806</sup> detailed the fact that the Armed Forces would no longer, and as a consequence of the Amnesty Law, be responsible for the country's internal security, that from that moment on would be responsibility of the Federal Police. Nevertheless, no image was related to this article.

Regarding the photo that has been published, in this case, the balance was not the same specially if considering that the image was framing the two councilors during the ceremony the caption stated: «Cassados em 77, os vereadores Glênio Peres e Marcos Klamman, reassumem seus cargos na Câmara Municipal de Porto Alegre, abrindo uma polêmica sobre a anistia».<sup>807</sup> The horizontal rectangular photo exposed both seated in small wooden desks during the formalities, this image is a scene continuation of the one published in the first page, although proposing a more serious and official gaze to it. The shot was an american plan, made from a medium distance, giving a clean (sharp and with a contrast balance) perspective to the scene, in the second plan, the rest of the room has been pictured with most of the public also seated, some men were standing in the background as well as a man in dark suit on the left side

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<sup>806</sup> «Internal security passes to DPF».

<sup>807</sup> «Expelled in 77, the councilors Glênio Peres and Marcos Klamman, retake their positions in the City Council of Porto Alegre, opening a controversy about the amnesty».

A morosa aplicação da anistia de Figueiredo

# Audidores de S. Paulo ainda esperam comunicação oficial

Os presos políticos a serem beneficiados pela anistia em São Paulo não foram libertados ontem e terão que aguardar no presídio do Barro Branco, até que os juizes auditores decidam cumprir a lei promulgada e publicada ontem no Diário Oficial. Isso porque os magistrados da 1.ª e 2.ª Auditorias da 3.ª Circunscrição da Justiça Militar, respectivamente Paulo Paiva e Waldir Silveira Melo, alegaram ontem que dependiam de duas circunstâncias para liberar os presos: ter em mãos o Diário Oficial da União em que está publicada a lei da anistia restrita e receber do Superior Tribunal Militar uma comunicação a respeito dos casos que se encontram sob a alçada daquele Tribunal.

Dos sete presos que deverão ser libertados em São Paulo — Elias Macerat, Ricardo Zaratini Filho, Newton Cândido, Aldo Arantes, Davi Górgora Júnior, Adilson Ferreira da Silva e Nelson Chaves dos Santos —, apenas o STM não tem processo pendente no ST-1, de acordo com o auditor Silveira Melo, pois ele ainda está sendo processado em São Paulo.



No presídio do Barro Branco, presos e a imprensa esperam em vão pela libertação de algum preso político de São Paulo.

## "Rituais burocráticos"

Mas mesmo assim, a satura de Citeus, que já tem parecer favorável do promotor e do juiz ainda depende, além da chegada do Diário Oficial, da reunião do Conselho de Justiça e do comunicado do juiz auditor de Juiz de Fora, onde o preso também responde ao processo segundo Waldir Silveira Melo.

**DESINFORMAÇÃO**  
A desinformação era tanta na 2.ª Circunscrição da Justiça Militar, que se comentava que o juiz Teodoro Miranda, de Recife, que colocou em liberdade antontem quatro presos políticos, não logo soube da promulgação da lei da anistia, poderia receber uma admoestação do STM, por ter agido sem que a lei estivesse publicada, ignorando-se estritamente que o Diário Oficial da anistia circulou com a data de antontem.

Na tentativa de apressar o andamento da justiça, um repórter tomou a iniciativa de pedir ao seu jornal (com sede no Rio de Janeiro) que providenciasse uma exemplar do Diário Oficial para os auditores chegaram no início da noite de ontem, pois a 2.ª CJM costuma recebê-lo com dois ou mais dias de atraso.

**PETIÇÃO**  
Os advogados Idilbal Piveta e Paulo Gerab entraram com uma petição na 2.ª CJM para a libertação imediata de seus clientes Ricardo Zaratini Filho e Davi Górgora Júnior, respectivamente sob jurisdição da 2.ª e 1.ª Auditorias.

"Se eles não forem soltos até sexta-feira, nós então impetramos habeas-corpus por concessão ilegal, pois não podemos ficar na dependência da boa vontade dos juizes. Já que um dia na prisão representa muito tempo para quem está lá dentro" — disse Piveta, que teve dois de seus clientes libertados antontem no Recife.

O juiz Paulo Paiva, da 1.ª Auditoria, não quis se manifestar a respeito da petição, mas o da 2.ª Auditoria, Waldir Silveira Melo, já garantiu que vai indeferir-lhe, alegando que o caso de Zaratini depende de parecer do STM.

Para o advogado, contudo, a competência para colocar um preso em liberdade, com base na lei da anistia, é de competência exclusiva dos auditores, "pois eles possuem as fichas com todas as informações sobre a resposta, os processos a que ela responde em todo o País, e sabem muito bem se está enquadrado ou não na anistia".

Os juizes, por seu turno, dizem que se a libertação de presos com processos pendentes no STM fosse de sua competência, não haveria necessidade de o órgão judiciário federal ter marcado reuniões extraordinárias nestes dias para discutir a anistia, caso por caso.

**TELEX**  
Compareceu também na 2.ª Auditoria o advogado Laís Eduardo Greenhalgh, defensor do preso político Aldo da Silva Arantes, explicando que, estando obrigado a ler o STM em favor de seu constituído, já que o processo a que ele responde também se encontra no STM, em grau de recurso.

O auditor José Paulo Paiva indeferiu o requerimento apresentado por um repórter de televisão, que solicitava entrevista com os presos políticos David Górgora Júnior, Adilson Ferreira da Silva e Amândeo dos Santos, no Barro Branco. Disse o juiz que o indeferimento se deve à disposição contida no artigo n.º 1, letra c, da portaria 1/76, que enuncia o regulamento do presídio. E prosseguiu: "É evidente que os presos políticos não podem dispor de meio idôneo à expansão das idéias ou ideais que os levaram ao crime e ao cárcere".

**FRUSTRAÇÃO**  
A 2.ª Circunscrição da Justiça Militar viveu ontem um dos dias mais agitados desde a manhã, mais de uma dezena de repórteres já faziam fila no prédio da avenida Brigadeiro Luís Antonio, à espera de uma decisão em benefício dos presos políticos.

Mas, além de jornalistas, estiveram ali também parentes dos prisioneiros, entre eles o ator Carlos Zara, irmão de Ricardo Zaratini Filho, que saiu decepcionado, comentando: "Meu irmão já deveria estar na rua e espero que a lei seja cumprida imediatamente".

# STM examina processos dos que serão anistiados

## Como será a aplicação

O Superior Tribunal Militar se reúne hoje a partir das 9 horas para examinar processos em que poderá ser aplicada a lei de anistia. Já feito em muitas outras ocasiões, hoje 33 processos, em mais de 200 réus, entre os quais Luis Carlos Prestes, João Arantes (preso em São Paulo), Vladimir Palmeira, João Antonio Tavares, Rosalício Magalhães, Vladimir Torres, e a estrutura Pomar (preso em São Paulo) e o pessoal do movimento de Emancipação popular (11 pessoas). Para o ministro Rui de Faria, o ministro do ST-1, apenas 25 dos 32 presos políticos serão libertados imediatamente, pois os processos dos 27 restantes precisarão por um exame para e saber se o assalto que cometeram foi ou não com intuito político. Se os assaltos se deram para anistiar fundos a movimentos políticos, os réus serão colocados em liberdade caso as sentenças condenatórias ainda não tenham transitado em julgado.

**AUDITOR ANISTIA**  
O auditor desta capital, Celso Lobbo, revelou que os réus não serão libertados imediatamente, pois o primeiro a ser julgado é o de Tarso Celestino Silva, que de fato não foi consumado para acreditar: "Sou como São Tomé — disse ela — e quero ver para crer. O David também está bastante mais como eu só vai acreditar quando estiver aqui fora".

Francisco Gomes da Silva e Carlos Alberto Soares também receberam visitas. O primeiro da mãe e o segundo da esposa, informando apenas que se tratavam de "ordens superiores".

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O auditor desta capital, Celso Lobbo, revelou que os réus não serão libertados imediatamente, pois o primeiro a ser julgado é o de Tarso Celestino Silva, que de fato não foi consumado para acreditar: "Sou como São Tomé — disse ela — e quero ver para crer. O David também está bastante mais como eu só vai acreditar quando estiver aqui fora".

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## O País está em paz, diz gen. Milton

"O País está em paz e não há preocupação nos meios militares com a volta de exilados políticos", declarou Roberto Carlos de Figueiredo, chefe do Estado-Maior do Exército, em uma entrevista dada a jornalistas.

Em sua opinião, "o regime está cedendo mais do que pretendia e vai ceder mais do que deseja". Ele acha que a anistia restrita "vai um passo além da anistia ampla e irrestrita. Não me satisfaz com esta anistia, como nenhum brasileiro consciente, pois há o fato de a anistia ser irrestrita para os torturadores do governo. Este deveria ser mais sincero e dar uma anistia recíproca, irrestrita para eles e irrestrita para nós".

**SEM INQUIRITO**  
Paulino Vieira, assim como Haroldo Lima, deixou ontem de ser ouvido pela Polícia Federal, a pedido de seu advogado, Teodomiro Romeiros dos Santos, o que estava previsto anteriormente.

Já Haroldo Lima, que ficou na prisão por mais um dia, afirmou à imprensa que a auditoria da carta comunicando a fuga de Teodomiro, divulgada no dia 13 último, um domingo, ele assegurou que não assinaria o documento se lixeiro "a mais leve sugestão de que seu colega tivesse sido sequestrado e afirmou, ainda, que não tinha razões para "não acreditar que Teodomiro esteja bem".

Reconhece o senador Murilo Badaró, em seu parecer aprovado pela comissão, que essas denúncias, feitas sobre fatos que "teriam ocorrido no Brasil nos últimos dez anos, com portaria em biblioteca" e adverte que se não houverem que prestar depoimento à Polícia Federal.

**COMISSÃO REJEITA PROPOSTA DE CPI**  
A Comissão de Justiça do Senado rejeitou ontem em Brasília, a proposta do senador Gregório de Faria (MDB-SP) de constituição de uma Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito sobre violações aos direitos humanos porque, segundo o senador Murilo Badaró (Arena-MG), isto seria "criar uma comissão inquisitorial".

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**INVESTIGAÇÃO**  
O senador Gregório de Faria tentou constituir essa CPI em maio último, superando a bancada do MDB. Apesar das declarações de vários senadores favoráveis à proposta, ela jamais obteve a assinatura de 21 dos 32 senadores da Oposição, o que tornaria automática a sua constituição. Sem o apoio de seus próprios companheiros e do senador Gregório, apresentou projeto de resolução instituído a fim de, portanto, na dependência do plenário.

Paralelamente, o senador paulista encaminhou ao Conselho de Defesa dos Direitos do Cidadão (CDD-DFD), do Ministério da Justiça, documentação sobre métodos a que levou o projeto de resolução.

**PROJETO PREVÊ RECURSO AOS NÃO BENEFICIADOS**  
Os condenados por crimes políticos e "conexos" que não tenham sido beneficiados pela anistia, e que tenham recebido revisão criminal, terão o direito de recorrer ao pedido, perante o Superior Tribunal Militar, de anistia restrita, caso não tenham em Brasília pelo senador Nelson Carneiro (MDB-SP).

A proposta, encaminhada ao estudo das comissões, determina, ainda, que do mesmo direito se poderá valer os ascendentes, descendentes ou cônjuges sobreviventes do condenado, para que, reconhecida a injustiça da condenação, seja restabelecida a memória do punido.

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## A CLASSE MÉDICA

Desde o início da campanha eleitoral, o Conselho Regional de Medicina do Estado de São Paulo, enquanto entidade, afastado da disputa.

Entraram, nos últimos dias, o Conselho vem sendo alvo de intensa campanha difamatória. Desse insulto, são particularmente inadmíssíveis aqueles que gostaríamos de ver desistirem a favor dos costumes de nossa sociedade. As estigmatizações políticas causaram suficientes malefícios dos quais a própria classe médica, como sempre, tenta se recuperar.

Em manifestação contra esses fatos que vimos, perante a classe médica, reiterar a nossa posição de independência e de intransigência pela manutenção do verdadeiro e honesto funcionamento do nosso sistema, sem estigmatizar quem quer que seja, e sem recorrer a ofensas pessoais, requisitos básicos para a valorização e o progresso da categoria.

**OS MEMBROS DO CONSELHO**  
(Esta publicação foi paga pelos médicos signatários da mesma).

**COMUNICADO 020/79**  
O presente comunicado serve para registrar uma operação financeira. Não se trata, pois, de anúncio de venda ou de oferta de imóveis.

**RESIDÊNCIA**  
CIA DE CRÉDITO IMOBILIÁRIO DE SÃO PAULO  
informa ter concedido o financiamento de  
**Cr\$ 32.246.920,00**

**ITAMARACÁ EMPREENDIMENTOS E CONSTRUÇÕES LTDA.**  
Com recursos provenientes de depósitos em Cadernetos de Poupança e Letras Inquiliniais.

Para a construção de 36 apartamentos de 2 salas e 3 quartos  
Rua José Rodrigues Alves Sobrinho n.º 125 - Alto de Pinheiros

**PRAZOS:**  
Construção em 17 meses  
Financiamento aos mutuários finais: 180 meses.

Agências Residência: Itaquera, Pinheiros, Lago, Barão de Iguatema, Itaim, São Luis, Brooklin, Perdizes, Vila Mariana, São Bruno, Cidade Jardim, XV de Novembro, Liberdade, Santa André, Guarulhos.

**RENOVE SUA ASSINATURA DA FOLHA**

TELEFONE: 220-00H



No presídio do Barro Branco, presos e a imprensa esperam em vão pela libertação de algum preso político de São Paulo.

of the image. In our interpretation, if the page texts were dedicated to the polemic, the image proposed tried to keep a lighter and more direct tone about the event.

*Jornal do Brasil – 30/08/1979*

In a more direct approach to the Amnesty agenda, that day's first page of the «JB» proposed a wider coverage to the topic. The main difference in respect what was exposed in the «FSP» was the fact that all two images that were published in the front cover were related to it, just as the main headline in the top of the page that declared «Petronio denies value of possession of expelled». The four-paragraph text, beside the first photo, in addition to the information already presented above, detailed others aspects of that day, such as the fact that the Rio Grande do Sul «DEOPS» had sent police officers to the ceremony, as well as the declaration of the Minister of Justice who said «mandato não é emprego»<sup>808</sup> in a reference to a Law's paragraph that guaranteed the reinstalment to the previous job posts of an individual beneficiated by the Law. Finally, the text informed that would be the State government that will deliberate on the case and that the reading of the councilors' speeches had been left for the following day, since the session had been hurriedly ended.

The first picture of the front cover (*photo 78*) proposed a much more active scene than the ones that were seen in the «FSP» pages. The horizontal, rectangular photo, which occupied approximately 1/6 of the page, framed the two councilors in an american plan taken from medium distance. The scene of the two seated was the same that was already presented, the moment, however, was different. The councilors had their right arms raised and as indicated by the caption: «Glênio Peres (e) e Marcos Kasmman dizem “presente” à chamada da Mesa»<sup>809</sup>, responding to the bureaucratic rite of the legislative session. The raised hands, as well as the audience standing in the background, captured in large number, gave to the image an element of movement that had not been seen before. These, in interaction with the other verbal elements of the page, gave greater latency to the polemic that was being reported. Moreover, the diagonal shot, in the direction of the light, generated a shadow play that increases the drama of the scene, as well as the feeling of movement. The angle in slight dip, in its turn, allowed the insertion in the photo of others present in the room.

Below the second image on the page (*photo 79*) and just after the secondary caption «Justiça Militar liberta mais quatro anistiados»<sup>810</sup> a very brief text listed the names of other

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<sup>808</sup> «mandate it is not a job».

<sup>809</sup> «Glênio Peres (and) and Marcos Kasmman say "present" to the call of the House».

<sup>810</sup> «Military Justice frees four more amnesties».

# Brizola entrará no Brasil por São Borja, mesmo

Do Sucoval, do Serviço Local do embaixador especial e dos serviços.

Leonel Brizola vai mesmo desembarcar em São Borja, no próximo dia 3, procedente de Assunção, apesar de a cidade não possuir porto de entrada aduaneiro, segundo a informação que o governador gaúcho no Rio, acrescentando que o aeroporto local será habilitado a receber o pouso de três aviões transportando a comitiva de Brizola.

Em contato telefônico com a Folha de Nova York, o secretário de Estado de Brizola, Feltre, forneceu informações, acrescentando que os detalhes técnicos da entrada no País ficaram por conta dos correios de Brizola aqui. Segundo Feltre, o ex-governador não verá permanecer três dias em São Borja, iniciando em seguida sua travessia em direção a Porto Alegre, com paradas em Cruz Alta e Soledade. A chegada à Capital gaúcha deverá ocorrer no dia 12, quarta-feira.

O assessor de Brizola disse que o ex-governador "tem uma curiosidade muito grande de ver a Estrada da Produção, que liga São Borja a Porto Alegre, pois foi construída durante seu governo, mas asfaltada depois que ele deixou o País. Acrescentou que a comitiva de Brizola, será integrada por familiares e sua esposa, o Netos, a filha e uma nete de 4 anos, amigos e jornalistas. Não confirmou, porém, se o ex-governador estará acompanhado de políticos ex-cassados que também retornam ao Brasil.

Segundo Fontoura, ainda há dúvidas sobre a realização de uma grande concentração popular em Porto Alegre, no próximo domingo, quando o ex-governador chegará ao País por São Borja.

Existem uma comissão composta por quatro pessoas a que está encarregada dos detalhes mais urgentes para a recepção ao longo da estrada e de todos os que forem a São Borja recebê-lo. Ela trará de conseguir alojamento para os visitantes em casas familiares, locais de hospedagem e hotéis. Também serão realizados contatos políticos e com a imprensa, além da necessidade de providenciar a limpeza do trajeto de dois quilômetros que liga a cidade ao aeroporto, onde é esperado um formidável movimento de pessoas e veículos. Embora Brizola caia numa quinta-feira, os aproximadamente 300 veículos que nos sete hotéis da cidade estarão lotados apenas com a perspectiva de ficar em casa, em restaurantes, bares, clubes, ou de acampamento. Improváveis nos arredores da cidade ou na Fazenda São Vicente, onde esse tipo de problema já foi enfrentado e solucionado por várias vezes ao longo da tumultuada história política dos gaúchos.

Em São Borja, Leonel Brizola quer, em primeiro lugar, visitar os túmulos de Getúlio Vargas e João Goulart. Também quer ir a Nova York, segundo as agências internacionais. Brizola declarou que São Borja tem um grande significado simbólico para nós, já que ali surgiram as ideias políticas mais valiosas para o Brasil nas últimas décadas.

Sobre seus planos no Brasil, o ex-governador gaúcho afirmou que vai trabalhar "a todo vapor" na reconstrução do PRT e de mentes declaradas a ele atribuídas em Lisboa de que seu partido não se uniria ao MDB.

"Disse que meu trabalho se concentrará na reconstrução do Partido Trabalhista e não no MDB, mas isso não significa que vamos nos desgastar na frente de oposição", explicou Brizola. "Se eu estiver aqui como um simpático do socialismo democrático europeu, das ideias liberais norte-americanas da nova corrente democrática latino-americana", Leonel Brizola afirmou.

"Não sou um radical, nunca fui".

**CRÍTICAS**  
Em seguida, indagado se via acertos nos governos dos últimos anos, respondeu: "Globalmente, o governo militar foi um fracasso. Poderia citar alguns acertos em matéria de obras públicas, mas não creio que esses passos não pudessem ter sido tomados em um sistema que respeitasse as liberdades individuais".

Para Brizola, "o Brasil é o mais vulnerável de todos os grandes países do mundo na atual conjuntura econômica internacional". Explicou que "o modelo econômico imposto pelo governo militar desenvolveu a indústria nacional com base no petróleo barato e agora não sabe como enfrentar a crise energética internacional".

"O Brasil se transformou em grande exportador de frangos à Arábia Saudita; em exportador a Petrobrás operava como uma empresa comercial qualquer, em lugar de cumprir com as funções para as quais foi criada, de produzir petróleo a qualquer preço", acrescentou Brizola.

O ex-governador gaúcho mostrou-se, contudo, otimista.

# No Sul, anistiados são reintegrados na Câmara



Cassados em 77, os vereadores Glênio Peres e Marcos Klassman reasumem seus cargos na Câmara Municipal de Porto Alegre, abrindo uma polêmica sobre a anistia.

## "Foi um ato de violência"

BRASÍLIA (Sucoval) — Comentando a posse dada pelo presidente da Câmara de Porto Alegre, Glênio Peres, Marcos Klassman disse ontem que esse ato não poderia ser considerado um ato de violência praticado pelo MDB, que tem maioria na Casa, e decidiu manter a posição de reintegrar os vereadores cassados.

Embora isso não seja assunto do Legislativo, Glênio Peres lembrou que "temos vários contatos com o governador Amaral de Sousa, pois o assunto está na esfera de sua competência". A propósito das gestões do secretário de Segurança Pública, observou que ele "obedece ordens do governador". Lembrando que estamos numa república federativa, Peres disse que "o governo federal, a partir do momento em que tomou conhecimento de um problema dessa ordem, passou a acompanhá-lo, sem interferir".

O presidente nacional do MDB, Ulisses Guimarães, considerou legítima a posse dos vereadores gaúchos, "em primeiro lugar porque a cassação foi uma ilegalidade, um absurdo. Depois, porque os mandatos deles ainda não terminaram, e em terceiro lugar, porque o espírito da lei do anistia é o de permitir a livre reintegração dos cidadãos na vida política nacional".

"O gesto do MDB foi louvável e provocador neste momento em que se conhece a anistia". A declaração do líder da Arena no Senado, Jarbas Passarinho, foi feita ontem a propósito da decisão da Câmara de Porto Alegre de reintegrar em seus mandatos os vereadores cassados Glênio Peres e Marcos Klassman.

Sobre a possibilidade de o governo recorrer à Justiça para saber se os vereadores deviam ser reintegrados o senador considerou "extremamente sensata" o líder da Arena disse saber, pessoalmente, se os dois vereadores estão reintegrados diante da anistia, alegando que também prefere esperar pelo parecer da Justiça.

Lembrou Jarbas Passarinho que "o governo acaba de dar a anistia e nesse contexto, uma providência como esta do MDB de natureza política e contraveniente, não se ajusta ao clima de anistia".

# Segurança interna passa para o DPF

BRASÍLIA (Sucoval) — As Forças Armadas estão sendo desmobilizadas nas ações de segurança interna e essa tarefa passará a ser executada com exclusividade pelo Departamento de Polícia Federal. A informação foi prestada ontem pelo diretor do órgão, Moacir Coelho, ao proferir palestra na Comissão de Segurança Nacional da Câmara.

Segundo afirmou, as Forças Armadas participaram dessas atividades por força das circunstâncias, pois o efetivo do Departamento de Polícia Federal — hoje com 4.300 homens — não era suficiente para o cumprimento das tarefas. "Vocês não têm efetivo real — disse ele — é de 20 mil homens, mas nunca foi completado porque nossos níveis salariais não são atraentes".

Reclamou também da sobrecarga de atribuições do órgão, como a censura às diversões públicas, a Polícia Marítima e Aérea, Polícia Fazendeira, a defesa da ordem política e social e o combate às drogas, entre outros.

Para aliviar o DPF, ele sugeriu, em primeiro lugar, a retirada da censura. "A censura é um nome mal colocado, e na polícia fica pior ainda — disse. Referindo-se a reação do Ministério da Educação em aceitar a incumbência, disse haver necessidade de uma reforma constitucional para retirar do DPF a censura federal. Segundo ele, é provável que essa divisação de funções seja um órgão autônomo da estrutura do Ministério da Justiça, vinculada diretamente ao titular da pasta. Disse também que o Brasil é o único país que mantém a censura na polícia.

Moacir Coelho defendeu a instituição de um fundo de manutenção policial — em estudos do Ministério da Justiça desde 1975 — para dotar a Polícia Federal das condições necessárias ao cumprimento das tarefas. "Vocês não têm efetivo real — disse ele — é de 20 mil homens, mas nunca foi completado porque nossos níveis salariais não são atraentes".

Interpelado pelo deputado Alton Soares (MDB-SP), que possui uma relação de policiais treinados nos Estados Unidos no Panamá de 1962 a 1970, Moacir Coelho declarou que desde que chegou ao DPF, em 1974, jamais encontrou qualquer registro do treinamento de policiais no exterior. De 1971 para cá, completou, "no tempo convênio para o combate a drogas, inclusive os equipamentos importados foram exclusivamente a essa atividade".

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Interpelado pelo deputado Alton Soares (MDB-SP), que possui uma relação de policiais treinados nos Estados Unidos no Panamá de 1962 a 1970, Moacir Coelho declarou que desde que chegou ao DPF, em 1974, jamais encontrou qualquer registro do treinamento de policiais no exterior. De 1971 para cá, completou, "no tempo convênio para o combate a drogas, inclusive os equipamentos importados foram exclusivamente a essa atividade".

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Cassados em 77, os vereadores Glênio Peres e Marcos Klassman reasumem seus cargos na Câmara Municipal de Porto Alegre, abrindo uma polêmica sobre a anistia.

## ECONOMIZE TITIM POR TITIM

<b>ARROZ FAZENDÃO</b> Pacote com 5 quilos <b>64,00</b>	<b>CAFIQUE</b> Pacote com 5 quilos <b>21,80</b>	<b>BISCOITOS JÚPITI</b> CREAM CRACKER Pacote de 500 g <b>17,50</b>
<b>VIANDADA SWIFT</b> Lata 320 g <b>19,80</b>	<b>AZEITE PASTORA</b> Lata 500 ml <b>34,50</b>	<b>FEIJO JALO</b> RAJOLA Pacote 1 quilo <b>21,00</b>
<b>BACALHAU ZARBO</b> Quilo <b>115,00</b>	<b>ERVILHAS JUREMA</b> Lata 400 g/Quilo <b>15,10</b>	<b>CEBOLA</b> Quilo <b>6,50</b>
<b>SALAME TIPO ITALIANO</b> 3 PORQUINHOS <b>115,00</b>		

political prisoners who had been released the previous day in other states of the country and some details of why these individuals had been released. The photograph preceding the text presented the caption: «Paulo Jabour, ao sair da prisão, deixa a gravura de Che por seu filho João».<sup>811</sup> The image refers to the moment that Jabour who was arrested in Rio de Janeiro left the prison accompanied by his little son. This image occupied approximately ¼ of the page and presented a very strong symbolical element in it, the face of the prisoner or his son can't be seen, the two were picture with their backs to the camera and, in being in the backlight, were transformed into silhouettes. A movement sensation was also present and can be seen in the slightly blur that surround both bodies, as if Jabour was in a hurry to leave the scene, almost scaping to the left. Not less important, was the framing of it, the prison bars and metal doors are responsible for organizing the moment in which the ex-political prisoner meets his son. The contrast aspect also plays a central role, generating a fundamental interaction between the dark and bright elements of the scene. The black door in opposition to the bright background and lock, as if indicating that Jabour could again see the bright and light of the world.

Finally, a last fundamental element of this image was the photographer perspective that was being proposed, differently from the other photos seen so far, this one has been taken from the prison's inside towards the outside. Giving to the reader, that dedicated a longer reading time to the image, the perspective of those who were been freed in those days. Another possible interpretation is the one which sees this image perspective as the nation gaze that slowly start to be released from a long period of repression. At this point we can affirm that, in this front cover, the «JB» used in an elevate scale the esthetical elements that build a photograph with the goal of deepening the narrative and sense construction that was been presented in the verbal elements of the page. In brief, the visual aspects gave to the reader layers of complexity on the socio-historical context that might not be possible to be present in the article's texts.

The internal page number four of that day's «JB» was entirely dedicated to the nationwide repercussions to the entry into force of the Amnesty Law. The main headline was «Councilors are reappointed and Petronio sees illegality» and the biggest article of that page was detailing the previous day event in the Porto Alegre's City Council. Around other four different text were related to it, presenting the Minister of Justice requests, the opinion of the «ARENA» leader in the Senate, Jarbas Passarinho, as well as the information that the govern party would not go to court on this subject and the fact that the «Tribunal Regional Eleitoral»<sup>812</sup>

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<sup>811</sup> «Paulo Jabour, on leaving prison, leaves the engraving of Che by his son João».

<sup>812</sup> «Electoral Regional Court».

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

## Petrônio nega valor à posse de cassados



A Câmara Municipal de Petrópolis nega qualquer valor à posse de cassados... (text continues with details of the council's decision regarding the reinstatement of political rights for individuals who have been disqualified).

## Patrão cobre inflação antes de dar aumento

O empresário cobra o reajuste antes de dar o aumento... (text discusses the economic strategy of employers to adjust prices before increasing wages).

## Governo corta 10% nos juros para empréstimos

O governo anunciou a redução de 10% nos juros... (text reports on the government's decision to cut interest rates for loans to stimulate the economy).



Paulo Jabur, ao sair da prisão, deixa a gravura de Che por seu filho João

## Repressão a crimes políticos passa a ser com a polícia

As Forças Armadas de reserva... (text discusses the role of the armed forces in political repression and the involvement of the police).

## Policiais são indiciados por morte de preso

Um grupo de policiais militares... (text reports on the indictment of police officers for the death of a prisoner in custody).

Política	1
Economia	2
Esportes	3
Cultura	4
Opinião	5
Religião	6
Classificados	7



Glênio Peres (E) e Marcos Klassmann dizem "presente" à chamada da Mesa



Paulo Jabur, ao sair da prisão, deixa a gravura de Che por seu filho João

did not know how to proceed in that case. Nevertheless, the small rectangular-vertical image (*photo 80*) that has been published in the top left-corner of the page occupying approximately 1/8 of it, was not dedicated to this case, but to the Judge, Theódulo Miranda, that in the day before has freed four prisoners in the State of Pernambuco.

Above the title «Juiz que soltou presos em Recife afirma que só fez cumprir a legislação»<sup>813</sup>, the picture framed the Judge in an american plan, seated with his legs crosses from a medium distance. In the image he was holding some paper sheets while reading it. The judge was wearing a white shirt a tie and a clock in his left hand, he had a calm and focused facial expression. Once again, our interpretation retains that the preference for publishing his picture was the result of the idea of giving faces to those individuals that were acting in favor of the democracy and freedom in the «JB's» view. The image's caption corroborates with this idea «Theódulo foi quem primeiro aplicou a anistia»<sup>814</sup> and gives an extra verbal element to this discursive construction. Finally, another aspect that contributes to this interpretation is the importance that was given to the judge's declaration in the following text, the two first paragraphs were dedicated to his words, illustrating his pragmatism in enforcing the law.

The internal page number seven, even if half of it was filled by advertisements had the main headline, «Amnesty frees 4 prisoners in Rio and Bahia», the two photographs published, as well as the rest of the page were dedicated to the Amnesty Law unfolding events in the rest of the country. The articles present on the page detailed the moment in which four different prisoners were freed and gave voice to them. In the first one the liberation of Paulino Vieira receive more a special attention, in the text is indicated a dialogue between the prisoners and a police commissioner which in seeing his tie (that had written the names and signatures of those who had been arrested with him) asked Paulino if that was a symbol, question that he answered «yes». The image's (*photo 81*) caption emphasizes the verbo-visual interaction of the page, «Paulino colocou gravata para deixar a prisão»<sup>815</sup>, in addition to it, the last paragraph of the text exposes Paulino's will of stand for an unrestricted amnesty and the legalization of the «PCB» party that he has been a member of for thirty years.

In the picture he has been capture standing alongside another man. There is also in this case a play of shadow and an important contrast interaction. While Paulino has been framed facing the photographer and in the brightness part of the image, the man next to him has been shot with this back to the camera and in the shadow, is not possible to assure that this man was

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<sup>813</sup> «Judge who released prisoners in Recife says he only enforced the law».

<sup>814</sup> «Theódulo was the one who first applied the amnesty».

<sup>815</sup> «Paulino put on a tie to leave prison».

... 1000000

# Vereadores são reeompoados e Petrônio vê ilegalidade

**Recompoem os que fustigaram Jânio**

... 1000000

**Ministro pede obediência à lei**

**ACABOU O TABU DA MATEMATICA**

**AGS BANCÁRIOS E A POPULAÇÃO EM GERAL**

**Departamento Nacional de Obras Contra as Secas**

**Fortaleza agenda sessão de libertação**

**Fortaleza agenda sessão de libertação**

**Este é o primeiro número da nova publicação do Jornal do Brasil: 264-6807**





the police commissioner mentioned in the text, although, the page sense construction leads the reader to this path at the same time that proposes a narrative in which the second subject in the scene is almost hidden, in the pictorial aspect as well as in the ethical one. Another aspect that must be pointed out is that Paulino was smiling in the photo, just as has been described in the article, is impossible to say that the image captures the very moment of the dialogue that was mentioned, however, once again the narrative path was given. Finally, the vertical medium distance image, that occupied around a 1/5 of the page one more time was used as a tool to give a face and a human aspect to those who still that day were political prisoners.

The second part of the article as well as the second image of that page (*photo 82*) presented the events that took place in Rio de Janeiro on the day before. In narrating the moment in which three individuals were freed in the city most of the textual space was dedicated to their declarations. The final part of the text presented the words of Inês Ettiene Romeu, as was presented according to the «FSP» the only political woman prisoner in the state. And was her who was pictured in the alongside image and indicated in the caption «Inês lutará agora pela anistia irrestrita».<sup>816</sup> The image, once again, a vertical rectangular shot presenting an american plan of the ex-prisoner, was made at night and from a medium distance allowing the detailing of her happy facial expression and smile. The picture also presents an important moving element, that has been seen in the front cover of that day, and in the picture right above. This aspect is important to be mentioned exactly because of the layer of materiality that a moving element can give to a scene, especially those that are trying to represent the emotion present in a moment as the ones that were being presented. In addition to these aspects, must be underscore the presence of two banners in the scene in which can be clearly read «Anistia, ampla, geral e irrestrita»<sup>817</sup> and «Onde estão nossos mortos?»<sup>818</sup> in a direct reference to the two most polemic points of the Amnesty Law and that remained out of the final Law text, the unrestricted element of the Amnesty and the accountability of the crimes committed by the Brazilian State during the dictatorship so far. This is, in our interpretation another important example of how the «JB» was trying to say, reinforce and emphasize political aspects that would probably face problems if were published in a more explicit way in a verbal support. The heritage of decades of valorization of the photojournalism in its pages was still visible even in a moment that a deepening financial crisis added by a political one was starting to seriously compromise the newspaper.

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<sup>816</sup> «Ines will now fight for unrestricted amnesty».

<sup>817</sup> «Amnesty, broad, general and unrestricted».

<sup>818</sup> «Where are our dead?».

**Anistia solta 4 presos no Rio e na Bahia**



**CONJUGADO ESTÉREO DA PHILIPS.  
 UM SOM PARA QUEM NÃO FAZ CONCESSÃO.**



**PHILIPS**

AGÊNCIA DE AUTOMÓVEIS ANDRÉ • AUTO-RÁDIO MONVAL • ANTENAS ACCIÓNDIS • ANTIVAL • BARRAS ACCIÓNDIS  
 • COMYPE S.A. • GALERIA CRAVE DE BARRA • SERRAVALLE LTDA. • SERRAVALLE S.A. • SERRAVALLE MACCINI • SERRAVALLE S.A. SERRAVALLE  
 • CASA BARONI • FORTES-PIRE • OCCUPINA S.A. • TELE-SON • TRANSDINÂMICA S. PIZZAZ • WILSON CORRÊA S.A.



Finally, closing this day analysis, in page number seventeen, the headline «DPF substitutes the Armed Forces in the combat to the subversion» was followed by a text detailing the news responsible for the country's internal security, keeping the Armed Forces apart from it. In this case no photo has been published in an attitude that can be interpreted as a further narrative element that intended to valorize the opposition and handle in a protocol manner the regime's requests and from which the «JB» was trying each day to be detached.

In an overall, the way that both newspapers had approached the key days around the signing of the so-called Amnesty Law can be described as an attempt to be in balance between a caution coverage, sometimes excessive close to the official version of the facts and moments dedicated to the humanization of the individuals involved in it, from the president Figueiredo to the prisoners that were being released. In addition to it, the presence of the polemic related to the city councilors in Porto Alegre works as a synthesizer of these notions, exactly because the case represented the disagreements that were present inside the government decisions connected to the new law and the political wills of the society.

## Chapter 8 – Overprint and consensus, the «Diretas Já» elections campaign

### *The 1980s and a negotiate transition*

The end of the 1970s brought even closer the changes in the regime that were aimed by both parts: the militaries and the opposition; this last one was still solid in an extended group able to gather different sectors of the society and political proposes. Though, the way that the new social movements were being inserted in the opposition and its repercussion within the medium class (especially the labour movement), have in some way alarmed the militaries, these, once more underlined their will of being in total control of the transition and make it through a long negotiation. One example of this behavior was the fact that in December of 1978 the regime had ended the ban to one hundred and twenty political exiled, but Leonel Brizola still influent in the opposition was kept out of the country: returning only after the Amnesty Law in 1979, a sign of the control in the opening process (LEITE, 2019, p. 365).

The negotiated transition gave even more preference to a conservative and liberal path, a safer and quieter road. In so, there were some main concerns between the militaries, in first place, the process should lead the country to a new liberal and moderate hegemony, without any risks to the international capital interests; one of the main challenges in this field was to deal with a growing neoliberal group inside the industries associations.<sup>819</sup> In addition to that, any kind of left-oriented political group, especially those with transit and proposals related to socialist and communist tendencies should be kept away from power. And finally, maybe the biggest concern was to avoid any an Official State condemnation or reparation of the violations perpetrated by the Armed Forces during the decades of dictatorship; the regime had named his biggest enemy in the 1980s, the «revanchismo»<sup>820</sup>, in other words any attempt of the Brazilian society to investigate and punish the crimes committed (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 283).

Figueiredo arrived in office with the society excited about the political liberties that were possible to be seen in the horizon, but the economic field was once more a main issue to the regime. The decade might be new, but the economic problems were old. Trying to solve a constant problem during the regime, the militaries brought back Delfim Netto, former Ministry of the Economy, in that new moment he returned to the government as Ministry of the Agriculture, with the attempt of improving the country's exportation in this sector. The problem was that the new decade, after another oil shock transformed, once more, the inflation

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<sup>819</sup> Francisco Fonseca (2003) in «A Grande imprensa e a constituição da agenda ultraliberal na “Nova República» and Carolina Matos (2008) in «Jornalismo e Política Democrática no Brasil» discuss the influence of the mainstream press in the reorganization of the political and economic ideology in Brazil.

<sup>820</sup> «revanchism». In the following pages this topic will be undertaken again.

in a huge concern. In the year of 1980 reached the mark of 110%, in the same breath, the cost of the Brazilian debt in 1982 was responsible of 90% of Brazilian exports value because of the raise in the interest's rate made by the USA government (SILVA, 2017, p. 13). To complete the problems that Figueiredo found in his way to the end of the regime, took place, in 1980 the death of Petrônio Portela, Senate's leader and political negotiator, and later already in 1981, the general Golbery do Couto e Silva (one of the main ideologists of the regime) quit the cabinet, his leave had worsened the lack of political legitimacy that the militaries were suffering in that moment (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 285).

To all these cards that were on the table we must add another one. The resurgence of the workers movement via the organization of a new strike in 1979, only a couple days before Figueiredo inauguration; in this occasion the movement had a clear participation of Union's leaderships and also street actions less discreet. The government and part of business class accused the workers of creating a «political strike» more than a demand for better work conditions and salaries, the fact is that in the occasion the strike was confronting the regime and gathering around its important sectors of the medium class. The movement last two weeks, there was still repression, the pragmatic victories were few, but the political expression of discontentment showed to be a major win. Besides that, the «ABC» movement bring to the surface of Brazilian society a new political leader, capable of summarize several demands of the working class as well as an important share of the medium class. The strike sequence presented Luis Inácio Lula da Silva<sup>821</sup> to the country.

In October of 1979, Santo Dias da Silva, a union leader with connections inside different social works of the Catholic Church was killed by the police during a workers' protest, his death. According to Napolitano (2014, p. 288) the event had a cathartic meaning, in similar way to what represented the killing of the student Edson Luis in 1968, generating more

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<sup>821</sup> Born in 1945 in Garanhuns in the interior of the state of Pernambuco, in 1952 with his family migrated to São Paulo. Started to work at the age of 12 as office-boy, two years later went to work on a screw factory and began a mechanic operator course, after that was employee in the metalwork industry. In 1969 has occupied his first post in the metalworkers Union of São Bernardo do Campo and Diadema, six years later was elected president of the Union and in 1978 reelected. In 1980 due to the strikes organized by several workers organizations he was arrested for 31 days; in the same year he participated in the foundation of the «Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT)». In 1984 was one of the main leaders of the «Diretas Já» movement, in the elections of 1986 he was the Federal Deputy elected with most votes in the country. From 1989 until 1998 he ran for presidency four times; in the elections of 2002 he has been elected president of Brazil with 53 million votes and reelected four years later with 57 million votes. Both of his terms were marked by several national policies dedicated to reducing the inequalities in the country. After leaving the presidency has been investigated and condemned for corruption being arrested in April 2018. Almost two years later, in November 2019 he has been released from jail, and in March 2021 the accusations were annulated by the Brazilian Supreme Court. Available in: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/luiz-inacio-lula-da-silva/biografia-periodo-presidencial> Access in: 20/07/2021.

engagement within the workers and the opposition in general. The new decade starts with a big strike in the «ABC» region, in the anniversary of the coup, 31<sup>st</sup> of March 1980 a major strike was called, and the labour movement became the center of country's attention during more than a month. The regime on his side did not spare in the repression, the strike has been declared illegal by the Justice, Union's directors were removed, and others arrested, the city of São Bernardo was partially occupied by the Army (MACEDO, 2010).

After a little more than a month the strike came to an end in the celebrations of May 1<sup>st</sup>, at its end «A República de São Bernardo era vista como a síntese da sociedade civil oprimida, em luta pela democracia»<sup>822</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 291). However, that civil society was extremely diverse and the debate aiming to define what it was and what represented started with the «Plenário Democrático da Sociedade Civil» is still undergoing. Is consensus that the main objective was the democratic struggle, but was a too wide concept and agenda; the many alternatives that existed inside the left-wing group exposed that problem<sup>823</sup> and the reorganization of the agendas.

Meanwhile, the right-wing was solid in one block, between 1978 and 1981 have even been seen violent attacks of armed-organized groups of far-right wing.<sup>824</sup> The most remarkable one became the episode in which the attack failed. In April's 30<sup>th</sup> 1981 during concert dedicated to the celebrations of 1<sup>st</sup> May in Rio de Janeiro two bombs exploded, the first one in the electrical central of the concert hall, the other instead exploded inside of a car that was at the parking lot, in which were victims the two «DOI-Codi agents».<sup>825</sup> This episode has made explicit the, at least, lenient attitude of the government towards this type of action, after the so-called «Rio Centro» case, the far-right wing armed struggle was essentially over, it became too dangerous for the regime have the image of the armed forces exposed that way (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 296).

Still in 1979 has been also approved a new «Lei de Reforma Partidária»<sup>826</sup> as a strategy to divide the opposition. In that occasion the «ARENA» has been transformed into the «Partido

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<sup>822</sup> «The Republic of São Bernardo was seen as the synthesis of the oppressed civil society, struggling for democracy».

<sup>823</sup> There were different objectives for each political group, passing through «PCB», «PCdoB», « Trotskyists», «Catholic Left», « Leninists». The alternative press was a sort of meeting point to all of these sectors even if there were several newspapers (SALES, 2007).

<sup>824</sup> According to the newspaper «Em tempo» in those three years took place almost one hundred attacks, the most commons ones were bombing or kidnapping. Brizola has suffered with actions when he returned to the country, his room in the «Hotel Everest» was the target of a bombing threat.

<sup>825</sup> A detailed description of this episode is available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpd/doc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-tematico/riocentro-atentado-do> Access in: 18/07/2021.

<sup>826</sup> «Party Reform Law».

Democrático Social»<sup>827</sup>, and the opposition were divided in several parties some new others that already existed before the coup. The «MDB» became the «PMDB» and the «PTB» main heir of the Vargas's and Goulart's labourist agenda were gave to Alzira Vargas direct heir of the former president. Albeit, the political force related to this agenda was now with Leonel Brizola, that in his turn had create the «Partido Democrático Trabalhista (PDT)»<sup>828</sup> at the beginning, powerful in the states of Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul, but still fragile in other parts of the country, besides these another main new political actor has been the surge of the «Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT)»<sup>829</sup> that was founded in February 1980, gathering a non-communist left-wing. In its first years, the new party, that counted a lot in the figure of Lula was not clear in its proposals, if reformist or revolutionary. In brief, the Parties Reform was able at the same time of make the opposition weaker by dividing it and organizing what would become the new political institutional system and it represents (FREIRE, 2014, p. 299). After the good results that the «PMDB» obtained in the 1982 elections, when even with the growth of the party the National Congress was still divided<sup>830</sup>, the party was caught in a dilemma. The regime and some sectors of the party were planning a quiet final transition act, with a solid but institutional opposition centered in the «PMDB». Nevertheless, after some months of spontaneous social disturbs in the streets of São Paulo in the first months of 1983 (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p.305), there was a general sensation inside the opposition that the streets would play a central role in the following months.

The movement «Diretas Já para presidente da República»<sup>831</sup> demanding direct elections for president still during the military dictatorship emerged as the result of an accumulation of political tensions, negotiations, and the reorganization of a part of the Civil Society in Brazil. In this key of interpretation, is possible to say that in the beginning of the 1980s there was an opposition block capable of converge inside of its own differences and raise the pressure against the government. The movement had it first thrust on the 27<sup>th</sup> of November of 1983 when the now «PMDB», and the recently created «PT», organized in São Paulo the first rallies asking for direct elections. This alliance had putted together the late official opposition party «PMDB» that worked in a double front; in one hand kept open the negotiation line with the militaries and on the other, promoted the taking of the streets by the movement united with the

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<sup>827</sup> «Social Democratic Party - PDS».

<sup>828</sup> «Democratic Labour Party».

<sup>829</sup> «Workers Party».

<sup>830</sup> The results of all the elections occurred in 1982 are nowadays published in the «TSE» website. Available in: <https://bibliotecadigital.tse.jus.br/xmlui/handle/bdtse/5436> Access in: 19/07/2021.

<sup>831</sup> «Direct elections for President of the Republic».

«PT» that was still a minor party in the Brazilian political balance, although was already demonstrating its streets and mobilization strength. At this moment the «PMDB» dilemma was synthesized, the party could not leave the streets, but had also to cooperate with the militaries to end the transition; the strategy was divided in two: if the elections became direct, the candidate would be Ulysses Guimarães, whether the military kept the process under the control of the Electoral College, the candidate would be Tancredo Neves. The next steps of the process would be determined by the voting of the Constitutional Amendment that the Congressman Dante de Oliveira had submitted. This convergence of political forces added by a major support by most of the mass media organs<sup>832</sup> inflated the movement especially in the first months of 1984; the rallies in the end of January, February and in the first weeks of April became the biggest popular manifestations in country's history (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 306).

Nevertheless, even this huge mobilization did not avoid the major setback that the opposition to the Dictatorship suffered in 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1984 when the «Dante de Oliveira Amendment» has been refused by the National Congress and the next elections would still be indirect through an Electoral College.<sup>833</sup> And was to that the «PMDB» dedicated itself, Tancredo Neves was presented as the opposition candidate and facing Paulo Maluf (PDS), former mayor and governor of São Paulo, known for corruption scandals and for his political violence, his candidature was rejected in all fronts of the opposition. (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 309).

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<sup>832</sup> Matos (2008, p. 52) indicates that in the six months that preceded the rejection of Dante de Oliveira Amendment the «Folha de S. Paulo» published 378 articles dedicated to the «Diretas Já» and the «Jornal Brasil» published 70 articles with the same argument.

<sup>833</sup> The complete text of the Amendment to the Constitution proposal N°5, of 1983 presented in the Brazilian National Congress by the «PMDB's» Federal Deputy in April's 18<sup>th</sup> 1983 was published in the «Diário do Congresso Nacional» n°28, p. 468.

Available in: <https://legis.senado.leg.br/diarios/ver/15582?sequencia=14>. Access in: 10/09/2022.

Is also available online the complete Legislative Activity of the proposal until its denial in April's 25<sup>th</sup> of 1984. Available in: <https://www25.senado.leg.br/web/atividade/materias/-/materia/18035/pdf>. Access in: 10/09/2022.



Case / Data	«DIRETAS JÁ»	TOTAL
Period analysed	27/11/83; 28/11/83; 25/01/84; 26/01/84; 24/02/84; 25/02/84; 10/04/84; 11/04/84; 16/04/84 and 17/04/84	10
<i>JORNAL DO BRASIL</i> <sup>834</sup>		
Nº of front pages	1 (27/11/83); 1 (25/01/84); 1 (26/01/84); 1 (24/02/84); 1 (25/02/84); 1 (10/04/84); 1 (11/04/84); 1 (16/04/84); 1 (17/04/84)	9
Nº of headlines	1 (27/11/83); 1 (25/01/84); 1 (26/01/84); 1 (24/02/84); 1 (25/02/84); 1 (10/04/84); 1 (11/04/84); 1 (16/04/84); 2 (17/04/84)	10
Nº front page photos	1 (27/11/83); 1 (25/01/84); 1 (26/01/84); 2 (24/02/84); 2 (25/02/84); 3 (10/04/84); 2 (11/04/84); 2 (17/04/84)	14
Main headlines	«Leitão articula mandato tampão» (27/11/83); «Andreazza se lança com força e promete diretas» (25/01/84); «Comício pelas diretas reúne multidão durante 4 horas em São Paulo» (26/01/84); «Tancredo pede ao PMDB que respeite as instituições» (24/04/84); «Tancredo garante que o povo não abre mão das eleições diretas» (25/02/84); «PDS negará quórum para a votação das diretas» (10/04/84); «Comício pela aprovação das diretas para o Rio e reúne 800 mil pessoas na Candelária» (11/04/84); «Emenda do governo prevê segundo turno indireto para as diretas de 89» (16/04/84); «Figueiredo propõe diretas em 88 com mandato de 4 anos e reeleição», «Diretas Já reúne 1 milhão e 300 mil pessoas no Anhangabaú em São Paulo» (17/04/84).	
Nº of internal pages	2 (27/11/83); 1 (28/11/83); 1 (25/01/84); 2 (26/01/84); 2 (24/02/84); 1 (25/02/84); 2 (10/04/84); 3 (11/04/84); 1 (16/04/84); 4 (17/04/84)	19
Nº of internal photos	2 (27/11/83); 2 (28/11/83); 1 (25/01/84); 2 (26/01/84); 1 (24/02/84); 2 (25/02/84); 2 (10/04/84); 6 (11/04/84); 1 (16/04/84); 4 (17/04/84)	23
Main internal titles	«Governadores do PMDB lançam manifesto pelas diretas», «Leitão propõe mandato-tampão para que haja diretas», «Tancredo afirma que só Presidente lidera consenso» (27/11/83); «Teotônio morre ouvindo pássaro cantar», «Tancredo nega validade ao Colégio Eleitoral» (28/11/83); «Andreazza se lança e quer que país volte a crescer» (25/01/84); «Multidão lota Praça da Sé no comício pelas diretas» (26/01/84); «Tancredo não quer críticas a Figueiredo no comício» (24/02/84); «Tancredo afirma que o povo não abre mão das eleições diretas» (25/02/84);	

<sup>834</sup> «Jornal do Brasil, the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1983. The 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of January, the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of February, N<sup>o</sup>s 233 and 234290, 291, 320, 321, Year XCIII. The 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1984, N<sup>o</sup>s 02,03,08 and 09 Year XCIV».

	«Centro do Rio para hoje às 16hs pelas diretas», «Comitê aciona esquema para afastar bandeiras vermelhas» (10/04/84); «Rio põe 800 mil pessoas nas ruas por eleições diretas», «Dia amanhece com sol e papel picado na Candelária», «Chaves admite emergência se Congresso sofrer pressão» (11/04/84); «Ulysses afirma que Aureliano decide diretas» (16/04/84); «Tancredo quer libertar país da “confusão”», «São Paulo faz por diretas o maior comício do país», «Figueiredo propõe para 1988 as diretas em dois turnos», «Presidente diz a políticos que não aceita diretas» (17/04/84).	
<i>FOLHA DE S. PAULO</i> <sup>835</sup>	27/11/83; 28/11/83; 25/01/84; 26/01/84; 24/02/84; 25/02/84; 10/04/84; 11/04/84; 16/04/84 and 17/04/84	10
Nº of front pages	1 (27/11/83); 1 (28/11/83); 1 (25/01/84); 1 (26/01/84); 1 (24/02/84); 1 (25/02/84); 1 (10/04/84); 1 (11/04/84); 1 (16/04/84); 1 (17/04/84);	10
Nº of headlines	2 (27/11/83); 1 (28/11/83); 1 (25/01/84); 1 (26/01/84); 1 (24/02/84); 1 (25/02/84); 1 (10/04/84); 1 (11/04/84); 1 (16/04/84); 4 (17/04/84);	15
Nº front page photos	1 (27/11/83); 1 (28/11/83); 2 (25/01/84); 1 (26/01/84); 1 (24/02/84); 1 (25/02/84); 2 (10/04/84); 2 (11/04/84); 1 (16/04/84); 2 (17/04/84);	14
Main headlines	«Eleição direta é o caminho», «Maioria ignora ter escolhido Colégio Eleitoral» (27/11/83); «Manifestação de 15 mil exige a volta das diretas» (28/11/83) «Esperados 100 mil no comício» (25/01/84); «300 mil nas ruas pelas diretas» (26/01/84); «Forças Armadas aceitarão diretas, afirma Aureliano» (24/02/84); «Em Minas, mais de 300 mil» (25/02/84); «Rio faz hoje comício-monstro» (10/04/84); «No Rio, mais de 1 milhão pelas diretas» (11/04/84); «Diretas estão nas mãos de Aureliano» (16/04/84); «São Paulo faz o maior comício», Figueiredo envia emenda e apela por negociação» (17/04/84).	
Nº of internal pages	4 (27/11/83); 2 (28/11/83); 3 (25/01/84); 6 (26/01/84); 2 (24/02/84); 3 (10/04/84); 5 (11/04/84); 2 (16/04/84); 7 (17/04/84);	34
Nº of internal photos	4 (27/11/83); 5 (28/11/83); 5 (25/01/84); 11 (26/01/84); 2 (24/02/84); 6 (25/02/84); 3 (10/04/84); 9 (11/04/84); 4 (16/04/84); 14 (17/04/84);	63
Main internal titles	«Governadores oposicionistas oficializam campanha», «Os “riscos” das eleições diretas», «Tudo pronto para o ato público no Pacaembu», «Anseio nacional é mais forte do que as divergências» (27/11/83); «Ato pelas diretas leva 15 mil à praça Charles Miller», «Teotônio será sepultado hoje às 16hs» (28/11/83); «Andreazza lança candidatura com festa», «A cidade vive a ansiosa expectativa para lotar a Sé», «Praça tem capacidade para receber 180 mil pessoas» (25/01/84); «Na Sé, um brado retumbante pede eleições diretas», «A disputa por melhores lugares começa na véspera», «Multidão se desfaz com calma, molhada de chuva» (26/01/84);	

<sup>835</sup> «Folha de S.Paulo, the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1983, the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of January, N<sup>o</sup>s 19.961, 19.962, 20.020, 20.021 Year 63. The 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of February. the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1984 N<sup>o</sup>s 20.050, 20.051, 20.096, 20.097, 20.102 and 20.103 Year 64.

	<p>«Minas faz hoje o grande comício pró-diretas», «Militares acatarão do Congresso, diz Aureliano» (24/02/84);</p> <p>«Minas sai às ruas para exigir eleições diretas», «Para Tancredo e Ulisses, campanha fica mais forte», «Hoje manifestações em todo o interior» (25/02/84);</p> <p>«Rio quer fazer do comício de hoje uma festa cívica», «Comovido, Hélio Silva vê História e vai à rua com o povo», «Governo intensifica pressões contra emissoras de TV» (10/04/84);</p> <p>«Rio faz o maior comício da história do Brasil», «O País grande reencontra a Nação», «Polícia Militar retira faixa em favor de uma greve geral», «Dalla não sabe como acomodar jornalistas no dia da votação», «Figueiredo reitera direito do Colégio Eleitoral» (11/04/84);</p> <p>«Diretas-já dependem de Aureliano, afirma Ulisses», «São Paulo volta às ruas hoje para exigir Diretas Já» (16/04/84);</p> <p>«Figueiredo propõe diretas para 88 e apela ao diálogo», «É hora de conciliação, diz Aureliano», «São Paulo faz a maior manifestação política do País», «Governador dedica todo o seu dia ao ato de protesto», «Comissão de coordenação fica satisfeita com os resultados», «Professores cantam agora pela eleição» (17/04/84).</p>	
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<p><b>Main headlines Translation</b></p> <p>«Jornal do Brasil»</p>	<p>«Leitão articulates buffer mandate» (27/11/83);</p> <p>«Andreazza launches himself with force and promises directs» (25/01/84);</p> <p>«Rally for the directs gathers crowds for 4 hours in São Paulo» (26/01/84);</p> <p>«Tancredo asks PMDB to respect institutions» (24/02/84);</p> <p>«Tancredo guarantees that the people will not give up on direct elections» (25/02/84);</p> <p>«PDS will deny quorum for the vote on direct elections» (10/04/84);</p> <p>«Rally for the approval of direct elections stops Rio and brings together 800 thousand people in Candelária» (11/04/84);</p> <p>«Government amendment foresees an indirect second round for the direct elections in 1989» (16/04/84);</p> <p>«Figueiredo proposes direct elections in 88 with a mandate of 4 years and reelection»; «Diretas Já gathers 1 million 300 thousand people in Anhagabaú in São Paulo» (17/04/84).</p>
<p><b>Internal headlines Translation</b></p> <p>«Jornal do Brasil»</p>	<p>«Governors of the PMDB launch manifesto for the directives», «Leitão proposes a buffer mandate for direct elections», «Tancredo affirms that only the President leads consensus» (27/11/83);</p> <p>«Teotônio dies listening to bird singing», «Tancredo denies the validity to the Electoral College» (28/11/83);</p> <p>«Andreazza launches himself and wants the country to grow again» (25/01/84);</p> <p>«Crowd fills Praça da Sé at the rally for direct elections» (26/01/84);</p> <p>«Tancredo does not want criticism of Figueiredo at the rally» (24/02/84);</p> <p>«Tancredo affirms that the people will not give up direct elections» (25/02/84);</p> <p>«Centro do Rio stops today at 4pm for the direct elections», «Committee triggers scheme to keep away red flags» (10/04/84);</p>

	<p>«Rio puts 800 thousand people on the streets for direct elections», « Sunny dawn and shredded paper rain in Candelária», «Chaves admits emergency if Congress suffers pressure» (11/04/84);</p> <p>«Ulysses says Aureliano decides direct» (16/04/84);</p> <p>«Tancredo wants to free the country from "confusion"», «São Paulo holds the largest rally in the country for direct elections», «Figueiredo proposes two-round direct elections for 1988», «President tells politicians that he does not accept direct elections» (17/04/84).</p>
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<p><b>Main headlines Translation</b></p> <p>«Folha de S. Paulo»</p>	<p>«Direct election is the way», «Majority ignores having chosen Electoral College» (27/11/83);</p> <p>«Manifestation of 15 thousand demands the return of direct elections» (28/11/83);</p> <p>«100 thousand expected at the rally» (25/01/84);</p> <p>«300 thousand in the streets for the directs» (26/01/84);</p> <p>«Armed Forces will accept directives, says Aureliano» (24/02/84);</p> <p>«In Minas Gerais, more than 300 thousand» (25/02/84);</p> <p>«Rio has a monster rally today» (10/04/84);</p> <p>«In Rio, more than 1 million for the Directives» (11/04/84);</p> <p>«Diretas are in Aureliano's hands» (16/04/84);</p> <p>«São Paulo has the biggest rally»; «Figueiredo sends amendment and appeals for negotiation» (17/04/84).</p>
<p><b>Internal headlines Translation</b></p> <p>«Folha de S. Paulo»</p>	<p>«Governors of the opposition officialize the campaign», «The "risks" of direct elections», «Everything ready for the public act in Pacaembu», «National yearning is stronger than the differences» (27/11/83);</p> <p>« 15,000 march for direct elections in Charles Miller Square », «Teotonio will be buried today at 4pm» (28/11/83);</p> <p>«Andreazza launches candidacy with a party», «The city lives the anxious expectation to fill the Sé», «The square has the capacity to receive 180 thousand people» (25/01/84);</p> <p>«At the Sé, a resounding cry for direct elections», «The dispute for better seats begins on the eve», «The crowd calmly breaks up, wet with rain» (26/01/84);</p> <p>«Minas makes today the great rally pro-diretas», « Military will comply with Congress, says Aureliano» (24/02/84);</p> <p>« Minas takes to the streets to demand direct elections», « For Tancredo and Ulisses, campaign gets stronger», « Today demonstrations across the countryside» (25/02/84);</p> <p>«Rio wants to turn today's rally into a civic party», «Moved, Hélio Silva sees history and goes to the streets with the people», « Government intensifies pressure against TV stations» (10/04/84);</p> <p>«Rio holds the largest rally in the history of Brazil», « The great country meets the nation», « Military Police remove banner in favour of a general strike», « Dalla not sure how to accommodate journalists on polling day», «Figueiredo reiterates right of the Electoral College» (11/04/84);</p>

	<p>« Direct-now depends on Aureliano, says Ulisses», « São Paulo takes to the streets again today to demand Direct Directives Now» (16/04/84);          «Figueiredo proposes direct elections for 88 and appeals to dialogue», «Is time for conciliation, says Aureliano», «São Paulo holds the largest political demonstration in the country», «Governor dedicates his whole day to the act of protest», «Coordinating Commission is satisfied with the results», «Teachers now sing for the election» (17/04/84).</p>
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Regarding the scope of the present analysis there are some overall commentaries that must be made before getting into the analysis itself. In first place, the quantity of front covers, headlines, pages and photographs that the «Jornal do Brasil» dedicated to the subject consolidates a tendency that was already seen in the previous years; the Rio de Janeiro's newspaper lost relevance in the national press scenario swapping its place with «Folha de S. Paulo» in what concerns the national wide range (in the news production and reception), that is to say, from a nationwide newspaper the «JB» went to a regional importance one. And this was reflected not only in the quantity of space and information dedicated to national agenda, but also in the lack articles and stories from different parts of the country, resulting in a news production that aimed the local repercussions and consequences of the facts.

In second place, as a correlated result of this inversion in the newspaper's importance, the «FSP» presented in the ten days that were chosen to this analysis a highly elevated number of pictures. In ten front covers and thirty-four internal pages were published precisely seventy-seven photos, gathering images from the rallies that occurred in São Paulo, but also, all over the country, consolidating a new national position to the newspaper. In addition to that, is necessary to highlight that, the «Diretas Já» movement gave to the «FSP» the possibility of replacing the newspaper ideologically in the Brazilian Civil Society.

Finally, is mandatory to underscore that the dates chosen were the days and days after the main rallies that took place in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte. Besides that, because of the elevate number of photos, not all the images were putted under scrutiny. In the editions that concentrated the most of them, the ones which were analyzed were chosen based on their relevance to the newspaper page and to the political context.

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27/11/1983 – *Folha de S. Paulo*

As indicated above, the 27<sup>th</sup> of November 1983, has been the starting point of the «Diretas Já», at least in its closest relation with the mass media. The «FSP» has seen the

opportunity and was conducted<sup>836</sup> to organize itself as a company and the newspaper politic-ideological position as a declared supporter of the movement from its beginning, in so discursively the «FSP» placed itself as a democratic and vanguardist newspaper. And these elements are present in that day first page's titles and in its overall composition.

The main headline was «Direct election is the way», added by an auxiliary title placed before it «Seis governadores peemedebistas reúnem-se em São Paulo e lançam campanha nacional»<sup>837</sup> and another one after it «Comício de hoje mobiliza sociedade civil»<sup>838</sup>, exposing in highly evidence the elements and concepts which the newspaper subscribed; direct election, a movement organized by the Civil Society and its path within the institutional politics. In brief, a consensus movement inside the Brazilian society sector that, in that point of the Dictatorship were no longer supporter of the militaries or were joined to these sectors to have more political power inside the parliamentary possibilities. The «FSP» desiring a more liberal, capitalist and democrat Brazilian society, saw the opportunity to directly influence and contribute to the organization of a political movement that would express these ideals.

It is in this key that also in that day's first page was published an official photograph (*photo 83*) of a meeting between the «PMDB»'s state governors in São Paulo. In the caption were indicated their names and state of provenience

No Palácio dos Bandeirantes, a partir da esquerda: Cibilis Viana (representando Leonel Brizola – RJ), Gilberto Mestrinho (AM), Tancredo Neves (MG), Francisco Montoro (SP), Jáder Barbalho (PA), Iris Resende (GO), José Richa (PR) e Ramos Tebet (representou Wilson Martins -MS)<sup>839</sup>

In the image are present the eight politics standing in front of a large wooden table, wearing suits, and looking to the direction of the photograph. The medium plan horizontal picture, occupying approximately 1/5 of the page, offers the possibility to not only identificate who were those in the scene, but also elements of the scenario. In this case, the noble room of the São Paulo state governor palace. These elements of nobility are present all over the scene

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<sup>836</sup> According to Matos (2008, p. 62) the military *establishment* used to have a close relation with the «FSP» owners and in 1974 in a meeting between the Army General Golbery Couto e Silva and the «FSP» owners Ocatvio Frias de Oliveira the military had indicated that São Paulo's state needed a second strong political newspaper capable of competing with the «O Estado de S.Paulo», in so the «FSP» has seen the moment for reorganizing itself and its political positioning, as a sort of hint into a slow returning to democracy process.

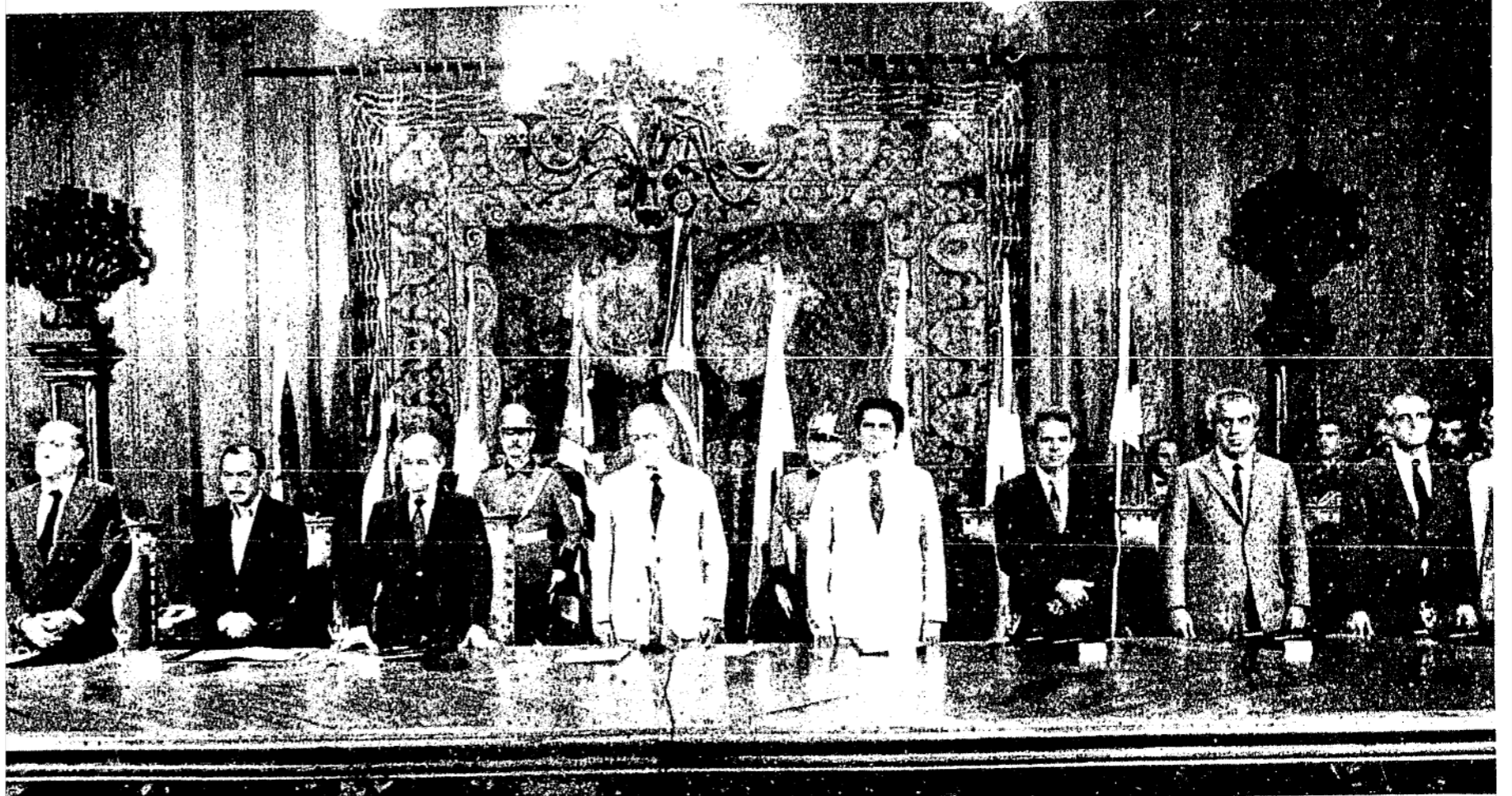
<sup>837</sup> «Six PMDB's governors meet in São Paulo and launch a national campaign».

<sup>838</sup> «Today's rally mobilizes civil society».

<sup>839</sup> «At the Bandeirantes Palace, from left: Cibilis Viana (representing Leonel Brizola - RJ), Gilberto Mestrinho (AM), Tancredo Neves (MG), Francisco Montoro (SP), Jáder Barbalho (PA), Iris Resende (GO), José Richa (PR) and Ramos Tebet (representing Wilson Martins -MS) ».

# Comício de hoje mobiliza sociedade civil

Claudomiro Teodoro



No Palácio dos Bandeirantes, a partir da esquerda: Cibília Viana (representando Leonel Brizola-RJ), Gilberto Mestrinho (AM), Tancredo Neves (MG), Franco Montoro (SP), Jáder Barbalho (PA), Íris Resende (GO), José Richa (PR) e Ramos Tebet (representou Wilson Martins-MS)

## FOLHA DE S. PAULO



SIGUNDO CICLO

São Paulo, domingo, 27 de novembro de 1983 • Um jornal a serviço do Brasil • Ano 43 • N.º 19.963 • Al. Barão de Limeira, 425 • Cx 250/0

### Operado, Sabin fica paralisado

## Seis governadores peemedebistas reúnem-se em São Paulo e lançam campanha nacional

# “Eleição direta é o caminho”

### Comício de hoje mobiliza sociedade civil

O doutor Albert Sabin, de 68 anos, descobriu de repente que não podia mais andar. Em entrevista dada ao jornal "Washington Post", Sabin explicou que a paralisia acometida pelo vírus da poliomielite ocorreu em um momento em que ele estava se preparando para viajar para o Brasil. Sabin não pode mais andar e por isso deve ser tratado em um hospital especializado em doenças neurológicas. Sabin não pode mais andar e por isso deve ser tratado em um hospital especializado em doenças neurológicas. Sabin não pode mais andar e por isso deve ser tratado em um hospital especializado em doenças neurológicas.

**Opinião de "Folha"**  
A eleição de 1984 é o momento decisivo para o Brasil. A sociedade civil deve se mobilizar para garantir a realização de eleições diretas. A sociedade civil deve se mobilizar para garantir a realização de eleições diretas.

**Selecionados 23 filmes para mostra no Jorنال**  
A mostra de filmes selecionados para o Jorنال será realizada em São Paulo. A mostra de filmes selecionados para o Jorنال será realizada em São Paulo.

**Maioria ignora ter escolhido Colégio Eleitoral**  
A maioria do Congresso Nacional ignora ter escolhido o Colégio Eleitoral para a eleição de 1984. A maioria do Congresso Nacional ignora ter escolhido o Colégio Eleitoral para a eleição de 1984.

**Bomba preocupa o País, acreditam argentinos**  
A possibilidade de uma bomba em São Paulo preocupa os argentinos. A possibilidade de uma bomba em São Paulo preocupa os argentinos.

**Chapéus, uma tradição em poucas cabeças**  
A tradição dos chapéus em São Paulo é mantida por poucas cabeças. A tradição dos chapéus em São Paulo é mantida por poucas cabeças.

**De democracia para o socialismo, a polêmica**  
A polêmica sobre a transição da democracia para o socialismo continua. A polêmica sobre a transição da democracia para o socialismo continua.

**As atreizes do cinema condenam sexo explícito**  
As atreizes do cinema brasileiro condenam o sexo explícito. As atreizes do cinema brasileiro condenam o sexo explícito.

**Bernardo Elis escreveu um conto para crianças**  
Bernardo Elis escreveu um conto para crianças. Bernardo Elis escreveu um conto para crianças.

**Corútiens joga para ficar em 1.º**  
O time de futebol Corútiens joga para ficar em primeiro lugar. O time de futebol Corútiens joga para ficar em primeiro lugar.

**FMI pede cortes no setor público**  
O Fundo Monetário Internacional pede cortes no setor público. O Fundo Monetário Internacional pede cortes no setor público.

**A periferia "esquecida"**  
A periferia de São Paulo é considerada "esquecida". A periferia de São Paulo é considerada "esquecida".

**Cel. Saraiva sugere uma investigação**  
O coronel Cel. Saraiva sugere uma investigação. O coronel Cel. Saraiva sugere uma investigação.

**Délio pede um "basta" à ingenuidade**  
Délio pede um "basta" à ingenuidade. Délio pede um "basta" à ingenuidade.

**Ludwig acusa imprensa de parcialidade**  
Ludwig acusa a imprensa de parcialidade. Ludwig acusa a imprensa de parcialidade.

**Amador de Oliveira**  
Amador de Oliveira é mencionado no texto. Amador de Oliveira é mencionado no texto.

**Amador de Oliveira**  
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beyond the table in the first plan. In the top-center a large chandelier composes the upper third of the picture, the background was filled by a wooden element on the walls and a detailed tapestry artifact also in the center; in the second plan are visible three members of the official guard of the governor holding diverse flags. The whole composition of an important political center of decision is central to give an official and institutional aspect and at the same time support to the «Diretas Já» movement, that is to say, the «FSP» in organizing this enunciation about the subject is subscribing the path of a institutional and political legitimization to the movement, in other words, building a discursive distance from that movement to other, especially extra parliamentary, who tried to depose the dictatorship.

Another important element of this front cover is the fact that the alongside text explains what was the campaign that was being launched at that moment. In 1983, the movement was still known by its official name «Fala Brasil». In so, the four paragraph texts on the right column indicates and promote the rally that would take place on that day at the Charles Miller square in the city of São Paulo, calling it as a «supra-party demonstration» and emphasizing that in addition to the political parties' «PT», «PMDB» and «PDT» more than seventy civil society organization would be present. In this sense, is important to underscore that in the first official day of the campaign the «FSP» dedicated half of its first page to the topic, in a verbo-visual interaction that aimed to reinforce the officiality of the campaign within the political elements of the opposition to the militaries.

Four inside pages were dedicated to the subject, presenting four main headlines as well. The pages seven and nine had as title «The "risks" of direct elections», «National yearning is stronger than the differences» none of them presented any picture. Respectively the first one in an almost ironic tone presented the advantages and disadvantages of the direct elections in the top of the page. In the same breath, the text placed in page number nine present the idea of the political protest and its presence in the streets from a poetic point of view and reinforcing the consensus elements between different sectors of the society

Quando as primeiras pessoas chegarem para a festa-comício deste domingo, no Pacaembu, e a campanha em favor das eleições diretas ganhar definitivamente as ruas e praças no embalo de um anseio nacional, um grande desafio já terá sido vencido: o de unir, novamente, sob a mesma bandeira, acima de divergências e tendências várias, a classe política, os sindicatos e os mais representativos segmentos da sociedade civil.<sup>840</sup>

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<sup>840</sup> «When the first people arrive for the party-meeting this Sunday, in Pacaembu, and the campaign for direct elections takes the streets and squares in the wake of a national anthem, a great challenge will have been overcome:



In these two pages there are already present some elements and indication that the interaction of «FSP» with the «Diretas Já» would be proposed in a more subjective key and tone, without a clear editorial preoccupation to an objective news production process.

In so, the pages six and eight, also inside the rubric «O fim de semana pelas diretas»<sup>841</sup> presented, respectively, the headlines «Governors of the opposition officialize the campaign» and, «Everything ready for the public act in Pacaembu». In each of these pages were present also images related to the aspect emphasized in the verbal and visual construction of the page. The photograph (*photo 84*) proposed a closer and detailed look to the continuation of the scene that was printed in the front cover. In so, the horizontal, in an american plan and rectangular image occupied around 1/8 of the page and framed the governor's meeting while São Paulo's governor Montoro was speaking and the other present were listening to it; in this image other details are present such as the water glasses over the table and also official pastes, reinforcing the element of officiality as legitimization effect. Almost the same background and second plan was present, showing members of the State official guard in the same noble room of the «Bandeirantes Palace». This case indicates a logic of deepening the information of the events in the internal pages, at the same time that keeps the official tone of the support and coverage to the campaign that was being launched. The auxiliary title placed right under the photo quoted the manifest divulgated by the «PMDB»'s governors in the day before, putting in the direct speech the aspirations and willing of this political group «“A Nação tem o direito de ser ouvida”». <sup>842</sup> Is important to note that, was used a totalizing enouncing strategy by the «PMDB»'s governors that was promoted by the «FSP» of placing their will as the nation's political will.

On the other hand, the two images (*photos 85 and 86*) placed in page number eight proposed a connection with the streets, expanding the «Diretas Já» outside the political institutions. The headline «Everything ready for the public act in Pacaembu» followed by the auxiliary title «A festa-comício suprapartidária começa ao meio-dia, na praça Charles Miller, em frente ao estádio»<sup>843</sup> was organized as an invitation to the civil participation to the event. This idea was confirmed in the caption of the bigger image (*photo 85*) in which was written «Na praça Charles Miller, a população é convocada para a manifestação de hoje». <sup>844</sup> The photo,

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that of uniting again, under the same banner, above divergences and various tendencies, the political class, the unions and the most representative segments of civil society».

<sup>841</sup> «The weekend for the Diretas».

<sup>842</sup> «"The Nation has the right to be heard"».

<sup>843</sup> «The supra-partidary rally-party starts at noon, at Charles Miller square, in front of the stadium».

<sup>844</sup> «At Charles Miller square, the population is convoked for today's demonstration».





a medium plan of the square had framed in a slightly deepening angle a scene in which, the first plan reveals a woman with short hair, wearing jeans and carrying a purse in her left shoulder, handing out leaflets to other two elderly ladies, the one on the left wearing a long dress and the one on the right a white t-shirt and a light colored long skirt, both of them are walking as is possible to infer from their body movement freeze and have their serious gaze directed to the leaflet. According to their body shadows the picture was made almost at mid-day, in what were the last hours of the street food market that usually is organized in the same square every Saturday from decades. Other elements of the street market are visible in the picture in its second plan, such as the stands and the presence of the buyer public close to it. In the background a big metal stage with a covering was built in order to receive the politicians who were participate in the rally. This element has an important meaning in the photo exactly because of the alteration of the regular order of the square, especially because to those who know the place<sup>845</sup> and attend to it, this was a major change in years.

In the case of the smaller image of the page (*photo 86*) placed on the right side of the page and followed by a caption indicating «Perante mais de 500 pessoas, Lula faz conclamação a favor das eleições diretas»<sup>846</sup> and right under it the auxiliary title «Em comício-relampago Lula convoca a população».<sup>847</sup> Once again is present the idea of connection between the institutional politics with the streets and in this case was used the participation of another political leadership that was not present in the news about the rally so far, the syndical leader and funder of the «PT» Luis Inácio Lula da Silva. In the picture, a small (1/8 of the page) squared image, made on a deepening medium plan, was framed giving a speech to a small crowd that fulfills the picture from its first plan until almost the very end of the photo. At the background a wall can be seen. Is important to highlight that in the first plan, Lula (with a black beard), was presented standing in a white shirt while speaking to a public that listen carefully. Although, in this page the more important aspect is the interaction between all the graphic elements, the two pictures, titles and subtitles as well as the small map place under the photos, organizing the narrative and indicating to where those interested in participating should go. Finally, the caption of the map presents another central aspect «A área em frente ao estádio do Pacaembu comporta até 175 mil pessoas»<sup>848</sup>, working as reinforcement to the public

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<sup>845</sup> One of the main characteristics of the square it is its wide-open perspective in the bottom of a natural valley in the city. In so, the presence of a massive stage represents a major disruption of the regular order.

<sup>846</sup> «In front of more than 500 people, Lula calls for direct elections».

<sup>847</sup> «Lula calls on the population at a speed-rally».

<sup>848</sup> «The area in front of the Pacaembu stadium can hold up to 175,000 people».

participation, the unfolding of the public attendance will be interesting to see and central in the following day and «FSP» edition.

27/11/1983 – *Jornal do Brasil*

The «JB» initially proposed a much more discreet and balanced narrative on the first events connected to the «Diretas Já» campaign, and in its first days, with an approach highly linked to the militaries positioning and opinion on the issue. This has been clear on the front cover of the 27<sup>th</sup> of November 1983 edition. If, on the one hand, the main headline stated «Leitão articulates buffer mandate» and was followed by a large image (*photo 87*) of Ulysses Guimarães (in the occasion a São Paulo's Deputy of the «PMDB») while he was addressing an speech in the event inside the «Bandeirantes Palace» in São Paulo and with the caption «Ulysses disse que a volta das eleições diretas depende apenas do PDS: “Podemos votar numa tarde”»<sup>849</sup>; on the other hand, the four paragraph text in the right column unfolded the headline indicating that to the militaries, and especially to Leitão de Abreu, Chief Minister of the Civil Cabinet, a buffer mandate until 1986, when direct elections could occur, would be the better option to transition from the military dictatorship to a civil democracy.

In this case, if there was an already mentioned balance between the verbo-visual elements of the page, the picture chosen to be in the that front cover, present a composition that fulfill the role of opposition to the rest of the page. That is to say, the image's choice created an enunciation in which the pictures were the responsible for presenting the opposition side of the official and governmental version of the path to the direct elections. In so, has been pictured one of the «PMDB»'s leaders in the National Congress (the part of the political class which could really approve or not the amendment to the direct elections) in a moment of his speech in which his body language denotes strength and determination, standing while speak, with an arm up and a pointing finger; in the meantime the rest of the present in the image are seated and carefully listening to the congress. A final element that must be highlighted in this image is the fact that the main difference in relation to the «FSP» pictured besides the angle of the photo, was the presence of a wooden pulpit in the noble room from where the speeches were made, reinforcing the official element of the meeting and its institutional legitimation.

The inside page's presented on page number five a small article after the headline, «Governors of the PMDB launch manifesto for the directives», in which a two column text on the left upper quarter of the page presented the event held on the «Bandeirantes Palace» the

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<sup>849</sup> «Ulysses said that the return of the right elections depends only on the PDS: "We can vote in an afternoon"».



Ulysses disse que a volta das eleições diretas depende apenas do PDS: "Podemos votar numa tarde"

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

## Leitão articula o "mandato-tampão"



Ulysses Guimarães articula o "mandato-tampão" para garantir a continuidade do PDS no Congresso Nacional. O líder do PDS no Senado, Ulysses Guimarães, articulou o "mandato-tampão" para garantir a continuidade do PDS no Congresso Nacional. O líder do PDS no Senado, Ulysses Guimarães, articulou o "mandato-tampão" para garantir a continuidade do PDS no Congresso Nacional.

### Brizola reunirá Assembleia para votar aumento

A Assembleia Legislativa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, reunida em sessão extraordinária, vai votar o aumento de 10% do salário mínimo em 1984. O governador Brizola reuniu a Assembleia para votar o aumento de 10% do salário mínimo em 1984.

### Délio garante que ninguém "vira a mesa"

Manoel de Barros, governador do Rio de Janeiro, garantiu que ninguém "viraria a mesa" durante a votação do aumento de 10% do salário mínimo. Manoel de Barros, governador do Rio de Janeiro, garantiu que ninguém "viraria a mesa" durante a votação do aumento de 10% do salário mínimo.

### Tancredino pede que Figueiredo lidere consenso

O governador Tancredino Neves de Alagoas pediu que Figueiredo lidere um consenso entre os partidos para a realização de eleições diretas. O governador Tancredino Neves de Alagoas pediu que Figueiredo lidere um consenso entre os partidos para a realização de eleições diretas.

### Federação diz que há 90 mil desaparecidos

A Federação Nacional dos Desaparecidos (FENADE) afirma que há 90 mil pessoas desaparecidas devido à ditadura militar. A Federação Nacional dos Desaparecidos (FENADE) afirma que há 90 mil pessoas desaparecidas devido à ditadura militar.

### INAMPS aponta doença que surge da crise

O Instituto Nacional de Assistência Médica da Previdência Social (INAMPS) aponta a doença da crise como uma das principais causas de adoecimento. O Instituto Nacional de Assistência Médica da Previdência Social (INAMPS) aponta a doença da crise como uma das principais causas de adoecimento.

### Brasileiros pagam de impostos cinco meses de salário

Os brasileiros pagam de impostos cinco meses de salário por ano, segundo dados do IBGE. Os brasileiros pagam de impostos cinco meses de salário por ano, segundo dados do IBGE.

### ESPECIAL

Este mês é o mês da água. Há um problema sério de abastecimento de água em várias cidades brasileiras. Este mês é o mês da água. Há um problema sério de abastecimento de água em várias cidades brasileiras.

### DOMINGO

Este domingo há uma programação especial de eventos em São Paulo. Este domingo há uma programação especial de eventos em São Paulo.

### caderno B

Este caderno traz notícias e comentários sobre a atual situação política e econômica. Este caderno traz notícias e comentários sobre a atual situação política e econômica.

day before and the main principles of the campaign. No image has been published on that page. The same structure has been used in page number seven in which has been published the headline «Leitão proposes a buffer mandate for direct elections» and a following story that presented the governmental articulation to postpone the possibility of direct elections on that year. Also, in this case no images were printed and most of the page was dedicated to the advertisements announces.

Has been only in page number eight that two photographs (*photos 88 and 89*) were placed in an internal page connected to this new national agenda. At the top of the page, the headline «Tancredo affirms that only the President leads consensus» opened a whole page dedicated to an interview made with Tancredo Neves State Governor of Minas Gerais. In the interview more than the «Diretas Já» the main topic has been the political transition to a new civil government, in so the images captions give a significative idea of how the process should be negotiated from the perspective of one of the main leaders of the «PMDB», and the institutional opposition to the militaries. «A transição, para Tancredo, tem de vir sem abalos ou mutilações»<sup>850</sup> and, «Tancredo propõe entendimento amplo para país sair da crise»<sup>851</sup>, in this page remains clear that the concepts of consensus and understanding were central to transition process, especially to the militaries, but also to the «PMDB» as «official» opposition, indicating an extreme articulation ability of the militaries in power to influence as well the political adversaries to this notion as the main possibility to the end of the dictatorship.

The photos are very similar both have the same size, approximately 1/8 of the page and presented Tancredo seating in a large leather couch, framed in a medium/american plan, in which is possible the identification of his expressions. In the first one, placed in the upper half of the page the Minas governor was smiling, looking to the camera and with his arms and hands opened as if he was saying «there is nothing I can do», such inference is more explicit thinking on the interaction with the captions and headline. The second image, on the bottom of the page, still presents Tancredo seated, smiling wearing a dark suit, but in this case without the gaze directed to the camera; he seemed to be looking to the reporter and held his hands together. Our interpretation to this page it is that, continuing the ideological and narrative balance of the political transition and «Diretas Já» issue, «JB's» attitude showed itself in emphasizing in the written elements the consensus and tranquility needed to the process, but on the other hand was humanizing and giving a face to one of the most important names of the opposition at that time.

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<sup>850</sup> «The transition, for Tancredo, must come without shocks or mutilations».

<sup>851</sup> «Tancredo proposes broad understanding to get the country out of the crisis».

JB - 27/11/1983  
Photos 88 and 89

POLITICA

### Tancredo afirma que só Presidente lidera consenso



“Estamos muito próximos da ruptura”

“Brasil reclama renovação”

**NATAL E AMOR**  
VIVA O NATAL  
É SEJA FELIZ O ANO INTEIRO

Springer

303.115  
3.47.706 - 203.115

33.300 - 89.900

32.670  
3.10.890 - 32.670

Tele-Rio





In a general perspective this attitude towards this agenda showed to be very careful and keeping to the future the need of a decision making.

28/11/1983 – *Folha de S. Paulo*

In the day after the first official rally of the campaign, the «FSP» published in its front cover a picture of a street demonstration Brazil that was lacking in almost all of the mass media newspapers from years. That day's first page presented three photographs in total, the bigger one was place in the bottom half and was dedicated to the sports editorial, in the top quarter of the cover on the left a picture of an airplane crash in Spain occupied 1/3 of that section and in the right side was placed an horizontal image (*photo 90*) of the «Diretas Já» political rally that happened in front of the «Pacaembú stadium» in the day before.

The picture placed under the main headline «Manifestation of 15 thousand demands the return of direct elections» framed in a deeping wide-angle plan a major part of the crowd that was present in the Charles Miller square. The shot was made from behind the stage and the speakers who appeared with their backs to the camera. In this sense, is possible to individuate two men in the lower first plan of the photo, the one on the left with white hair and the one on the right with dark hair; right in front of them are visible two flags, the one on the right presented a white start with the inscription «PT» on it, from this is possible to infer that the flag was red. At the background of the scene, is possible to identify the main entrance of the «Pacaembú stadium». However, are visible also some empty spaces in the back of the crowd, an element that was reenforced also by the image's caption «O primeiro grande comício pelas diretas, no Pacaembu, teve um público inferior ao esperado».<sup>852</sup> In the five paragraphs text placed on the left side of the image were quoted some of the main leaders present such as the «PMDB» senator, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the São Paulo State governor Franco Montoro (PMDB) and Lula (PT). In addition to this were also mentioned the participation of more than seventy civil society entities and the political parties «PT», «PMDB» and «PDT». In an overall this first protest image in the «FSP» first page indicates the editorial tone connected to the «Diretas Já», the verbal discursive elements are less related to a consensus building as seen in the «JB», even if the final objective was this – the discursive complexness of «FSP» was built around the idea of boosting a rupture, that in practice was not a rupture.

As indicated in the front cover, the page number four was the one in which the details of the event were presented. The main headline of that page was «15,000 Act for direct

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<sup>852</sup> «The first big rally for the direct elections, in Pacaembu, was less well attended than expected».

# Manifestação de 15 mil exige a volta das diretas

Na primeira grande manifestação pública em defesa das eleições diretas para a Presidência da República, cerca de 15 mil pessoas se reuniram ontem à tarde na praça Charles de Gaulle em frente ao Palácio do Povo, para exigir a volta das eleições diretas para a Presidência da República. O governador Francisco Montoro não compareceu. Durante o comício, discursou um defensor das diretas o professor de Direito da Faculdade de Direito da USP, Jair Mesquita, e o representante da Comissão de Defesa da Democracia, José de Paiva. Também participou o deputado federal por São Paulo, Luiz da Silva, presidente do PT. Um momento de ênfase ocorreu por volta das 18h, quando foi anunciada a morte de Senador Teotônio Vilela. Em seguida, houve um momento de silêncio em homenagem ao senador.

que "não poderia haver homenagem a um senador que não foi eleito pelo povo".

No seu discurso, Lata afirmou que muitos dos senadores não foram eleitos pelo povo, mas sim por meio de negociações e acordos. Apesar do apelo formal do movimento eleitoral, seus representantes admitiram falhas na mobilização para a eleição. O coordenador da CDT, Jair Mesquita, disse, no entanto, que a eleição direta não é tão irreversível e a campanha, apesar de curta, deverá crescer a cada nova manifestação. Ele também afirmou que a eleição direta não é uma questão de partido, mas sim de interesse nacional. O senador Teotônio Vilela, que estava em São Paulo, morreu de câncer no pulmão em 27 de novembro. Ele foi eleito senador em 1978 e reeleito em 1982. Foi um dos líderes da oposição à ditadura militar.

## Avião cai e mata 183 na Espanha

Um Boeing 747 da empresa aérea espanhola Avianca caiu perto de Madrid, matando 183 de seus 247 ocupantes. Nova série de sobreviventes estão em estado grave. O avião, que fazia o voo 601 de Madrid para Bogotá, com escala em Madri e Caracas, caiu sobre o mar perto de San Sebastián. Os sobreviventes, cinco minutos antes do avião se desintegrar para a derivação a uma altitude de 10.000 metros, foram resgatados por helicópteros e embarcadas em um hospital de emergência em Madrid. O acidente ocorreu pouco antes das 21h. O avião estava em uma rota regular entre Madrid e Bogotá.

## Vendas de supermercado do Banerj é Teotônio, 66, morre de câncer

As vendas dos supermercados Banerj em São Paulo foram de R\$ 1,2 bilhão no período de 1982 - revelou o Conselho de Desenvolvimento Industrial do Ministério da Indústria e do Comércio. A agência não foi malograda segundo o CDT, porque os supermercados são responsáveis pela distribuição de produtos para os consumidores. O setor de varejo registrou, no primeiro nove meses do ano, um aumento médio anual de 1,5%. A situação é considerada satisfatória, mas o desenvolvimento econômico depende da melhoria das condições de trabalho e do aumento de cerca de 20% no preço do algodão, do café e do açúcar.

## Opinião da "Folha"

Leto no pág. 2 de editorial "Diretas não são", com o título "Diretas não são". O texto defende a volta das eleições diretas para a Presidência da República. O autor argumenta que o atual sistema eleitoral é corrupto e não representa o povo. Ele defende que a eleição direta é a única maneira de garantir a democracia e a liberdade política.

## Exibição de curtas e médias começa amanhã

Com o apoio da Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, a Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo realizará uma exposição de curtas e médias metragem. A exposição será realizada no Centro Cultural de São Paulo, a partir de amanhã. O objetivo é promover a produção independente de filmes e vídeos em São Paulo.

## Grupos ameaçam o novo presidente argentino

Grupos de esquerda ameaçam o novo presidente argentino, Ricardo Obregón, devido ao seu compromisso com a direita. Os grupos afirmam que Obregón não cumprirá suas promessas de reforma social e econômica. Eles também acusam Obregón de ser um agente da ditadura militar.

## Médicos do trabalho criam código de ética

Um código de ética para médicos do trabalho foi criado por um grupo de profissionais. O código estabelece normas para a atuação dos médicos em ambientes de trabalho, visando garantir a saúde e a segurança dos trabalhadores.

## Ato reúne 400 mil em Montevéu

Um ato em homenagem ao presidente eleito foi realizado em Montevéu, reunindo cerca de 400 mil pessoas. O ato foi organizado pelo governo e contou com a participação de autoridades locais e nacionais. Foi um momento de celebração e união nacional.

## A URSS nos abandonou, acusa Arafat

O líder da OLP, Yasser Arafat, acusou a URSS de abandonar o povo palestino. Ele afirmou que a URSS não está cumprindo suas obrigações de apoiar a luta pela liberdade da Palestina. Arafat também criticou a política externa da URSS em relação ao Oriente Médio.

## Assassinado caicue que saudou Papa

Um caicue indígena foi assassinado após saudar o Papa durante sua visita ao Brasil. O crime ocorreu em São Paulo, onde o caicue estava participando de uma cerimônia em homenagem ao Papa. O assassinato gerou indignação e preocupação com a segurança dos indígenas.

## Tancredo é a favor de legalizar PC

O governador de Minas, Tancredo Neves, afirmou ser a favor da legalização do Partido Comunista. Ele defende que a legalização é necessária para a consolidação da democracia e a participação política de todos os cidadãos.

## Só falta um semifinalista no campeonato

Um jogo decisivo determinará o vencedor do campeonato. O jogo será realizado em São Paulo e contará com a participação de dois times fortes. O público espera um jogo emocionante e decisivo.



Fernando Santos

O primeiro grande comício pelas diretas, no Pacaembu, teve um público inferior ao esperado

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## Tancredo é a favor de legalizar PC

O governador de Minas, Tancredo Neves, afirmou ser a favor da legalização do Partido Comunista. Ele defende que a legalização é necessária para a consolidação da democracia e a participação política de todos os cidadãos.

elections in Charles Miller Square» and followed by the auxiliary title which reinforced the editorialization process that the daily articles of «FSP» were undergoing mentioned by Matos (2008, p.61), «Os pronunciamentos de representantes de 70 entidades enfatizaram a necessidade de devolver ao povo a escolha de seu presidente».<sup>853</sup> The poetical tone has been guaranteed by the text signed by Ricardo Kotscho in a box on the right columns of the page with the title «Um domingo de bandeiras no Pacaembu sem futebol»<sup>854</sup>, this text presented a subjective and almost personal perspective of the event. Regarding the pictures in that page, three of them were published. The one placed on center and top of the page (*photo 91*) presented a different angle from the same perspective of the image present in the front cover, a deeping wide-angle photo from the back of the main stage, in this case even further in the back of the stage allowing the framing of the participants that were in the stage and would give speeches, in the background and at the same time the diagonal angle from the right to the left exposed a different part of the square, in a strategy to emphasize the size of the crowd that was present. Under the image the caption stated «À tarde, a multidão se aglomerava na praça Charles Miller, no primeiro de uma série de atos pelas diretas»<sup>855</sup>, indicating that would be more to come, in a discursive movement of do not closing the agenda, in the contrary, reinforcing the continuity of the mobilization.

The other two images (*photo 92 and 93*) are close-up plans in a bottom-up angle of the moment in which two of the main political leaderships of the movement were giving their speeches. On the left side was presented Lula, the leader of «PT», with a black beard, wearing a t-shirt, holding the microphone with his right hand and his left finger in the air. The close-up allows the expressions identification, Lula was presented with a serious and frowning. On the right, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, «PMDB»'s senator was also presented while speaking, wearing a light-colored shirt; in front of him were captured several microphones and the senator had a calmer expression. The caption under both images were, respectively «Lula fala no ato e anuncia novas manifestações»<sup>856</sup> and «Henrique: “O Colégio é um instrumento desmoralizado”».<sup>857</sup> In the first case, the indirect discourse has been used to refer to what had said Lula, in the second one the senator has been directly quoted in the caption in a phrase that reinforces the need of a political alternative to the moment that the country was going through.

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<sup>853</sup> «The speeches by representatives of 70 entities emphasised the need to give the people back their choice of president».

<sup>854</sup> «A Sunday of flags in Pacaembu without football».

<sup>855</sup> «In the afternoon, the crowd gathered at Charles Miller square, in the first of a series of acts for the direct elections».

<sup>856</sup> «Lula speaks at the act and announces new demonstrations».

<sup>857</sup> «Henrique: "The College is a demoralised instrument"».

# Ato pelas diretas leva 15 mil à praça Charles Miller

## Os pronunciamentos de representantes de 70 entidades enfatizaram a necessidade de devolver ao povo a escolha de seu presidente

A campanha pelas eleições diretas para escolha do primeiro presidente da República ganhou 15 mil pessoas para o ato em praça Charles Miller, em frente ao estádio Pacaembu, quando representantes de cerca de 70 entidades integrantes do PMDB, PT e PVT, além de parlamentares, apresentaram o programa político fundamental do sistema de voto direto. A manifestação foi organizada pelo Conselho Nacional de Dirigentes Democráticos (CNDD) e contou com a presença de líderes partidários, estudantes, militantes partidários e representantes da Associação de Pais e Professores do Estado de São Paulo, grupo ecológico e de agricultores, que a comissão organizadora da greve estudantil e da greve dos professores de ensino médio e fundamental também se juntaram ao ato. O ato foi aberto às 19h30 e contou com a presença de cerca de 15 mil pessoas, segundo estimativa da comissão organizadora. O ato foi aberto às 19h30 e contou com a presença de cerca de 15 mil pessoas, segundo estimativa da comissão organizadora.



A tarde, a multidão se aglomerava na praça Charles Miller, no primeiro de uma série de atos pelas diretas

# Um domingo de bandeiras, no Pacaembu sem futebol

RICARDO KOTSCHO

Um grito, um discurso e muitas bandeiras foram o cenário de um ato em frente ao estádio Charles Miller, que reuniu cerca de 15 mil pessoas para a manifestação de apoio às eleições diretas. O ato foi aberto às 19h30 e contou com a presença de cerca de 15 mil pessoas, segundo estimativa da comissão organizadora.



Lula fala no ato e anuncia novas manifestações

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# Sindicatas admitem falhas e prometem luta mais ampla

Sindicatas em São Paulo admitem falhas e prometem uma luta mais ampla. O ato foi aberto às 19h30 e contou com a presença de cerca de 15 mil pessoas, segundo estimativa da comissão organizadora.

# Amorosa detém indiretas em SP

Amorosa detém indiretas em SP. O ato foi aberto às 19h30 e contou com a presença de cerca de 15 mil pessoas, segundo estimativa da comissão organizadora.

# Agentes da PF fotografam comício

Agentes da Polícia Federal fotografaram o comício. O ato foi aberto às 19h30 e contou com a presença de cerca de 15 mil pessoas, segundo estimativa da comissão organizadora.

# Carta ser mudada, afirma senador

Carta ser mudada, afirma senador. O ato foi aberto às 19h30 e contou com a presença de cerca de 15 mil pessoas, segundo estimativa da comissão organizadora.

# Comunistas cobram e pressionam

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À tarde, a multidão se aglomerava na praça Charles Miller, no primeiro de uma série de atos pelas diretas



Lula fala no ato e anuncia novas manifestações



Henrique: "O Colégio é um instrumento desmoralizado"

Finally, is mandatory to underscore that, even if was already visible an initiative of carrying the movement to the streets, some of the images still make a clear reference to the represents of the institutional politics, in a continuous negotiation process that «FSP» had to express in its discursive strategy.

28/11/1983 – *Jornal do Brasil*

In addition to the more subtle and balance initial coverage that was mentioned before, a clear demonstration of the change of status that the «JB» was going through could be seen on the 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1983 edition. That day's issue had it focus in its first page in the airplane crash happened in Madrid, including with a picture of it in the upper part of the page, and its main headline was dedicated to the new mayor of Rio de Janeiro, signposting a more local engagement of the newspaper. At the bottom of the page another picture was printed, once again related to the sports editorial. In the middle of the front cover a small box announced the death of Teotônio Vilella, the «PMDB» vice-president and ex-senator. There was no mention on the first page to the events of the «Diretas Já» placed in São Paulo.

The unique and tiny reference to it appeared in the very bottom of page number two in the final paragraph of a small story under the title «Tancredo denies the validity of the Electoral College» in a continuation of what has been presented in the interview of the Minas Gerais State governor in the day before. The paragraph resumed very quickly what had happened in São Paulo in the day before, although putted an emphasis in the disagreements that existed, an element that was not seen in the case of the «FSP».

São Paulo - Vaias desentendimentos e discriminações a alguns políticos do PMDB e PDT marcaram o primeiro ato público pelo restabelecimento das eleições diretas ontem à tarde em frente ao estádio do Pacaembu. O público – estimado em 5 mil pessoas foi bem inferior ao esperado pelo promotores. O único orador a conseguir completar sem interrupções o seu discurso e ser aplaudido foi o presidente do PT, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva.<sup>858</sup>

This narrative presented itself in a very distinct way from that proposed by the «FSP», besides the tiny space dedicated to the agenda, especially if in comparison with the São Paulo's

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<sup>858</sup> «São Paulo - Boioing, disagreements and discrimination against some politicians from PMDB and PDT marked the first public act for the reinstatement of direct elections yesterday afternoon in front of the Pacaembu stadium. The public - estimated at 5 thousand people - was much smaller than expected by the promoters. The only speaker who managed to complete his speech without interruption and receive applause was the president of the PT, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva».

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

Edição de 1983 - Ano 112 - Nº 27.000 - Preço: Cr\$ 1,00

## Marcelo Alencar será o Prefeito do Rio

**Tempo**  
No 1º de agosto de 1983

Italo Calvino e a literatura...  
O advogado e empresário Marcelo Alencar, 74 anos, substituiu José Siqueira na Prefeitura de Rio de Janeiro. O advogado foi eleito pelo povo, com 50,5% dos votos, em uma eleição realizada em 27 de novembro de 1982. Alencar é casado com a advogada Maria da Glória, com quem tem dois filhos: Marcelo e Roberto.

Marcelo Alencar nasceu em 1909, em São Paulo, onde estudou Direito na Faculdade de Direito de São Paulo. Foi advogado e empresário, atuando em diversas áreas, incluindo a administração pública. Foi eleito prefeito de Rio de Janeiro em 1982, derrotando o então prefeito José Siqueira.

Alencar é casado com a advogada Maria da Glória, com quem tem dois filhos: Marcelo e Roberto. Ele é conhecido por sua atuação na administração pública e por sua vida pessoal.



Comandante e seus seguidores a bordo de um barco que cruzou o rio de Janeiro e Rio de Janeiro.

### O secretariado do Governador

- Secretário de Estado - José Roberto Góes
- Secretário de Estado Adjunto - Carlos de Aguiar Brant
- Secretário de Estado Adjunto - José Carlos de Aguiar Brant
- Secretário de Estado Adjunto - José Carlos de Aguiar Brant
- Secretário de Estado Adjunto - José Carlos de Aguiar Brant
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- Secretário de Estado Adjunto - José Carlos de Aguiar Brant
- Secretário de Estado Adjunto - José Carlos de Aguiar Brant

### Jumbo que matou 179 caiu com fogo na turbina

O Jumbo 107 da empresa de construção Jumbo, que matou 179 pessoas, caiu com fogo na turbina. O acidente ocorreu em 1982, durante a construção de uma usina hidrelétrica. O Jumbo 107 era um dos maiores navios de concreto já construídos. O acidente resultou em 179 mortes e muitos feridos. A causa do acidente foi atribuída a uma falha na turbina, que causou um incêndio que se espalhou pelo navio.



### Teotônio, 67, morre ao canto de um canário

Teotônio Solares, 67 anos, morreu ao canto de um canário. Solares foi um político brasileiro, conhecido por sua atuação na política local e nacional. Ele morreu em 1983, vítima de um acidente. A notícia de sua morte foi divulgada em um momento de grande comoção pública.

### Mulher abre o gás para morrer e faz o prédio explodir

Uma mulher abriu o gás para morrer e fez o prédio explodir. O incidente ocorreu em 1983, quando uma mulher, desesperada por problemas pessoais, abriu o gás em um apartamento. O gás se acumulou e explodiu, causando a morte da mulher e a destruição do prédio.

### Uruguaios nas ruas exigem a democracia

Uruguaios nas ruas exigem a democracia. Em 1983, milhares de uruguaios saíram às ruas em protesto contra o regime militar que governava o país. Os manifestantes exigiam a restauração da democracia e a realização de eleições livres.

### Promoção traz argentinos de volta no verão

Promoção traz argentinos de volta no verão. Uma promoção turística foi lançada para atrair turistas argentinos ao Brasil durante o verão. A promoção oferecia descontos em passagens aéreas e hospedagem, além de outras vantagens para os visitantes.

### Alcool no Acre custa Cr\$ 100 só para chegar

Alcool no Acre custa Cr\$ 100 só para chegar. O preço do álcool no Acre é extremamente alto devido aos custos de transporte e distribuição. Isso tem causado grande preocupação entre a população local, que depende do álcool para diversos fins.



O goleiro do Flamengo, de cima, tenta evitar uma jogada de Flamengo, marcando por Fina.

### Flamengo vence e vai à decisão contra o Bangu

Flamengo vence e vai à decisão contra o Bangu. O Flamengo venceu o jogo contra o Bangu, avançando para a decisão do campeonato. A vitória foi decisiva, com o Flamengo marcando o gol da vitória no fim do jogo.

ESPORTES

Table with multiple columns containing sports results, scores, and other information related to the 'ESPORTES' section.



# Teotônio morre ouvindo pássaro cantar

Arquivo, julho de 1979 Rogério Reis

Maceió — As lâmpadas do quarto estavam abertas e o canto que pertenceu à sua mulher, Helena, novamente cantava. Foi neste cenário que morreu, às 14h30min de ontem, o ex-Senador Teotônio Vilela, de câncer, após três dias de inconsciência. A vontade de morrer em Maceió — fez o pedido, em São Paulo, à família, — foi cumprida, e hoje, às 14h, ele será enterrado na Capela alagana, no Cemitério Parque das Flores.

Cercado de amigos, entre eles a cantora Fafá de Belém, que vem visitá-lo, Teotônio, 1º vice-presidente do PMDB, terminou seus dias sem falar de política. O último pedido político foi mandar dizer ao Senador Pedro Simon (PMDB-RS) que apoiava a reeleição do Deputado Ulysses Guimarães à presidência nacional do partido e, ainda, que aceitava figurar na chapa. O recado foi transmitido a seu filho Teotônio Filho, o Teo, a quem responsabilizou pelo ingresso na Oposição.

**PRÉ-COMA**  
Apesar de a doença ter-se agravado nos últimos 30 dias, muita gente, principalmente familiares, ainda acreditava na

dizia ser "a melhor risada do país", conseguiu animá-lo. Ao vê-la, reagiu com um sorriso, mas não teve força para falar, nem abraçá-la, como era seu costume. Desde que teve essa recada fatal, fez apenas um pedido: ver a natureza. E se alegrou com o cenário que pertenceu à sua mulher, conhecida como Dona Lenita.



Teotônio enfrentou o temporal para visitar os presos políticos na Frei Caneca

## Tancredo nega validade ao Colégio Eleitoral

Belo Horizonte — "Em nenhum momento, a validade e a legitimidade ou não do Colégio Eleitoral foram, em qualquer tempo, na última eleição, colocados à decisão dos eleitores. Os eleitores foram convocados para escolher Governadores, Senadores e seus representantes na Câmara dos Deputados e nas Assembleias Legislativas."

derrotado na convenção do PDS. Além disso, o Presidente Figueiredo esta irritado com as divergências no seu Partido, sobretudo com o grupo que diverge da sua coordenação do processo sucessório. Como Tancredo Neves destruiu a simpatia do Governo, poderia encerrar-se como a saída ideal dentro da hipótese do Governo de transição, que preparara as eleições diretas para 1986, coincidindo com as eleições gerais.

Esta tese foi defendida ontem, em entrevista, pelo Governador Tancredo Neves, para quem "o artificialismo do Colégio Eleitoral é tão contudente, que não há artifício, não há mistificação, não há engodo que consiga impor a sua credibilidade junto ao povo". Disse que os Governadores do PMDB estão engajados para que o povo escolha diretamente o próximo Presidente da República.

### Prorrogação

Prorrogar por dois anos o mandato do Presidente João Figueiredo e prorrogar, simultaneamente, os mandatos dos deputados federais e estaduais, senadores e Governadores, como preâmbulo para a realização de eleições diretas em 1987. Essa tese está sendo advogada no Congresso Nacional por um grupo de parlamentares do PDS e do PMDB, com ressonância favorável junto a alguns setores do Palácio do Planalto — informou o Deputado Marcelo Linhares (PDS-CE).

— Nós precisamos de um Presidente que fale em nome do povo — ressaltou Tancredo Neves, depois de manifestar esperança de que o sucessor do Presidente Figueiredo será eleito pelo voto direto.

Ele disse que já foi consultado pelo grupo, mas repeliu a ideia, argumentando que "tudo o que for no sentido de prorrogar mandatos é uma imoralidade". Informou ainda que, embora não acredite no êxito da tese, conhece parlamentares que a ela estão aderindo, sempre por interesses pessoais. Linhares não quis identificar os que o pro-

### Críticas

Brasília — "No fundo, o Governador Tancredo Neves já está trabalhando para ser o candidato ao mandato-tampão, que representará o Governo de conciliação nacional por ele defendido". Essa é a opinião do Senador Passos Porto (PDS-SE), autor da polémica emenda sobre reforma tributária aprovada recentemente pelo Congresso depois de negociações com o Governo.

### Manifestação

São Paulo — Várias desentendimentos e discriminações a alguns políticos do PMDB e PDT marcaram o primeiro ato público pelo restabelecimento das eleições diretas, ontem à tarde, em frente ao estado do Pacaembu. O público — estimado em 5 mil pessoas — foi bem inferior ao esperado pelos promotores. O único orador a conseguir completar, sem interrupções, o seu discurso e ser aplaudido foi o presidente do PT, Luís Inácio Lula da Silva.

newspapers, the tone was much less combative and focused in the consensus perspective. Also the information present was in another path rather than the one proposed by the «FSP», this was visible in the indication that there were booing and were present five thousand people instead of the fifteen thousand indicated by the «FSP». In addition to that, no picture of the event was published in that day's edition of «JB», in that page, the image present (*photo 94*) was a picture of the «PMDB»'s senator Teotônio Vilela running from the rain to visit political prisoners and who was dead in the day before. In other words, the «JB» coverage emphasizes at the same time a more conservative posture of the press in respect to the opening process of the dictatorship and, on the other hand the combativeness of the «FSP» enunciation proposal.

25/01/1984 – *Folha de S. Paulo*

Almost two months later, in the occasion of the 430<sup>o</sup> São Paulo's city anniversary, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1984, a new rally in favor of the «Diretas Já» has been set up. The idea was that the movement could benefit from the public holiday to gather a higher number of people in this new protest. Considering this goal, the organizers had scheduled the rally to the «Praça da Sé», the most central point of the São Paulo, with several metro stations nearby and with a good service of buses lines as well. In addition to these, the square has a symbolic meaning, not only for its central characteristic, but as was previous indicated, served as stage to other public demonstrations of opposition to the dictatorship.

Being that said that day's front cover of the «FSP» presented as main headline «100 thousand expected at the rally» followed by an auxiliary title «Os organizadores estão otimistas; manifestação pelas eleições diretas às 16 horas».<sup>859</sup> In here there is already an element that recalls the attention; in the headline has been chosen the word «rally», meanwhile, in the auxiliary title was present the word «demonstration», presenting both as the same event, although a bigger preeminence was given to the word «rally», in what can be interpreted as an attempt of maintaining the institutional aspect of the movement, allied to an idea of event within the order (notion that will be retaken frequently further on) the importance of this element was to do not drive away a share of the population that was not satisfied with the militaries, but was afraid of being part of a «trouble-maker» manifestation.

In so, right after these two lines of title, a photograph of the square was placed in the center upper half of the front cover (*photo 95*). The wide-angle panoramic image of the square seem to be taken from a helicopter, although probably the arial effect of the picture has been

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<sup>859</sup> «Organisers are optimistic; demonstration for direct elections at 4pm».



obtained throughout the window or a balcony in one of the surrounding buildings. The photo framed the whole square, with the «Sé Cathedral» in the right top-corner and a framing of concrete buildings in the top and left limits of the image. In the central space of the square and of the picture has been overlaid a graphic highlighting of the square spaces that could be occupied by the population. To this visual element, we must add a verbal one. the caption stated «Descontando-se a área assinalada, ocupada por árvores e lagos artificiais, cabem cerca de 180 mil pessoas em toda a Praça da Sé».<sup>860</sup> The introductory text placed in the right column of the page also presented information about the public expected to that day's rally, the square capacity and Governor Montoro's agenda that was integrally dedicated to the «Diretas Já» on that day. Finally, still in the front cover, were indicated the pages five, six and seven as those who were dedicated to the developments of the front cover. This «FSP» first page reinforces the militant and engaged attitude of the newspaper towards the agenda of the «Diretas Já» and expressed this commitment to the issue in the tone of invitation to the public that the entire page enounced.

A second and very significative image (*photo 96*) has been published on that day's front cover. The picture in a medium horizontal plan was divided in three plans; a first one in which can be seen the president Figueiredo walking down the «Palácio do Planalto» ramp followed by an Army Officer; a second plan presenting a group of approximately twenty persons, only one woman and in front of them some objects that are hard to identify in the image. In the background can be seen the concrete structures and windows of the «Palácio», its architectural marks allow the identification. The caption, however, is central in this case, not only to explain the image, but to show where more about can be read. «Fotógrafos e cinegrafistas de Brasília depositam o equipamento no chão e cruzam os braços diante de Figueiredo em protesto contra a proibição de acesso ao gabinete presidencial».<sup>861</sup> A few weeks before the Figueiredo had created this new restriction to the work of the photographers and the symbolic protest has been the form founded by the professionals to recall the attention to it. The little text placed on page four of the internal pages describes the scene and the reasons to the photographs protest. In the present analysis can be inferred that the photographs complaint was included in that first page not only as an element of professional self-interests of the press, but also as another social element of dissatisfaction with the military's regime.<sup>862</sup>

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<sup>860</sup> «Discounting the marked area occupied by trees and artificial lakes, around 180 thousand people fit in the entire Cathedral Square».

<sup>861</sup> «Photographers and cinematographers in Brasilia deposit their equipment on the ground and cross their arms in front of Figueiredo in protest against the ban on access to the presidential office».

<sup>862</sup> In the interview of Paulo Boni with the photographer Evandro Teixeira this fact is detailed. (BONI, 2012).



To the present analysis were chosen the pages six and seven for a deeper scrutiny. In page number six the headline «The city lives the anxious expectation to fill the Sé» organized the overall idea present in that page, that is to say, narrate the preparations in course in the day before, aiming the event of that 25<sup>th</sup> of January. A delayed lead article signed by Ricardo Kotscho narrated the organization of the «Sé» to rally, presenting it as the stage to the protests. In a right column smaller article was informed that already in the day before some interviews, shows and other artistic presentation were made in the stage prepared to the act. A main image (*photo 97*) was placed in the central part of the page and presented in a wide-angle deeping angle photo the moment in which the city's mayor Mario Covas meets the actor Walmor Chagas in the stage that was prepared. This information can be taken from the caption that stated «O prefeito Mario Covas e o ator Walmor Chagas durante coletiva no palanque armado para o comício de hoje».<sup>863</sup> In the photo, both were framed in the middle of microphones and journalists that had their back to the camera. Are remarkable Mario Covas's glasses. In the background a small crowd can be seen presenting a kind of anticipation of what was expected in the following day. And was exactly to this expectative building that the texts in that page were dedicated, not only relating it, but also working on the building of the expectation of a high public attendance to the demonstration.

This idea is present also in the second picture of the page (*photo 98*) which presented State Governor Montoro seated in the telephone with the left arm up in front of a table in which can be individuate a white paper sheet with the written «Diretas» in dark letters. The top-bottom medium plan photo, exposed the governor in his office, wearing a white shirt and black tie, the objects proposed a relation of officially and intimacy with those who were organizing the event. At the same time, the auxiliary title «Montoro dedica o dia todo ao ato» and the caption «Montoro passou o dia promovendo o encontro e concedeu inúmeras entrevistas»<sup>864</sup> are another example of the processes already mentioned, the expectation building and a closer relation between the institutional politicians and the people in the streets; this link was being proposed throughout the participation of artists and other civil society elements.

The same discursive logic appeared in the following page, number seven, in this case the headline «The square has the capacity to receive 180 thousand people» was one more time exposing how big the event could be. The texts in that page were dedicated to how could unfold the following day in several aspects: number of present; reaction of the militaries; weather

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<sup>863</sup> «Mayor Mario Covas and actor Walmor Chagas during a press conference at the stage set up for today's rally».

<sup>864</sup> «Montoro spent the day promoting the meeting and gave numerous interviews».





forecast; transport alternatives to the city center and program of the events in the rally. Each of these topics has been contemplated with a small text; however, is necessary to underscore those two visual elements were present in the page. The «FSP» printed to maps of the «Praça da Sé», a first one, placed in the top of the page dedicated to the different possibilities of occupation and attendance to the event, the second one, in the bottom of the page, presented the transportation organization that has been especially made to that day protest. Again, the invitation element was present in an explicit form on those pages, generating an editorialization process of the articles and stories published.

*25/01/1984 – Jornal do Brasil*

The narrative proposed by the «JB» on that day has been made in the opposite direction of the one that the «FSP» promoted on its pages. In the case of the Rio de Janeiro's newspaper a government position was still in play and that was reflected in the total absence of the «Diretas Já» agenda or preparative to the rally in São Paulo of its front cover. Instead, the top half of the page has been dedicated to the announcement of the candidature of the Minister of Interior Mario Andreazza to the presidency in the elections that were to come as the represent of the «PDS», the military party at that moment of the Dictatorship and «ex-ARENA». Above the headline «Andreazza launches himself with force and promises directives» was published a picture (*photo 99*) of the candidature event in the «PDS» headquarters in the day before. Under the image the caption informed «O Ministro César Cals festeja o colega Andreazza, ao lado de Sarney (senador), na manifestação na sede do PDS».<sup>865</sup> The following four paragraph text informs some of Andreazza's declaration, firstly the intention to make the country's economy grow seven percent and in second place the fact that his successor would be elected in a direct election to the presidency.

In the image can be seen a group of ten people surrounding the three politicians that were indicated in the caption. Is curious that apart from the Minister Cals, almost all the other subjects of the image were looking down with timid similes in their expressions. A result of the american plan that gave preference to the subjects in the scene rather than its location. At the same time, the top to bottom angle of the image, emphasizes the gaze to the floor of half of the people in the scene. This image choice (and the disapproval idea present on it) could be a form that the «JB's» photograph editors found to express their disagreement not only with the

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<sup>865</sup> «Minister César Cals celebrates his colleague Andreazza, next to Sarney (senator), during the demonstration at the PDS headquarters».

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

Tempo: 510  
510  
200  
210



**Urânio que sumiu nos EUA dá para fazer 85 bombas**

O Departamento de Energia dos Estados Unidos anunciou ontem, em uma reunião de imprensa, a existência de um estoque de urânio enriquecido a 2% e 3% que poderia ser usado para fazer 85 bombas nucleares. O estoque é de cerca de 250 toneladas e está armazenado em um depósito na Virgínia. A reserva garante que os Estados Unidos não precisarão se preocupar com a falta de urânio para fazer bombas nucleares por pelo menos 100 anos, segundo o departamento de Energia.

**Kohl diz que Alemanha assume o holocausto**

O chanceler alemão Helmut Kohl afirmou ontem que a Alemanha assume a responsabilidade pelo holocausto. Ele disse que a Alemanha deve reconhecer o papel que desempenhou na Segunda Guerra Mundial e que deve trabalhar para garantir que tal coisa nunca mais aconteça.

**Andreazza se lança com força e promete diretas**

O deputado federal André Andreazza anunciou ontem que se lançará como candidato a governador de São Paulo em 1988. Ele prometeu diretas e uma mudança radical na administração pública.

**Luero líquido da Petrobrás não passa a inflação**

O lucro líquido da Petrobrás em dezembro não conseguiu superar a inflação, segundo o balanço divulgado pela empresa. O lucro líquido foi de R\$ 1,2 bilhão, enquanto a inflação foi de 1,5%.

**Ficou abandonado teoria por medo**

Uma teoria sobre a possibilidade de um golpe militar em 1984 foi descartada por medo de represálias. Segundo fontes próximas ao governo, a ideia não foi levada em consideração.

**Teco-teco de propaganda cai em São Conrado**

Um jogo de teco-teco de propaganda foi jogado em São Conrado, Rio de Janeiro. O jogo foi organizado por um grupo de jovens e teve como tema a política brasileira.

**CIP controlará materiais para baratear casa**

O Conselho Interministerial de Preços (CIP) vai controlar os preços dos materiais necessários para a construção de casas populares. O objetivo é reduzir os custos e tornar a moradia mais acessível.

**Deputado morto em acidente, que fazia propaganda, foi enterrado em um caixão e velado para a praia**

Um deputado federal morreu em um acidente de carro ontem. Ele estava fazendo uma campanha de propaganda política. O corpo foi enterrado em um caixão e velado para a praia.

**Substâncias nocivas em pilulas de São Paulo, que não foram fabricadas**

Substâncias nocivas foram encontradas em pilulas fabricadas em São Paulo. As substâncias não foram fabricadas no Brasil e representam um risco à saúde pública.



militaries but also with the newspaper editorial decision of a government support attitude.<sup>866</sup> At the same time, serves as an expression of the lack of internal support that Andreazza had inside his own party and the military government in an overall. Although, to the present analysis the main information that this front cover brings is the silence in relation to the events that were occurring in São Paulo.

In page number three the narrative logic remains the same. Right after the headline «Andreazza launches himself and wants the country to grow again», in 1/3 of the page were presented an image (*photo 100*) and an article about Andreazza's candidature launching. In the article's text the only mention to the direct elections agenda was made when the Minister indicated that to him, the following elections should be direct. The photograph was made in an american and wide-angle plan, presenting the Andreazza seated in bottom to the top angle. The Minister was giving an interview to several press representants (as can be tell based on the quantity of microphone placed in front of him) and has been framed while speaking; the caption reinforces his words «Na entrevista, Andreazza prometeu unir PDS»<sup>867</sup> as also the need of unity inside the government party. Are important to be mentioned other elements of the photo, behind Andreazza there was a small crowd from which the three men in the front are clearly visible in the background can be seen a large banner with the Minister's name and finally, right in front of him a board with the party's name «Partido Democrático Social», this last element might indicate an attempt of popularizing the new political clothing of the militaries, but mainly reinforces the official characteristic of «JB's» coverage to the country's political agenda.

26/01/1984 – *Folha de S. Paulo*

The events of January 1984 served as the consolidation of the «Diretas Já» movement in the country's streets. That is to say, at that moment, the mobilization that had started as an opposition political strategy to pressure the militaries, has reached a significative proportion within different sectors of the civil society (including the press, having the «FSP» as the main spokesman of the movement), and the 25<sup>th</sup> January rally confirmed that fact. In brief, after that day the mobilization for direct elections to president achieved a national relevance inside and outside the officiality of the institutional politics.

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<sup>866</sup>As has been exposed in the previous pages, the «JB» had suffered from the end of the 1970s a strong economic pressure trough a smaller number of governmental publicities, a reduced credit offers and problems in finding a balanced paper supply; these elements generated long term consequences to the newspaper and on how the owners dealt with the militaries influence.

<sup>867</sup> «In the interview, Andreazza promised to unite PDS».



**JORNAL DO BRASIL** POLITICA

## Andreazza se lança e quer que país volte a crescer

*Sete Governadores vão à festa*

Brasília — "Foi uma formidável demonstração de força". Assim o ex-Governador Paulo Pimenta, coordenador de campanha, mostrou o resultado político da formalização da candidatura do Ministro Mário Andreazza junto ao PDS. O Ministro conseguiu levar para a assembleia sede do PDS cerca de 50 convidados, entre eles sete Governadores e 218 convenções que somam 303 votos dos 963 votos da convenção do partido. Em seu discurso, Andreazza defendeu o crescimento da economia da ordem de 7% ao ano.

Faças, grupos de jovens — logo chamadas de **andreazzetes** — em conjunto folclórico gaúcho e muitas faixas em toda a cidade mantiveram um clima de convenção partidária para a assembleia no PDS. O Ministro do Interior fez discurso baseado em quatro pontos: retomada do desenvolvimento econômico; melhor distribuição de renda; continuidade na abertura política; e, por último, redução das desigualdades de renda entre as regiões, com prioridade para o desenvolvimento do Nordeste.

**Indios pedem apoio ao candidato**

Brasília — Os índios do Brasil pedem o apoio do candidato a governador do Rio Grande do Sul, Mário Andreazza, para a realização de um projeto de desenvolvimento econômico e social em sua terra natal, o município de São José do Rio Preto, no Estado de São Paulo.

Os índios pedem o apoio do candidato a governador do Rio Grande do Sul, Mário Andreazza, para a realização de um projeto de desenvolvimento econômico e social em sua terra natal, o município de São José do Rio Preto, no Estado de São Paulo.

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**IMPOSTO DE RENDA**

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# Andreazza se lança e quer

Brasília—A. Dorigvan

Brasília — "Foi uma formidável demonstração de força". Assim o ex-Governador Paulo Pimenta, coordenador de campanha, mostrou o resultado político da formalização da candidatura do Ministro Mário Andreazza junto ao PDS. O Ministro conseguiu levar para a assembleia sede do PDS cerca de 50 convidados, entre eles sete Governadores e 218 convenções que somam 303 votos dos 963 votos da convenção do partido. Em seu discurso, Andreazza defendeu o crescimento da economia da ordem de 7% ao ano.

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Na entrevista, Andreazza prometeu unir PDS

In this sense, the «FSP» kept on his full support attitude towards the agenda and in the edition of the following day to the rally presented six pages dedicated to it, an editorial and a front cover that recalled the reader attention and reflection to the issue of the direct elections. To start from the beginning, that day's first page underscored the people's presence in «Praça da Sé» as has been strongly invited in the day before. And to present and legitimate this fact the use of a photograph showed to be crucial. After the headline «300 thousand in the streets for the directs» placed in the very top of the page, an enormous picture (*photo 101*) has been published. The image occupied approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the front cover, in an innovative aerial plan that appears to be taken from a helicopter, although according to Matos (2008, p. 69) was shot from the rooftop of the «Sé Cathedral». The image made in a strong deeping angle using a tele objective lens presents an unusual aspect of an aerial images, the flattening of the plans; in this case this characteristic can be seen in the way on how the Cathedral towers appears in the first plan, with a little blur, although signposting the iconic building of the city and its institutional importance, since also the top cross of the tower was framed in the shot. The second plan, in its turn is the one in which the main information of the picture was presented, the crowd that attended to the rally. The central part of the squared was completely filled with people and the picture has favored this element, the idea of the ordinary citizen in the streets protesting against the military dictatorship – no one can be identified, but the image attempted to transmit the strength of the political act. In the very center of the image a small banner can be seen and also only one of the words written on it, which is exactly «Diretas», giving the needed historical and political contextualization to the photograph.

Is important to underline that this choice, reinforces the notion that there was at that specific moment an editorial line that was reinforcing the expansion of the «Diretas Já» agenda beyond the institutional politics, and in the case of this present front cover no element of that has been mentioned. Finally, the image's caption emphasizes this notion indicating that the protest had a dimension that was bigger than the square «Além de tomar toda a Sé (onde cabem 180 mil pessoas), a multidão ocupou as ruas que dão acesso à praça, expandindo a manifestação pró-diretas até pontos distantes do comício-monstro».<sup>868</sup> Also here, the word chosen was again «rally» instead of «demonstration» or «protest» strengthening the notion of a narrative proposal connected to the maintenance of the social order.

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<sup>868</sup> «In addition to taking over the Sé (which holds 180,000 people), the crowd occupied the streets leading to the square, expanding the pro-diretas demonstration to points far from the monster-rally».



In total, six were the internal pages dedicated to the detailing of the day before events. The present analysis will focus on some key sections and photos of the «FSP» coverage, nevertheless is important to highlight that the second page of the newspaper presented an editorial with the title «Depois da Praça»<sup>869</sup> which renewed the support of the press organ to the movement and underscore the fact that from that day on the «Diretas Já» were in a new and upper stage of social mobilization, emphasizing the will and need that in April of the year the Dante de Oliveira Amendment would be approved by the National Congress.

The internal pages dedicated to the agenda were all putted inside the rubric «A sucessão pelas urnas»<sup>870</sup> that was placed in the top of every page. On that day a total of eleven pictures were placed in the six pages that were narrating the events of «Praça da Sé». In page number five, the main headline was «Na Sé, um brado retumbante pede eleições diretas».<sup>871</sup> This title presents a special difficulty in its translation because quoted an extract of the Brazilian national anthem, «brado retumbante», that has been written in a standard of the Portuguese language that is no longer used and in the present case added a layer of nationalism and subjectivity to the newspaper page. The text signed by Ricardo Kotscho occupied the entire two left columns of the page and was filled with lyricism as can be seen already in its first three lines which retaken again the national anthem with «Ouvirarm do Ipiranga, às margens plácida/De um povo heróico o brado retumbante»<sup>872</sup> as if was explaining to the reader, the extract that was in the headline. Alongside the text, the idea of consensus about the «Diretas Já» was reinforced every time the narration arrives to a new politician or artist that appeared in stage and received a round of applause. Other verbal elements of the page assisted this enunciation construction, the secondary title «Na praça que é sua, o paulista foi suprapartidário»<sup>873</sup>, underlining the fact the People was the protagonist of the event and the one acting to change the country's history.

In this sense we finally arrive in that page's main picture (*photo 102*). The wide-angle photograph was shot in a deeping angle from the back of the «Sé's» main stage during Governor Montoro's speech – information that can be inferred from the caption «Montoro disse que o povo que estava na praça representava os 180 milhões de brasileiros que querem eleger diretamente seu presidente»<sup>874</sup>; is significative how the newspaper amplified a notion gave by the political that obviously was not unanimous in the country. Returning to the photo,

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<sup>869</sup> «After the Square».

<sup>870</sup> «Succession through the ballot box».

<sup>871</sup> «At the Sé, a resounding cry for direct elections».

<sup>872</sup> «They heard from the Ipiranga, on the placid banks/ Of a heroic people the resounding cry».

<sup>873</sup> «In the square that is his, the Paulista was supra-partidary».

<sup>874</sup> «Montoro said that the people who were in the square represented the 180 million Brazilians who want to directly elect their president».



occupying ¼ of the page, in the first plan on the right lower corner of it, Montoro appeared with this left arm in the air, speaking and holding a microphone; on his left there are the heads of other two persons how cannot be identified. The other 2/3 of the photo were the second plan and filled with the people in the square listening to the governor's speech. Again, the quantity of people is reaffirmed through the use of pictures as a legitimation tool to what was being narrated in the texts, titles and headlines. In the top right corner, framed by the image's corners but also by Montoro left arm, a big banner was also present, in it can be read «Diretas Urgente»<sup>875</sup> and the name of Ulysses Guimarães (PMDB leader) under his image; this interaction inside the picture can be interpreted as a convergence of the unity between the politics and the several sectors of the civil society that was being presented in the last months of «FSP» coverage.

The continuation of the «FSP» narrative proposed, in the following page, exactly the notion that this convergence of interests and forces was reinforced in the protest. Under the main page headline «The dispute for better seats begins on the eve»<sup>876</sup>, details and testimonies of those who participated of the rally organization and development were published and accompanied by five pictures, that all together occupied ¼ of the page - the present analysis will be focused in the two bigger one's placed in the top of the page. Under the images (*photos 103 and 104*) a secondary title was present «Domar o monstro foi a tarefa do coordenador-geral»<sup>877</sup> the text right under narrated the main problems and difficulties that Jorge Cunha Lima, had to organize and maintain the order in the event. Significantly was the issue regarding the «PCdoB», the second paragraph of the left column article the problem appeared as connected to the space occupation in the square

Mas, sem dúvida o melhor espaço foi ganho pelos militantes do Partido Comunista do Brasil (PC do B) que, ao anoitecer de terça-feira, ocuparam o marco zero da praça da Sé e lá instalaram uma enorme bandeira vermelha com a foice e martelo, símbolo da agremiação. Ontem pela manhã os militantes do partido (ilegal) chegaram com nada menos que 2 mil camisetas e 300 bandeiras e se instalaram em torno do marco zero, transformando-o em quartel-general da agremiação. Por volta das 14hs um militante do partido desfraldou, ao lado da bandeira vermelha com a foi e

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<sup>875</sup> «Urgent Directs».

<sup>876</sup> This headline was detailed in the first two paragraphs of the text on the left column, that informed the fact that already in the day before to the event different representants of parties and other organization were occupying the square trying to guarantee a good positioning near the stage.

<sup>877</sup> «Taming the monster was the task of the general coordinator».



o martelo, a bandeira nacional. Ambas bandeiras foram agitadas lado a lado durante o comício.<sup>878</sup>

In the fifth paragraph of the article dedicated to the event organization, the main coordinator was quoted, preoccupied with the Communists flags he said «Pelo amor de Deus, vamos tirar esse negócio de lá, amanhã vão aparecer fotos em todos os jornais».<sup>879</sup> None of the pictures printed by the «FSP» presented any communist flag and as is being presented so far, the enunciation sense of the press coverage was the one of the consensus and convergence of ideas. Even in the picture placed on the right top corner of the page (*photo 103*) in another aerial plan of the square, in this case made from a helicopter in which the stage was framed in the top part of the photo and the public was occupying  $\frac{3}{4}$  of it, is not possible to identifying a specific party flag or symbol – differently from the photo placed in the cover in which the word «Diretas» could be read, or in page number five, where the Ulysses' banner was pretty readable.

Once again in this case the picture was used to legitimate a written information, being an element of the reality construction made by the organ press, while is part of that reality. In other words, the caption indicated «Antes mesmo de começar o ato, a Praça da Sé já estava tomada pela multidão»<sup>880</sup>, the photo presents materially the squared filled with people, although there is no indication of in what period of the day the shot was made, if the fact narrated was really the one in the image – this verbo-visual interaction can be interpreted as a reinforcement of the attitude taken by «FSP» towards a reality construction according to its editorial, political and economic interests.

The image on the left side of the page (*photo 104*) proposed one more time the angle from the back of the stage towards the crowd – at this point, considering the repetition of the same angle in diverse occasions, is possible to infer that the photographs had officially occupied that position in the event in a pre-organized choice of angle and framing of the facts. In this sense, the photo captured the moment in which another important leadership was speaking in this case, Lula, as was indicated in the caption «Lula pediu a todos que trabalhem de forma unitária para conquistar as diretas para a Presidência»<sup>881</sup>, and that again reaffirms the

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<sup>878</sup> «But, without a doubt, the best space was won by the militants of the Communist Party of Brazil (PC do B), who, on Tuesday evening, occupied ground zero of Sé square and installed there an enormous red flag with a hammer and sickle, symbol of the organization. Yesterday morning the militants of the (illegal) party arrived with no less than 2,000 T-shirts and 300 flags and set up around ground zero, transforming it into the headquarters of the organization. Around 2pm a party militant unfurled the national flag next to the red flag with the hammer and sickle. Both flags were waved side by side during the rally».

<sup>879</sup> «For God's sake, let's get this thing out of there, tomorrow photos will appear in all the newspapers».

<sup>880</sup> «Even before the beginning of the act, the Sé Square was already taken by the crowd».

<sup>881</sup> «Lula called on all to work together to win direct elections for the presidency».



need of unity and consensus. In the image second plan, beyond the leader with his back to the camera, the public and the great quantity of people was one more time the main subject; is necessary to underline that in the bottom left-corner of this picture can be seen to men wearing white helmets, this are the ones that the São Paulo's State police use in the situation in which must deal with large crowds, although the remarkable element in this case is the presence of the police in a ostensive and non-repressive form, a novelty considering the constant repression in the previous decades.

In page number eight, the main argument presented was the order respect and population behavior as well as the forms of to access and leave the rally. The main page headline was «The crowd calmly breaks up, wet with rain». That page presented in total six images, five of them reunited in the center of the top half and a last one in the bottom right-corner. All of them were related to stories connected to the public attendance to the protest, small problems, police mobilization another daily events in town. To the present analysis, was considered the most relevant image of this page the one place in the top right-corner of the five images group. That picture (*photo 105*), occupied approximately 1/10 of the page, had as caption «À caminho da praça da Sé, as pessoas aguardam o metro»<sup>882</sup> was shot in a medium horizontal plan, presented in first plan an elderly man holding a banner in which was written «Diretas 84»<sup>883</sup>, the second plan framed, due to the wide-angle lens, a group of people behind him (an indication of the crowd in the metro station) and also the metro line itself, closing the transportation scene construction that in the page started with the headline, passed thought the caption and was reinforced by the secondary title «Transporte não foi problema para a população».<sup>884</sup> Obviously, the image's choice was not occasional, the editorial decision to placed it in that page was linked with the need of contextualization the other photos on it, nevertheless, opens the reflection if this was a spontaneous shot or there was an intentional dialogue between the photographer and the subject to compose the scene.

26/01/1984 – *Jornal do Brasil*

The coverage proposed by the «JB» to rally that had occurred in São Paulo was still careful. On that day edition the agenda received a central attention although in a very different tone from the one used by the «FSP». The main headline was «Rally for the directs gathers

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<sup>882</sup> «On the way to Sé square, people wait for the metro».

<sup>883</sup> «In the very bottom of the banner can be read “Sorocaba pelas eleições diretas” indicating that citizens from the interior city of Sorocaba in the State of São Paulo were present in that day's rally».

<sup>884</sup> «Transport was no problem for the population».



crowds for 4 hours in São Paulo»; in here there is an important difference to what was seen in the «FSP», the information about the duration of the rally points the enunciation sense into the direction of a specific event, in a opposite sense to the idea proposed by the São Paulo's newspaper that was trying to organized a reality construction around the idea of an national and constant mobilization for the direct elections. Besides this, another significant difference was that the number of people present was not in the headline, but in the fourth paragraph text placed alongside the image, in the text there is the information that approximately 200 thousand people attended to the rally. The second paragraph resumes the general differences between the newspapers coverage's

Metrô, ônibus municipais e trens de subúrbios da Fepasa não cobraram passagens. Para as pessoas que estavam distantes do palanque o comício foi uma festa. Grupos do PT chegaram a vaiar o Governador Franco Montoro e o Prefeito Mario Covas. Um enterro simulado da eleição indireta foi um dos pontos altos da manifestação.<sup>885</sup>

In here the not so stable consensus in between the political forces was exposed in narrating the booing to the State Governor and Mayor of São Paulo.

A vertical photograph (*photo 106*) occupying  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the page was printed in that day's first page and had under it the caption «Reunida na Sé, a multidão ouviu os discursos pedindo diretas»<sup>886</sup> that diversly from the «FSP» did mention the public attendance to the event, but preferred words such as «crowd» and «gathered». Nevertheless, both images in the «JB» front cover and the one in the «FSP» first page, are very similar, both are aerial views of the square, in this case probably made from a helicopter, especially because there is no reference in the image of a building part that could indicate the place from where the shot was made. The picture in a deeping angle, mostly done using a tele objective lens flattens the plans, creating the idea of a «squeezed» crowd in the square. Another important difference from this picture to the one of «FSP» are the two banners that can be read on the photo; the one right in the middle had it written «Eu quero votar para presidente»<sup>887</sup> bringing a first-person expression to the front cover of the newspaper the editors were promoting that general individual voice to the public reader – and putting it as the voice of the crowd in the square. The second banner,

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<sup>885</sup> «Underground, municipal buses and Fepasa suburban trains did not charge fares. For the people who were far from the platform the rally was a party. PT groups even booed Governor Franco Montoro and Mayor Mario Covas. A simulated burial of the indirect election was one of the high points of the demonstration».

<sup>886</sup> «Gathered at the Sé Cathedral, the crowd listened to the speeches calling for direct elections».

<sup>887</sup> «I want to vote for president».

## JORNAL DO BRASIL

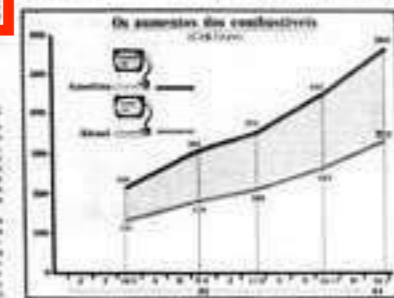
### Comício pelas diretas reúne multidão durante 4 horas em São Paulo



O comício pelas eleições diretas reuniu uma multidão de cerca de 100 mil pessoas em São Paulo, no domingo, 21 de janeiro. O evento, que começou às 19h e terminou às 23h, foi organizado pelo Comitê de Defesa das Diretas (CDD) e contou com a presença de vários políticos e intelectuais. A multidão, que se reuniu no Largo da Sé, ouviu discursos pedindo a realização de eleições diretas para o Congresso Nacional.

### Gasolina vai a Cr\$ 564 e álcool custa Cr\$ 332

Os preços dos combustíveis aumentaram em São Paulo a partir de ontem. A gasolina comum subiu para Cr\$ 564 por litro, enquanto o álcool hidratado chegou a Cr\$ 332. O aumento foi resultado de uma decisão do Conselho Administrativo de Defesa Econômica (CADE), que aprovou a aplicação de uma multa aos produtores de combustíveis por práticas anticompetitivas.



### Brizola corta o orçamento e não investirá em 84

O governador Lacerda Brizola anunciou que não investirá em obras públicas em 1984. Ele afirmou que o orçamento para esse ano será focado em pagar dívidas e manter o funcionamento básico do Estado.

### BNH só libera FGTS com saída da Nova América

O Banco Nacional de Habitação (BNH) só liberará o Fundo de Garantia do Tempo de Serviço (FGTS) dos funcionários da Nova América após a saída da empresa do Brasil.

### Condomínio dos EUA processa casal com filha

Um casal brasileiro foi processado por um condomínio dos Estados Unidos por não pagar as taxas de manutenção. O casal tem uma filha que mora no condomínio.

### Dieta pobre do Nordeste reduz tamanho de rato

Um estudo realizado no Nordeste do Brasil mostrou que a dieta pobre dos moradores reduz o tamanho dos ratos em comparação com áreas urbanas mais ricas.

### Detentas fazem greve para que diretora fique

Detentas de uma prisão fizeram greve para exigir a permanência de uma diretora no cargo.

### Advogado reage a assalto e é morto a tiros

Um advogado reagiu a um assalto e foi morto a tiros durante o confronto.

Os deputados do voto são os grandes beneficiários. Capatazes e líderes locais recebem porções substanciais para obter o voto e padronizar votos. (Página 1)

Para combater a greve de ônibus em São Paulo, o Metrô aumentou o número de trens. (Página 2)

Forças policiais apreenderam uma grande quantidade de drogas em uma operação no Rio de Janeiro. (Página 3)

Um novo projeto de lei foi apresentado ao Congresso para melhorar a educação pública. (Página 4)



this one in the very top of the page had written in capital letters «Diretas Já» and above it «Fora Figueiredo»<sup>888</sup> in a clear expression that the dissatisfaction was not only with the organization of the electoral process, but also with the militaries in power.

The composition of this first page offers the possibility of an interpretation which conducts to the notion that the images, in the «JB» case, were not used mainly as a legitimization tool, but as an expansion one, capable of saying more than what was said in the newspaper's texts, probably because of political (self-censorship) and economic constraints that the daily was suffering in that moment of its history. Still in the front cover, at the end of the four-paragraph introductory text was indicated that in two of its internal pages the newspaper would unfold the major event of the day before.

If in page number two the official government version and opinion of the fact were presented without any photograph directly related to the agenda; page number three was the one in which the rally details were presented. The main headline proposed was «Crowd fills Praça da Sé at the rally for direct elections», almost identical to the one printed in the front cover. The texts in the left part of the page informed that according to the Police estimative were present approximately a hundred and twenty thousand people; in addition to it presented a quicky retaken of the chronology of the speeches and shows. The «JB» also emphasized the fact that apart from those who were very close to the stage, was not possible to listen to the speeches, in so, the rally became a huge party that had as main entrainers the small party bands, such as the one's from «PCdoB», «PCB» and «Convergência Socialista». Moreover, the unique moment of tension was the arrival of the «Indirect Elections» coffin, in a reference to a provocation usually made by the football supporters to their rivals.

The smallest picture of the page (*photo 107*) framed the moment of the coffin arrival and brought on the caption «O caixão das indiretas causou tumulto, mas recebeu aplausos».<sup>889</sup> In the horizontal medium plan picture, the coffin was held by the crowd that cannot be identified, the medium distance of the shot, however, allows the reading of some face's expressions, especially in the right bottom corner in which they go from shouting faces to more concerned ones. In the upper part of the image, in which was pictured the background can be seen several banners and illumination posts. The image serves as an illustration tool to the text and at the same time emphasizes the unique moment of tension in the whole rally, according

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<sup>888</sup> «Figueiredo out!».

<sup>889</sup> «Indirect coffin caused uproar but received applause».

**JORNAL DO BRASIL** POLÍTICA 26 de Janeiro de 1984

# Multidão lota Praça de Sé no comício pelas diretas

## Manifestantes "esterram" indiretas

Um comício em defesa das eleições diretas para presidente e governador reuniu milhares de pessoas na Praça da Sé, em São Paulo, nesta sexta-feira. Os manifestantes, que se reuniram a partir das 14 horas, foram interrompidos por uma chuva torrencial às 18 horas. Apesar da chuva, a manifestação continuou até as 20 horas, quando os organizadores decidiram encerrar o evento. A praça ficou lotada de pessoas, e a manifestação foi considerada um sucesso. Os manifestantes exigem a realização de eleições diretas para presidente e governador em 1988.

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**Ministro diz que campanha não muda regra da sucessão**

O ministro da Justiça, Carlos Magalhães, afirmou nesta sexta-feira que a campanha eleitoral não mudará a regra da sucessão presidencial. Ele afirmou que a regra da sucessão é uma questão constitucional e não pode ser alterada por uma campanha eleitoral.

**Damão do Juge faz seu protesto**

O deputado federal Damão do Juge fez um protesto na Câmara dos Deputados nesta sexta-feira. Ele afirmou que a Câmara dos Deputados não deve aprovar a lei de sucessão presidencial, pois isso seria uma violação da Constituição.

**PDS defenderá Collor na TV**

O Partido Democrático Social (PDS) anunciou nesta sexta-feira que defenderá o presidente Collor na televisão. O partido afirmou que Collor é o melhor candidato para o Brasil e que ele deve continuar no cargo.

**Colômbios indicam 200 mil**

Os colombianos indicaram nesta sexta-feira que há cerca de 200 mil pessoas em São Paulo. Isso indica que a manifestação foi muito bem-sucedida e que houve uma grande participação popular.

**Brizola garante passagens no Rio**

O senador Brizola garantiu nesta sexta-feira que ele não deixará o Rio de Janeiro. Ele afirmou que ele quer continuar trabalhando para o Brasil e que ele não se rendeu.

**Governador é o mais votado em prévia no Rio**

O governador foi o mais votado em uma prévia eleitoral realizada no Rio de Janeiro. Isso indica que ele tem o apoio da maioria dos eleitores.

**Iris lembra que o PMDB perdeu a melhor chance**

A senadora Iris lembrou nesta sexta-feira que o PMDB perdeu a melhor chance de ganhar as eleições. Ela afirmou que o partido não fez o suficiente para vencer e que isso é uma grande decepção.

**RELAX PELOS 2 LADOS.**

Relaxa pelos dois lados. Não se preocupe com o futuro. O futuro é o que você quiser. Relaxa e aproveite a vida.

**COMPRAR NA SENDAS DA SAMBA QUELJO MINAS (FRESQUINHO) GOIABADA EM CORTE**

**SENDAS**

SÓ ATÉ SABADO



São Paulo — Fernando Pereira

O comício foi temperado por muitos discursos, vaia e música. Um verdadeiro show



São Paulo — Ariovaldo dos Santos

476 Caixão das indiretas causou tumulto mas recebeu aplausos

to the own newspapers, that is to say, the «JB» was proposing a facts narration less subjective, or so close to the ideal of convergence and consensus that the «FSP» was building it.

In this different process of reality construction made by the Rio de Janeiro newspaper, the second picture (*photo 108*) of that page, presents the continuation of the aerial plan photo of the front cover. A little bit bigger than the other image of the page, this one occupied approximately 1/5 of the page and in a wide-angle plan, in this case made from a close building as the concrete part in the bottom right corner indicate. In the photo, slightly inclined, are visible the main entrance of the Cathedral, were right in front of it was the rally stage the huge crowd, in the middle section of the square the several banners, among which was the «PCdoB» flag that had generated preoccupation to the rally organizers as was indicated in the «FSP» article; although, no mention to this organization preoccupation appeared in this «JB» page. The caption of the picture was mostly generic regarding the present one's, their speeches and reactions, «O comício foi temperado por muitos discursos, vaias e músicas. Um verdadeiro show»<sup>890</sup> is another demonstration of the caution that «JB» was treating the agenda, in a not so engaged attitude towards it, but gradually giving more space to it in its pages. However, on that day's edition, the two images printed were much less than the eleven one's that «FSP» published; what explains the absence of the main leaders of the movement in the photos.

Finally, two secondary titles must be indicated as a hint of possible directions to the movement and also to the «JB» attitude towards it. In first place, the right columns of the page were dedicated to some official reactions such the text under the title «PDS defenderá Colégio na TV»<sup>891</sup> with a text explaining that the government party will use his TV space to defend the indirect elections. In the central columns on the other hand was placed a title that stated «Brizola garante passeata no Rio»<sup>892</sup>, in this case the small text brings the information that the State Governor of Rio de Janeiro, Leonel Brizola, after attending to the rally in São Paulo declared that the city of Rio would hold an even bigger demonstration in the following days. This balance on treating the different information, or a less engaged attitude, gave to the «JB» a less prestigious position in the consolidation of itself as a fundamental piece of the opposition to the militaries, especially from the mid-1980s on.

24/02/1984 – *Folha de S. Paulo*

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<sup>890</sup> «The rally was spiced up by many speeches, vais and songs. A real show».

<sup>891</sup> «PDS to defend College on TV».

<sup>892</sup> «Brizola guarantees a march in Rio».

One month later the «Diretas Já» agenda was gaining even more strength inside the Brazilian Society and between the different sectors of the institutional politics. In so, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February 1984 the press attention was divided in two main facts; the announcement made by the country's Vice-President, Aureliano Chaves, indicating his candidature for the presidency, in concurrence with Mario Andreazza inside the «PDS». In the other side of the political dispute of that year, the country was expecting a new major rally in favor of the direct elections, this one would occur in Belo Horizonte, capital of Minas Gerais State.

In this sense, the narrative construction of the «FSP» had proposed a first page also divided in between the agendas. The main headline was «Armed Forces will accept directives, says Aureliano», although, above it there was an auxiliary title indicating «Aureliano comunica a Sarnei o lançamento de sua candidature e afirma que os militares “são o povo”»<sup>893</sup>, beside it a rare vertical picture of the vice-president (*photo 109*), and right in the middle of the page a secondary title «Oito governadores no comício de Minas», followed by a small text with more information about the rally that would take place in Belo Horizonte gathering seven «PMDB» state governors and Brizola (PDT) from Rio de Janeiro. A small extract of it exposes the consensus formula that the «PMDB» was trying to achieve in that moment «O governador Tancredo Neves pediu aos oradores que preservem em seus discursos as figuras do presidente da República e das instituições, especialmente as Forças Armadas»<sup>894</sup>; in other words, in the view of the institutional opposition (PMDB), the protest that was in favor of direct elections in the country, could not criticize those who were responsible for the indirect elections. Returning to the upper part of the page, under the main headline the five-paragraph introductory text informed that Aureliano Chaves as candidate to the presidency guaranteed that the militaries would respect the National Congress decision regarding the Dante de Oliveira Amendment.

The photo chosen to compose that first page had framed in a american plan shot in a medium distance the vice-president; in so the caption stated «“A dignidade é o que de mais caro as pessoas tem de preservar”, disse o Vice».<sup>895</sup> He has been picture while was conceiving an interview to several press organs as indicates the diverse microphones in the picture; is possible to identify three TVs: «Globo», «SBT» and «Manchete»; and one radio recorder from «Radio Jovem Pan» a São Paulo's radio station. The vice president was wearing a dark suit and while was standing and speaking a small movement of his hands has been framed. In the

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<sup>893</sup> «Aureliano informs Sarnei of the launch of his candidacy and states that the military "are the people"».

<sup>894</sup> «Governor Tancredo Neves asked the speakers to preserve in their speeches the figures of the President of the Republic and the institutions, especially the Armed Forces».

<sup>895</sup> «"Dignity is the dearest thing people have to preserve," said Vice».





background of the image there are other three persons, most probably other journalists. At this point, it is possible to say that in this front cover, the photos did not have a central role, what might justify the choice of a vertical one, occupying approximately 1/6 of the page, considering that with this impagination there would be more space left to the texts and titles.

The internal pages of the newspapers dedicated to both of main agendas were pages four and five. Inside the «FSP» the order has been inverted, in page four was published a series of articles related to the «Diretas Já» movement. The main headline was «Minas makes today the great rally pro-diretas», after it and occupying the whole left columns of the page several information regarding the rally preparation and expectative were present, in a logic that respected the one used to the rally that took place in São Paulo one month before, but in a scale of information amount much smaller. The image printed in the page (*photo 110*) however, was linked with the secondary title of the page «Inaugurado na Sé o Placar das Diretas»<sup>896</sup>, that is to say, an event held in São Paulo. As explaining in the text the followed the title, the scoreboard has been an initiative of the movement organizers who attended to its inauguration with great attention, the idea was to have permanently listed in São Paulo's city center a list with all the five hundred and forty eight congressmen names and, alongside it, their posture and attitude toward the possibility of direct elections, this would be a form of pressuring even more the deputies to vote in favor of the Dante de Oliveira Amendment.

The photo that occupied 1/8 of the page, was another exploration example of the wide-angle possibilities. The image, presented in the left corner and in first plan the senator Ulysses Guimarães in a diagonal and horizontal angle; he was one more time speaking while held a microphone and a sheet of paper with the left hand, meanwhile his right hand was in the air, as if emphasizing his words. The rest of the picture composes the space of the city's center, the illumination post in the center of it is characteristically of that city's zone, in the bottom right-corner some spectators were framed, and the right half of the image was filled with the «Diretas scoreboard» in the background. The caption of that photo quoted a small extract of the senator's speech «Na praça da Sé, Ulisses declara que a população "está sendo arruinada pelo desemprego e pela falta de saúde"».<sup>897</sup> Finally, in the left upper corner some tree leaves compose the framing of the scene.

In the following page the agenda presented was the announcement of Aureliano's candidature to the presidency. In so, the headline was almost a continuation of the front cover

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<sup>896</sup> «Inauguration of the "Diretas scoreboard" in the Sé Cathedral».

<sup>897</sup> «In Praça da Sé, Ulisses declares that the population "is being ruined by unemployment and lack of health"».

4 — POLÍTICA — Sexta-feira, 24 de fevereiro de 1984

FOLHA DE S. PAULO

A sucessão pelas urnas

Minas faz hoje o grande comício pró-diretas

Do Sucursal de Belo Horizonte
O grande comício de Minas, marcado para as 17 horas na praça Rio Branco, em frente à estação rodoviária, terá a presença de alto governadores oposicionistas, entre os PMDB e Leonel Brizola, do PFL. Os governadores Gilberto Martins, do Amanhã e Iria Bezerra, do Goiás (este em viagem ao exterior), foram os últimos nos ônibus pelo apelo que não confirmaram sua participação no ato, para o qual são esperadas entre 150 mil e 200 mil pessoas. Todos os governadores estão inscritos para falar, e o presidente do PMDB, Ulisses Guimarães, encerrará os discursos. Preservar a imagem do presidente da República e das instituições, especialmente as Forças Armadas, é a preocupação maior do governador de Minas, Tancredo Neves. Neste sentido, ele pediu aos oradores do "Comício de Minas" para serem firmes nas críticas aos males e doenças de governo, mas evitem agressões às autoridades constituídas.



Na praça de São Tiago, milhares de pessoas se reuniram para o comício de ontem.

Inaugurado na Sé o Placar das Diretas

Nun clima de vibração, ao estilo dos comícios, mais de mil pessoas participaram ontem à tarde da inauguração do "Placar das Diretas", na praça da Sé. Não faltaram marchinhas de Carnaval com letras adaptadas pró-diretas, gritos e aplausos e várias vozes se levantaram para apoiar o pleito direto. Entusiasmados, alguns começaram a cantar, outros a dançar. O presidente nacional do PMDB, deputado federal Ulisses Guimarães, e senador Fernando Henrique Cardoso, o ex-senador Marcos Freixo, ambos do PMDB, o prefeito Mário Covas, o presidente regional do PT, Demétrio Ribeiro e vice-presidente do PDT, Terézinha Zerbin, o deputado Dante de Oliveira, do PMDB, autor da emenda que propôs o restabelecimento das diretas, e outros políticos.

O "Placar das Diretas" tem 540 metros quadrados e conta com os nomes dos 548 congressistas, agrupados por Estado. Altravés dele, a população poderá acompanhar a postura de cada um quanto à forma de eleição presidencial: pró-diretas, indeciso ou contra. A respeito da posição dos parlamentares será feita por um comitê que reúne representantes do PMDB, PT e PDT, do Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil (OAB) e da Federação Nacional dos Jornalistas (Fenaj).

Cabo Frio espera 70 mil pessoas no comício do dia 1º

Do Sucursal do Rio
O presidente do PMDB, deputado Ulisses Guimarães, e os senadores Alcides Moreira da Silva e João Vinagreira já confirmaram a participação no comício pelas eleições diretas que será realizado na próxima quinta-feira, às 20 horas, em Cabo Frio. O presidente Alair Corrêa (PMDB) espera reunir na Praia de Forte, a principal da cidade, cerca de 70 mil pessoas, quase 10% dos brasileiros esperados para o Carnaval.

Semana das Diretas

O "Relevo das Diretas" publica diariamente, sob o nome "Semana das Diretas", artigos e comentários para a semana com curso. Aos domingos serão publicadas "Notícias das Diretas", as manifestações pró-diretas em todo o País, independentemente da data para a qual ocorrerão. Os interessados em divulgar notícias, em Cabo Frio, no endereço: Alair Corrêa (PMDB) espera reunir na Praia de Forte, a principal da cidade, cerca de 70 mil pessoas, quase 10% dos brasileiros esperados para o Carnaval.

Artistas interpelam ministro da Justiça

Vários artistas entraram ontem em uma interpelação judicial ao Supremo Tribunal Federal, apresentando um "pedido de indenização" ao ministro Luiz Alberto de Figueiredo, em razão de declarações feitas por ele em uma sessão pública sobre eleições diretas no largo do Marizete. Os artistas, que incluem nomes como Renato Borghini e Balthus Escobar, pediram a suspensão do ministro da Justiça, alegando que suas declarações foram feitas em um momento de "excesso de zelo" e que ele não deveria ter se pronunciado sobre o assunto.

Placar das Diretas

Colégio Eleitoral é corrompido, não pode ser fonte de poder. Qualquer presidente eleito pelo Colégio Eleitoral não poderá exercer o cargo de chefe de Estado. O Colégio Eleitoral é corrompido, não pode ser fonte de poder. Qualquer presidente eleito pelo Colégio Eleitoral não poderá exercer o cargo de chefe de Estado. O Colégio Eleitoral é corrompido, não pode ser fonte de poder. Qualquer presidente eleito pelo Colégio Eleitoral não poderá exercer o cargo de chefe de Estado.

Pró-diretas

Reato Cordeiro, Apóstolo, PSD-SP: "Não há como negar a necessidade de se permitir ao brasileiro o direito de escolher seu presidente. Também em e o meu partido, o PSD, tem esta mesma convicção. Acredito apenas que o momento não favorece o imediato exercício das diretas. Não, que estamos atravessando momentos de áreas difíceis, tanto dentro do Brasil como no campo internacional, tanto dentro do Brasil como no campo internacional, tanto dentro do Brasil como no campo internacional, tanto dentro do Brasil como no campo internacional."

Quêrcia propõe mobilização na marcha ao DF

Orestes Quêrcia tinha motivos suficientes para estar satisfeito ontem. Afinal, junto com cerca de duas mil pessoas, 142 profetas dos 573 Municípios paulistas atenderam ao convite do vice-governador para participarem do lançamento da Frente Municipalista pelas Diretas, realizado na Assembleia Legislativa, da mesma forma como o fizeram verdadeiros vice-prefeitos, deputados estaduais e federais de outros dez Estados brasileiros, entre os quais vários parlamentares.

Inaugurado na Sé o Placar das Diretas

O último orador foi Ulisses Guimarães, inextinguivelmente emocionado, que chamou a população a sair de casa, "para defendê-la", pois está sendo ameaçada pelo desemprego e pela falta de saúde. Vimos fazer o contrário dos homens de governo que saem do País, vestidos de serviços, para entregá-la às multinacionais.

A Palavra do Eleitor

"Tenho acompanhado, com crescente satisfação, o engajamento de vocês, 'Folha', no compromisso nacional pela volta das eleições diretas. Como presidente do Conselho Nacional de Dirigentes do PMDB, gostaria de agradecer a vocês por terem assumido este papel tão importante para o Brasil."

Placar das Diretas

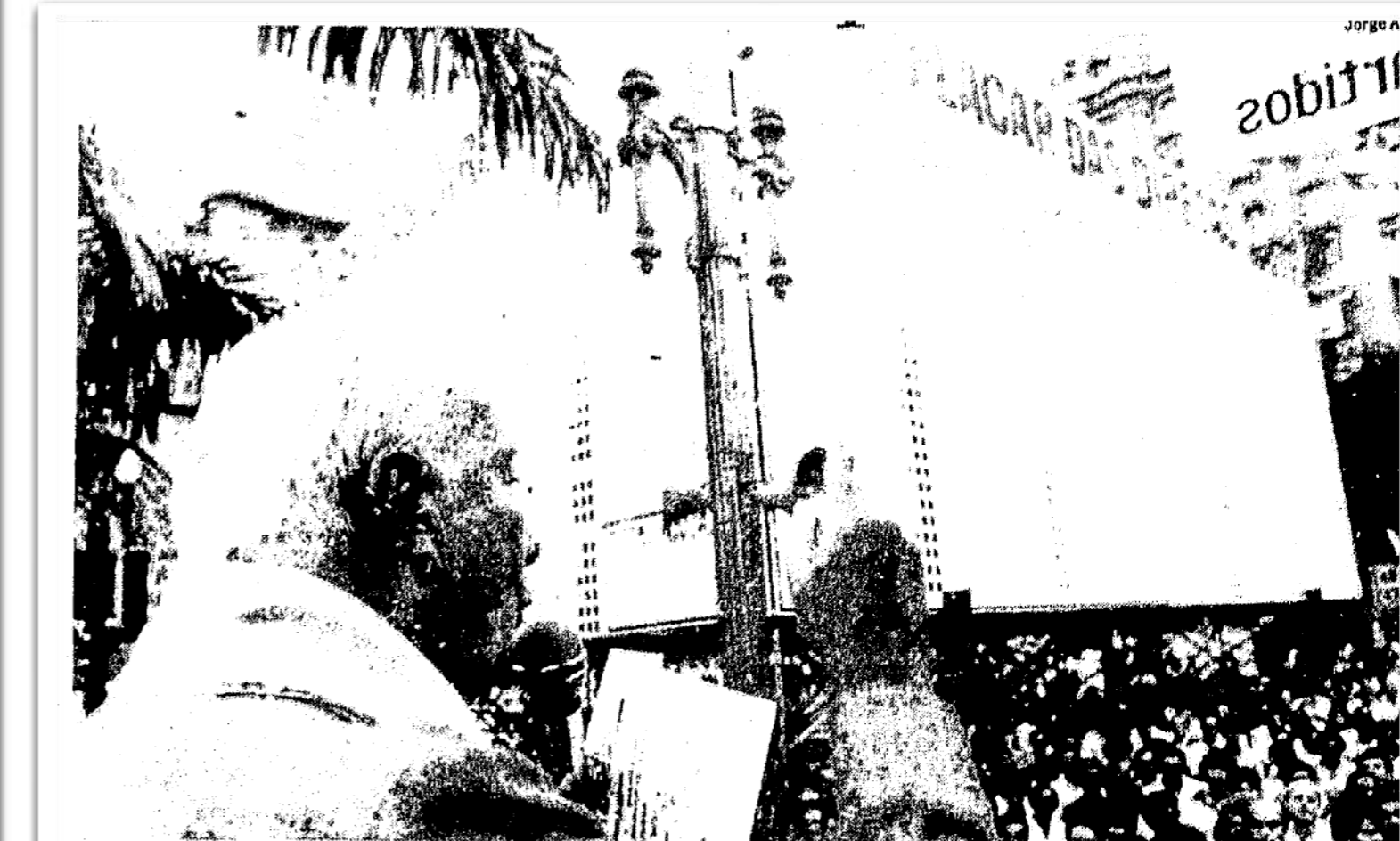
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Na praça da Sé, Ulisses declara que a população "está sendo arruinada pelo desemprego e pela falta de saúde"

Vertical text on the left margin containing small print and publication details.

«Military will comply with Congress, says Aureliano». The texts in that page and also a secondary title «Sarnei não vê ameaça à unidade do PDS»<sup>898</sup> were dedicated to the fact that so far there were four candidates to the presidency inside the «PDS», Mario Andreazza, Aureliano Chaves, Paulo Maluf and Marco Maciel. Apparently, the overall notion that the «FSP» was intending to build around this subject was that the unity was starting to lack within the government. Before indicating some key aspects of the photograph placed in the page, is necessary to recall the attention to an advertisement placed in the bottom right corner of the page announcing a Paulo Maluf's debate/interview in the TV channel «Manchete» in that day. The slogan of the advertisement said: «Brasil esperança com Paulo Maluf»<sup>899</sup>, presenting an inconsonance between the commercialized sessions of the newspaper's page and its editorial proposal as has been presented so far. In brief, to the «FSP», the «PDS» potential candidate, Paulo Maluf, was not a hopeful option, exactly because he was against the direct elections.

The picture (*photo 111*) was one of the smallest that was analyzed in this section, occupied approximately 1/8 of the page and was shot in a medium angle, from a medium distance, framing horizontally three leaders of the «PDS» seated very close on a sofa. The caption informs who are each of them, although since the photo was shot from a close distance was possible to identify the politicians on it, «O deputado Homero Santos, secretário geral do «PDS», acompanhou Aureliano Chaves no encontro com Sarnei».<sup>900</sup> The three of them were wearing black suits, reinforcing the institutional aspect of the political negotiations in course; the one in the middle was Aureliano Chaves, he and Sarnei (on the right side of the photo) were framed laughing while, Santos, was leaning in his own arm (on the left side). The more remarkable element of this image was the intimacy of the three politicians in the meeting, as well as the lightness on how they deal with a complex social and political situation, in this key a possible interpretation to the presence of this image in the «FSP» was the building of a narrative notion that the members of the government were not actively worried and carrying about the «Diretas Já» agenda, being more concentrated in the internal disputes.

24/02/1984 – *Jornal do Brasil*

The «JB» approach to the events on that day was slightly different, in the front page the emphasis was on the preparations to the rally in Minas Gerais, in so the main headline was

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<sup>898</sup> «Sarnei sees no threat to PDS unity».

<sup>899</sup> «Brazil hopes with Paulo Maluf».

<sup>900</sup> «Deputy Homero Santos, Secretary General of the PDS, accompanied Aureliano Chaves in the meeting with Sarnei».

# Militares acatarão decisão do Congresso, diz Aureliano

Do Sucursal de Brasília

Após comunicar ontem ao presidente do PDS, senador José Sarney, o lançamento de sua candidatura — "que só Deus poderá dizer" — o vice-presidente Aureliano Chaves manifestou a convicção de que "as Forças Armadas não interferirão no processo político caso seja aprovada a emenda restabelecendo as eleições diretas para presidente da República".

"Não acredito em nenhum retrocesso militar — salientou — mesmo porque as Forças Armadas são por si, como povo, elas refletem com fidelidade o pensamento do povo. Não há movimento na História do Brasil — acrescentou — que registre distorção entre a ação militar e a inspiração do povo".

Aureliano havia tomado providências para que a cerimônia na sede nacional do PDS fosse simples e limitada a poucas pessoas, mas, ainda assim, compareceram cerca de 20 parlamentares comprometidos com a sua candidatura, além do presidente do PDS mineiro, Cristóvão Chiaradia, e do líder da bancada deputado Otaviano Dias, na Assembléia Legislativa de Minas.

Sarney saudou Aureliano com um discurso sentimental, citando Afonso Arinos e Pablo Neruda, e afirmou que "há muitos anos a história política do Brasil não passa pelos partidos" e pediu demonstrações de confiança na legenda do PDS.

Sarney pareceu contrariado quando Aureliano, em seu pronunciamento, defendeu a candidatura dos partidos políticos "na convicção e não na oportunidade". O vice-presidente alertou ainda que poderia simplificar sua plataforma de candidato em três propósitos: descentralização, liberalização e humanização. Críticas ao presidente do Estado na vida da cidadania" e propug o respeito à individualidade de cada um. "A dignidade é aferrmo — e é de mais caro as pessoas tem a preservar".

## Vice é considerado fator de estabilidade

RUBEM DE AZEVEDO LIMA

Embora o adversário do sr. Aureliano Chaves procurem visibilizar a possível oficialização de sua candidatura a pressões externas adotadas pelo Sr. Sarney, segundo alegam, o Departamento de Estado atua para influir na escolha do Presidente, visando preservar interesses internacionais em nosso País), a decisão em prol da legalidade e manutenção da ordem no governo, como pressuposto da estabilidade do atual regime.

O nome considerado mais propício à consecução desses objetivos é o do vice-presidente da República, Rubem de Azevedo Lima. Embora a defesa que Aureliano Chaves faz das diretas é aceita pelos chefes militares, com os quais ele já tratou expressamente do assunto. A insistência na posição atual do vice-Presidente é a do ex-ministro Ernesto Geisel, por motivos de ordem estratégica, mas que, na prática, notadamente no meio militar, se mostraram insubstituíveis.

A oficialização da candidatura do vice-Presidente, com apoio oficial do Palácio do Planalto, poderia ocorrer com a visita de Aureliano a Washington, em março próximo, mas não terá início um processo semelhante de livre trânsito nos escalões superiores do governo — qualquer relação com os contatos que o vice-Presidente fará nos Estados Unidos.

Segundo informante, outros candidatos do PDS não teriam as condições mínimas de confiabilidade política, para, dentro do regime democrático, manter a estabilidade econômica, política e social do País e não se atravessem, com êxito, a crise em que ele se encontra.

## Micel pode apoiar emenda das diretas

Do Sucursal do Rio

Após reafirmar que considera o restabelecimento das eleições diretas, em todos os níveis, "uma aspiração nacional inagotável", o senador Marco Maciel revelou ontem o seu propósito de apresentar uma emenda com esse objetivo, ou de apoiar, com alterações, a do deputado peemocrata Dante de Oliveira, conforme registam as avaliações que vem fazendo nessa fase de sua campanha sucessória.

Maciel defendeu a escolha do candidato do PDS na Convenção de novembro por votação em dois turnos: "É a única forma que vislumbro capaz de evitar o fracassamento do partido em razão da decisão dos convencionais. Se devíamos escolher um nome sem qualquer respaldo popular, muito mais necessário é indicarmos alguém com o apoio, no mínimo, da maioria absoluta do partido, só possível pelo sistema de votar duas vezes".

A idéia do senador é de que, num primeiro turno, se apresentem todos os quatro candidatos, e, num segundo, apenas os dois mais votados. Assim, o mais votado, na última rodada, terá de obter necessariamente a maioria absoluta dos convencionais. Teríamos, portanto, ainda o apoio compulsório de quase a totalidade do partido, evitando assim que se comprometesse a unidade da legenda na disputa sucessória com os demais partidos, seja por via indireta ou direta.

O senador pernambucano veio ao Rio para se reunir, a seu pedido, com um grupo de técnicos da Fundação Getúlio Vargas, entre os quais o jurista Afonso Arinos e o economista Julian Chacel. Durante quatro horas, ele discutiu com cinco especialistas deputed instituídos para eles e subditos com que pretende elaborar o seu programa de governo esclarecendo aos parlamentares:

"Passa foi apenas uma reunião de trabalho. Não lancei ainda nenhum programa de metas ou de ação porque por enquanto me limito a estabelecer compromissos e diretrizes. Acho que um plano de governo deve surgir do que for coletivo mediante consulta não só a técnicos, como da Fundação, mas também ao partido e aos setores representativos da sociedade. E o que estou fazendo".

A solenidade não demorou mais do que 20 minutos. Aureliano entregou a Sarney cópia do discurso de lançamento de sua candidatura, proferido em Belo Horizonte, e deixou a sede do PDS, caminhando pelo setor comercial da Brasília até seu escritório eleitoral, a cem metros dali.

Rodeado por seus cabeleleiros, o vice-presidente inaugurou o escritório concedendo entrevista coletiva, na qual resumiu alguns pontos de sua plataforma política e procurou esclarecer de onde parte a sustentação financeira de sua campanha.

"Um ex-aluno meu de Itajubá, o Luis Garcia — revelou — acabou de me emprestar um avião para a campanha. Esse escritório aqui é de quem? É de meu velho amigo Osório, de Uberaba. São coisas feitas com tranquilidade, não estou fazendo nada fora da classe média e não posso acatar coisas que não estejam de acordo com minha maneira de ser".

Esperetura

Aureliano voltou a condenar a "esperança" dos outros, definindo-a como "a forma pela qual alguns homens públicos substituem seu pensamento". Indagado quem dirigia sua observação crítica do "esperetura", respondeu que "cada um deve fazer um exame de consciência". É acrescentou: "Essa Nação precisa de trabalho. A vitória desse País contra a inflação, contra o desemprego, será minada a vitória de um brasileiro sobre outro brasileiro".

Em seguida, quando um repórter quis saber o que pensa do ministro Mário Andrade usar a máquina administrativa do seu Ministério em benefício de sua própria campanha, Aureliano Chaves foi lapidado por um jornalista de esquerda. Este é um assunto que pertence, primeiro, ao ministro e segundo, ao presidente da República, de quem ele é ministro".

Aureliano Chaves também criticou os procedimentos utilizados pelo governo

para negociar com o FMI: "Per mais de 20 minutos, Aureliano entregou a Sarney cópia do discurso de lançamento de sua candidatura, proferido em Belo Horizonte, e deixou a sede do PDS, caminhando pelo setor comercial da Brasília até seu escritório eleitoral, a cem metros dali."

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O deputado Homero Santos, secretário geral do PDS, acompanhou o vice Aureliano Chaves no encontro com Sarney

## Sarney não vê ameaça à unidade do PDS

Do Sucursal de Curitiba

A unidade do PDS não está ameaçada pela radicalização da campanha dos presidenciais de Sarney, sustentou em Brasília o deputado Homero Santos, presidente da agremiação. Ele afirmou que "toda disputa é sempre muito vivida, que, no caso, a disputa entre os presidentes Aureliano Chaves, Mário Andrade, Paulo Maluf e Marco Maciel — se processa normalmente".

"É preciso considerar que há muitos anos a história política do País não passa pelos partidos políticos, e que a disputa é natural em todo partido democrático", afirmou o presidente. Indagado sobre se essa radicalização poderia levar o presidente Figueiredo a retomar a coordenação do processo sucessório, Sarney disse que não. "O Presidente — afirmou — quando devolveu a coordenação ao PDS, deixou um gesto, porém, mas também um gesto político. Isso fortaleceu o partido".

## Maluf descarta a hipótese de Aureliano ser candidato oficial

Do Sucursal de Curitiba

O deputado Paulo Maluf (pró-indústria, PDS-PR) em seu segundo dia de visitas aos convencionais peelistas em Curitiba, descartou a possibilidade de o vice-presidente Aureliano Chaves ser escolhido pelo Palácio do Planalto como candidato oficial da República. Segundo Maluf, "esta é uma hipótese que parecia apenas a crítica que se escreveu a matéria".

Embora o deputado tenha se negado a falar sobre um possível acordo entre os presidentes para que Aureliano fosse apontado como candidato oficial, disse que "se o presidente Figueiredo não quiser aceitar, não há nada que eu possa fazer".

Depois de visitar durante todo o dia

## Tancredo não crê em candidato oficial

Do Sucursal de Belo Horizonte

O governador de Minas, Tancredo Neves, não acredita que o Palácio do Planalto possa vir a ter um candidato oficial à sucessão do presidente Figueiredo. A impossibilidade para isso se deve, segundo ele, ao fato de haver um profundo e profunda divergência que existe hoje, e está aliada, entre o PDS e o PDS". Os comentários do

## "Folha" recebe congratulações por aniversário

A "Folha" continua recebendo votos de congratulações pelo seu 69º aniversário de fundação, completado no último domingo.

Saravia Guerreiro, ministro das Relações Exteriores; "Com prazer associamo-nos à comunidade de leitores da "Folha", ao cumprimentá-lo pelo 69º aniversário da fundação de seu importante diário".

Paulo Maluf, deputado federal; "Agradeço cumprimentários mais um aniversário da nossa "Folha de S. Paulo".

Também enviaram cumprimentos Bernardo Pericás, secretário de Interações do Ministério das Relações Exteriores; deputado Geraldo Siqueira; "no que eu não acredito, porque o candidato poderia não coincidir com o sentimento, o apoio e a sustentação do PDS".

Com o modelo democrático permitido, na dica militar. Foram estas ações, transmitidas pelos ministros, com ênfase que convenceram Figueiredo a tentar por alguma ordem de sucesso, mediante um acordo prévio capaz de impedir o choque sucessório a partir das correntes em jogo.

Dois idéias foram então examinadas na reunião do presidente com os candidatos, e assistiu por um bom número de telefunções: o compromisso de apoio unânime ao nome escolhido na convenção do PDS ou a retirada de todos os quatro em benefício de um quinto, sob a égide de conciliação nacional. A última sugestão, inspirada por Aureliano, não chegou a ser discutida — Paulo Maluf e Mário Andrade — enquanto o vice-presidente não aceitava a primeira proposta.

Pela proposta que se seguiu a esse amplo encontro — convocou pelo chefe do Gabinete Civil da Presidência da República, ministro Leônidas de Azevedo, com a senha de "urgente" — pouco ou nada pôde ser delibado de concreto no debate que se travou, à sombra da autoridade presidencial. Os ministros militares, evidentemente não se satisfizeram com essa iniciativa, e recolheram-se aos respectivos postos de observação, de onde acompanharam o desenvolvimento do processo, o que não afasta a possibilidade de uma nova manifestação conjunta, implicando numa renúncia necessariamente maior.

É o mesmo quadro que se desenrola no trabalho eficaz de dois antigos chefes militares: o general Ernesto Geisel e o general Wilson Figueiredo, ambos integrados à campanha de Aureliano Chaves, cujo crescimento dentro do meio militar deve-se fundamentalmente ao empenho do ex-comandante do 1º Exército, coadjuvado por outros dois oficiais de quatro estrelas, na reserva: Meira Mattos e Otávio Costa.

Como se sabe pelos últimos pronunciamentos do vice-presidente, o seu preceito vai se caracterizando como uma cruzada ética, a colar no processo sucessório uma conduta dos grupos divergentes que o movimento do golpe da autoridade militar, incluindo o sacrifício da ambição pessoal de candidato em prol da unidade partidária, outro referir ao gosto da atenta oficialidade.

## Advogados renunciam e querem apoio mais efetivo à campanha

O sucesso de disciplina" no apoio da Associação dos Advogados de São Paulo à campanha pelos eleições diretas para a Presidência da República foi um dos principais motivos que levaram cinco dos 11 convencionais daquela entidade a renunciar a seus cargos. Esta renúncia foi feita ontem por dois dos renunciantes, os advogados Arnaldo Malheiro Filho e Mário Eugênio Raposo, no dia sábado, que limitou apenas, inclusive, a presença da associação no comício de paradas da rua de 14 janeiro.

Eles não acreditam que a entidade seja capaz de fazer frente a uma campanha apenas mais "agressividade", lembrando que em outros tempos a associação foi "mais brilhante" em suas manifestações. O vice-presidente Arnaldo Malheiro Filho e Mário Eugênio Raposo, no dia sábado, que limitou apenas, inclusive, a presença da associação no comício de paradas da rua de 14 janeiro.

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Depois de visitar durante todo o dia

## Maluf ressalta seu "apreço" pelo Parará e garante que "boa parte" da bancada federal e estadual está apoiando a sua candidatura, porque "sabem que estão escolhendo alguém que pertence à classe política" e que atenderá a todas as promessas feitas em campanha. Ao ser indagado sobre que tipo de promessas havia feito aos convencionais, disse: "Não fiz promessas a pessoas, mas sim ao Estado; um governo que quer ser realmente representativo não pode ignorar o Estado do Parará de lá".

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O deputado Homero Santos, secretário geral do PDS, acompanhou o vice Aureliano Chaves no encontro com Sarney

HOJE NA REDE MANCHETE 23:00 HS.

BRASIL ESPERANÇA COM PAULO MALUF

DEBATE EM MANCHETE

Não perca sensacional entrevista de Paulo Maluf, concedida a Arnaldo Niskier, Alexandre Garcia, Murilo Melo Filho e Paulo Henrique Amorim

CANAL 9 TV de 1ª Classe

«Tancredo asks PMDB to respect institutions», making a reference to the declarations of the State governor Tancredo Neves asking to those who were participate of the demonstration to do not criticize in excess the president and the militaries, these elements were described in the four-paragraph text that accompanied the headline. In the front cover there were in total three photographs, the ones in the top and in the middle were related to the two main agendas of the day. In the left center column, a small vertical image of Figueiredo and Andreazza was followed by the caption «Acompanhando Figueiredo, Andreazza admitiu diretas em 1990».<sup>901</sup> Indicating which was the official version and opinion to that agenda in a way that builds a straight connection with the main headline of the page and the attempt of controlling the critics and organizing the consensus by Tancredo Neves.

Although, the analysis will be dedicated to the picture (*photo 112*) in the top part of the page, the image presents the same moment that was framed in the «FSP» front cover photo, the interview in which Aureliano Chaves announced his candidature for presidency. In this case, however, the picture was horizontal and framed side by side Aureliano also Sarnei and the face of the Congressman Homero Santos, the first two appeared in the internal image of the «FSP» same day edition as presented before. The bottom-up angle of the american plan photo builds a stronger notion of movement in the scene, probably a result of the higher quantity of journalists' arms and hands in the scene. The caption of the photo proposed a different topic from the two other agendas «Ao formalizar sua candidature no PDS, Aureliano Chaves criticou as negociações com o FMI»<sup>902</sup> being presented a new argument to the debate on that day. Is also important to underscore that even if not mention in the caption, the interaction between the visual element with the other verbal elements of the page proposes an editorial interpretation of that front page, in which one more time, the photograph was being used to say something that was not present in the texts, in this case, an internal constraint inside the «PDS», more noticeable in the face expressions of Sarnei and Santos.

On its internal pages, was made an order inversion of the topics regarding what was seen in the case of the «FSP», that is to say that in page number two the subject approached was the internal disputes of the «PDS», while in page number three, the arrangements to the rally in Minas and also the scoreboard inauguration in «Praça da Sé». The page main headline reflected the preoccupation of the «PMDB» and the consensus building, «Tancredo does not want criticism of Figueiredo at the rally». The picture (*photo 113*) on its turn was dedicated to

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<sup>901</sup> «Following Figueiredo, Andreazza admitted to direct elections in 1990».

<sup>902</sup> «In formalising his candidacy in the PDS, Aureliano Chaves criticised the negotiations with the IMF».

# JORNAL DO BRASIL



## Argentina prende mais um chefe militar

Um segundo chefe militar argentino foi preso ontem em Buenos Aires, segundo informou o governo argentino. O homem, identificado como Coronel Juan Carlos...

## Tancredo pede ao PMDB que respeite as instituições

O presidente Tancredo de Almeida Neves pediu ontem ao PMDB que respeite as instituições brasileiras. Ele afirmou que o partido deve atuar dentro da legalidade...

## França repele pressão de caminhoneiros

A França repeliu ontem a pressão dos caminhoneiros que exigiam o fim da greve. O governo francês afirmou que não cederá às exigências...



## ABECIP prevê para este mês correção monetária de 11%

O ABECIP prevê para este mês uma correção monetária de 11%. A entidade afirma que a inflação continuará alta...



## Geral para o carnaval tem pouca procura

O carnaval em geral tem pouca procura este ano. Os turistas preferem ir para os pontos turísticos...

## Arábia anuncia cessar-fogo para o Líbano

A Arábia Saudita anunciou um cessar-fogo para o Líbano. O anúncio foi feito em um comunicado oficial...

## Casal uruguaio acionará Brasil por seqüestro

Um casal uruguaio acionará o Brasil por seqüestro. O casal afirma que foi vítima de um crime em território brasileiro...

## Gallup indica que assalto a turista suja imagem do Rio

O estudo Gallup indica que o assalto a uma turista suja a imagem do Rio de Janeiro. A pesquisa mostrou que a maioria dos turistas não recomenda o Rio...



*Ao formalizar sua candidatura no PDS, Aureliano Chaves criticou as negociações com FMI*

the day's event in São Paulo, and in a also similar angle to the one that was published by the «FSP» the vertical image was occupying ¼ of the page and in a two plan american plan, had framed slightly blurred Almino Monteiro Alves (PMDB) that was speaking in the moment of the shot in front of a small crowd that according to the newspaper article was not much bigger than one thousand people. Right under him, in the left lower corner of the picture details of the spectators can be seen as indicated in the caption «Almino ouvido por Ulysses e outros opocisionistas lembrou aos comunistas que a luta por diretas é de todos os Partidos».<sup>903</sup> Shaping the background of the scene, in the right part of the picture there was a building, in the top left extreme of the image a small part of the illumination post of São Paulo's city center and in the upper left half of it the scoreboard that would control and pressure how the congressmen were positioned regarding the «Diretas Já» agenda.

The aesthetical composition of this image recalls the reader attention, the use of a wide-angle lens from a close distance had built an effect of approximation between all the parts involved in the interactions that a newspaper can generate. The reader seemed to be close to the speaker while the spectators of the speech were pictured in a close connection with the one on the stage. Once more, in this page the editorial strategy of using the images to refer to something that was not in evidence in the main headline showed to be an efficient from of approaching several arguments at the same time and proposing a different interaction between them, besides the possibility of speaking of things that the verbal alternatives did not allow. Finally, the communists' issue, that is to say, the official participation of the communist parties in the «Diretas Já» campaign start to be present in the newspapers pages and as will be further indicated had the potential to change the course of the political movement.

*25/02/1984 – Folha de S. Paulo*

In the following day of the first big rally held in Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais), the «FSP» proposed an edition in which the event was the main subject. This approach to a fact that took place outside of São Paulo reinforces two aspects of the new positioning of the newspaper in the national scenario: in first place the comprehension of itself as a nationwide importance daily paper and the editorialization process of the newscast related to the «Diretas Já» movement, that is to say, a full commitment to the subject and its immediate political objectives. In this sense, that day's first page had ¾ of it dedicated to the rally, the exception

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<sup>903</sup> «Almino heard by Ulysses and other oppositionists reminded the communists that the struggle for direct elections belongs to all parties».



OPINIÃO DE BRASÍLIA

POLÍTICA

# Tancredo não quer

...no comício

Rufo afirma que membros do PFI se reúnem às escondidas com o PDS

Im, passará 17 dias no exterior em busca de empréstimo para Guará

Ulysses inaugura plantar na SE

Opinião não altera data de votação

Dissidência ameaça anular Colego

Artistas iniciam processo judicial contra Ministro

Veredores e prefeitos apertam ida a Brasília

Use o DDR da IBM Brasil, agora também na matriz.

IBM

São Paulo — José Carlos Brasil

# FLACAR DAS DIRETAS

Quebrar o poder do PFI

## SE

202 partidos

Almeno, ouvido por Ulysses e outros opositoristas, lembrou aos comunistas que a luta por diretas é de todos os Partidos

were five secondary titles and one paragraph texts in the bottom of the page that were connected to the international newscast and, national economic and political agenda.

The main headline on the front cover was «In Minas Gerais, more than 300 thousand» followed by an auxiliary title «O comício-monstro de Belo Horizonte pelas diretas superou até o da praça da Sé».<sup>904</sup> After it, in the center of the page, a big picture (*photo 114*) of the protest was placed occupying 2/3 of the page, right under it the caption proposed a synthesis of the demonstration size, emphasizing and describing it, «A multidão tomou toda a praça Rio Branco, defronte da Rodoviária, e ainda estendeu-se no longo da avenida Afonso Pena e ruas transversais»<sup>905</sup>. Considering that to the political movement and also to the «FSP's» narrative proposal the continuation aspect of that rally in connection with the others demonstration that had occurred in São Paulo, the interaction in between the photograph and the texts in the front cover assumed a central relevance, exactly because of the verbal capability of resuming months of the political movement unfolding and the possibility of connecting similar images in a same enunciation proposal that emerges from a specific socio-political context – the need seen by the «Diretas Já» movement organizers and also the «FSP» editors of strengthening the «popular» and «street» aspect of the agenda, beyond the institutional politics.

In so, the image chosen to that day's first page has been a Rio Branco square's vertical<sup>906</sup> panoramic picture. The shot was made in a top-down sense, considering that no information on this was described, was probably made from the event's main stage or some building in the surrounding's. In the photograph were framed the huge crowd present in the square, the banners and flags carried to the rally (although, identifying what was written or to which organization belonged it is not possible) in addition to this the background of the image presented the buildings of Belo Horizonte city center, delimitating the range of the protest. In brief, a possible interpretation to this picture is one which understands it as visual discursive tool used to build a specific national unity around a determined theme, with this goal, the universal aspect of the crowd presents itself as essential, as a way of enunciating «anyone can take part into the Diretas Já».

Corroborating such interpretation, the verbo-visual interaction between image and the text in the right column acted as mutual reinforces. The six-paragraph text was signed by the journalist Ricardo Kotscho and presented a nationalist tone, bringing to the narrative elements

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<sup>904</sup> «The Belo Horizonte mass rally for the direct elections surpassed even that of Praça da Sé».

<sup>905</sup> «The crowd filled the entire Rio Branco square, in front of the bus station, and spread out along Afonso Pena Avenue and other streets».

<sup>906</sup> As was presented so far, vertical images were an exception in the «FSP» first page's.

## Primeiro bi do "jumbo" chega dia 9

Des US\$ 3 bilhões do empréstimo "jumbo" esperados pelo Brasil desde o ano passado, US\$ 1 bilhão será recebido no próximo dia 9 de março. O restante virá em duas parcelas iguais, com intervalos de uma semana. De Nova York, o correspondente Paulo Francis informa ainda que, segundo nota oficial do Citibank, o FMI comunicou a William Rhodes, presidente do banco e do comitê assessor das negociações sobre a dívida externa brasileira, que o País deverá efetuar em 15 de março o primeiro saque do ano junto à organização, no valor de US\$ 394 milhões. Os restantes US\$ 3,5 bilhões do "jumbo" virão em quatro parcelas de US\$ 875 milhões.

Em São Paulo, o presidente do Banco Central, Afonso Celso Pastore, confirmou que os outros três projetos negociados com os bancos também estão formalmente em vigor, somando mais US\$ 21 bilhões, aproximadamente. Segundo Pastore, os atrasados de juros, devidos desde 1983, serão pagos em março, com parte dos recursos do "jumbo". **PAG.8**

### Opinião da "Folha"

Leia na pág. 2 as editoriais "Minas e o milênio", sobre o significado da comício de ontem em Belo Horizonte; "Lastimável agravado", crítica às referências do deputado João Cunha ao Presidente da República; e "Empreguismo rentístico", apontando dois exemplos de má utilização de recursos em órgãos ligados à administração pública.

### Movimentos sociais na abertura, uma questão

Uma pergunta da "Folha" sobre os movimentos sociais que emergiram no atual período de abertura política é respondida, em artigos na seção "Tendências/Debates", pelo cientista político Carlos Estevam Martins, da Universidade de São Paulo, e pelo vice-governador Gustavo Krause, ex-prefeito de Recife. **PAG.3**

### Recrudescer a guerra; Ira ameaça bloquear Ormuz

Ira e Irã voltaram a travar violentas batalhas. Bagdá informou que suas tropas mataram 2.200 inimigos, enquanto Teerã afirmava que 1.500 iraquianos foram mortos nas últimas 24 horas. O governo iraniano disse que bloqueará o estreito de Ormuz, se o Iraque ameaçar sua liberdade de navegação no golfo Pérsico.

### Malogra a greve dos camioneiros franceses

Sem conseguir novas concessões do governo francês, os camioneiros encerraram a greve de protesto contra as dificuldades nas alfândegas da fronteira franco-italiana. O fim dos bloqueios de estradas significou uma vitória política para o governo socialista, que voltará a negociar com os camioneiros a 1º de março. **PAG.13**

### Para os citricultores, a euforia chegou ao fim

Depois da euforia provocada pelas quebras nos laranjais da Flórida, os citricultores brasileiros caem na realidade descobrem que irão receber pela próxima safra (Cr\$ 3.000 a caixa) menos que no ano passado. Mas as análises preocupam quanto ao futuro, pois está havendo uma corrida para o plantio de novas pomares surge a pergunta: dentro de 100 anos, quem vai comprar tanta laranja? **PAG.11**

### Banda do Pirandello sai hoje defendendo diretas

Com o lema "Diretas Já" e o amarelo incorporado de suas cores tradicionais, a Banda do Pirandello estará nas ruas hoje, a partir das 14 horas. Há três anos essa banda caravaneou de Brasília, saindo da Augusta, próximo à Casa Prada, e encerrando seu trajeto em frente ao Teatro Municipal. A participação é aberta a todos. **PAG.15**

### BNH muda normas para mutuário desempregado

O Banco Nacional de Habitação (BNH) vai mudar, até abril, as regras do Fundo Fiel, mecanismo criado há 13 anos com o propósito de amparar o mutuário desempregado. O Fiel passará a garantir o pagamento de até 12 prestações consecutivas, sendo eliminada a exigência de utilização de dinheiro do FGTS para quitação das mensalidades em atraso. **PAG.10**

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Previsão do tempo  
Dorm em São Paulo, parcialmente nublado, com névoa úmida e possíveis nevoeiros de manhã e chuva úmida à tarde. Temperatura estável; a máxima amanhã foi 22,4 graus e a mínima 18,4.

# Em Minas, mais de 300 mil

## O comício-monstro de Belo Horizonte pelas diretas superou até o da praça da Sé



A multidão tomou toda a praça Rio Branco, defronte da Rodoviária, e ainda estendeu-se ao longo da avenida Afonso Pena e ruas transversais

RICARDO KOTSCHO  
Enviado especial de Belo Horizonte

O ambiente durante todo o dia lembrava uma final de Copa do Mundo. Não era para menos: Minas Gerais sempre foi o ponto de equilíbrio entre o Sul progressista e o Norte conservador, berço dos principais movimentos políticos que mudaram a História do País. O comício de Minas pelas diretas, por isso, era decisivo para a campanha, um ponto crucial na caminhada.

E, ao final, o Brasil venceu. Mais de 300 mil pessoas tomaram a praça Rio Branco, em frente à rodoviária, subindo um quilômetro pela avenida Afonso Pena, até o Parque Municipal de Belo Horizonte, ocupando as ruas transversais, acotovelando-se nas janelas dos prédios, na maior manifestação cívica de Minas Gerais e do Brasil, como proclamou o governador de São Paulo, Franco Montoro, em seu discurso.

Mais de 1 milhão de pessoas já saíram às ruas em manifestações pelas eleições diretas para a Presidência. Desde o dia 12 de janeiro, quando a campanha foi deflagrada em Curitiba, chega a 1 milhão 225 mil o número de pessoas que se manifestaram em praça pública pelo pleito direto, de acordo com o registro que a "Folha" mantém.

A emoção de se estar vivendo um dia histórico foi num crescendo até que, pouco depois das sete da noite em uma cidade parada, a multidão de mãos dadas cantou com Simon "Caminhando e cantando e seguindo o canção... a certeza na frente, a história na mão... vem, vamos embora, que esperar não é saber quem sabe faz a hora não espera acontecer... depois, a apoteose, o delírio tomando a multidão, ao som do Hino da Independência, um louco foguetório anunciando na voz coletiva de um povo que perdeu medo e ganhou definitivamente a esperança: "Já raiou a liberdade já raiou a liberdade no horizonte do Brasil...".

"O primeiro compromisso de Minas é com a liberdade, liberdade outro nome de Minas Gerais" - repetia a gravação do início do discurso de posse de Tancred Neves, que se transformou em lema da campanha das diretas nestas terras.

A festa em Minas começou à véspera, varou a noite e foi acompanhada de chuva de papel picado durante todo o dia, fazendo com que as faixas do lançamento e campanha do presidente Aurilano Chaves, há três semanas ainda penduradas em alguns postes, parecessem reminiscências de um outro tempo, em outro país.

Continua na pág. 2

Segunda-feira, às 20 horas, "Folha" inaugura em seu salão (al. Barão de Limeira, 42) a exposição "Os Artistas Pelas Diretas", com desenhos de dois mais renomados artistas plásticos do Brasil, que estão sendo publicados diariamente na "Ilustrada". Estarão presentes, além dos artistas, o vice-governador Dreyler Queiroz, Executivo do Comitê Pró-Diretas, escritores, atores, cineastas, músicos, as diretorias do Unio Brasileira de Teatro e Unio Brasileira de Escritores.

Trigo sobe 50% a partir de segunda  
Exército do Líbano acata o cessar-fogo  
Apreendidos Cr\$ 200 mi em cocaína  
Câmara de Mogi julga o prefeito  
Gusmão vai para o lugar de Eugênio

Do Suroeste do Brasil  
A partir de segunda-feira o trigo e sua farinha estarão 50% mais caros, conforme portaria da Sunab publicada na edição de ontem do Diário Oficial da União. O trigo de maior consumo passa para Cr\$ 148.218 a tonelada, incluídas as despesas de ICM e de transporte. Também a partir de segunda-feira as padarias comprarão a farinha comum por Cr\$ 10.533 e a especial por Cr\$ 13.252 a saca de 50 quilos.

Segundo técnicos da Secretaria do Planejamento, o impacto desse primeiro reajuste do ano para o trigo — o último foi em setembro de 83 — sobre a inflação será de 1%, mas permitirá que o subsídio ao produto caia de 62,5% para 46%. A exigência do FMI, lembraram os mesmos técnicos, é de que o subsídio seja totalmente eliminado até o mês de junho. Diante da

O Exército libanês afirmou estar respeitando o acordo de cessar-fogo anunciado em Damasco após a mediação da Arábia Saudita, mas representantes das duas principais milícias muçulmanas — xilitas e druzos — negaram ter sido contatados sobre seus termos. Ouviram-se disparos esporádicos, em Beirute, na linha que separa os setores muçulmano e cristão. Pelo menos quatro pessoas morreram e 25 ficaram feridas — de acordo com a agência noticiosa Associated Press — em um ataque israelense contra a aldeia xilita de Maarakah, perto de Sidon, na região controlada por Israel. O ataque foi em represália a uma manifestação antilraelense. Segundo o líder da organização Amal (Xilita), Nabih Berrí, helicópteros e tanques israelenses sitiaram a cidade e dispararam contra a

A Polícia Federal deteve três bolivianas no aeroporto de Congonhas e apreendeu 15 quilos de cocaína, avaliados em Cr\$ 200 milhões. Maria Elva de Campos, Maria de Lurdes Soares Lengstorf e Nanci Garcia Burgos transportavam a droga em tiras de pano amarradas ao ventre, simulando gravidez. Elas foram detidas na ala internacional do aeroporto, momentos após desembarcar, procedentes da cidade boliviana de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Os agentes também prenderam o boliviano Salomon Alfredo Eld Vargas, que esperava as mulheres. Esta é a segunda grande apreensão de cocaína feita em apenas quatro dias em Congonhas. Na terça-feira, outro boliviano, Rafael Burga Correno, foi detido, com cinco quilos da droga. A Polícia Federal investiga possível ligação com as três mulheres presas on-

A Câmara Municipal de Mogi das Cruzes começou a julgar o processo de cassação dos mandatos do prefeito Antônio Carlos Machado (PMDB) e do vereador Francisco Bezerra (PDS). Os dois são acusados de envolvimento na tentativa de extorsão de Cr\$ 200 milhões contra a Auto-Ônibus Mogi das Cruzes S/A, sob promessa de conseguir que a Secretaria dos Negócios Metropolitanos não cancelasse as linhas rodoviárias e suburbanas da empresa. Os trabalhos prosseguiram durante a noite, mas os próprios vereadores acreditam que dificilmente os dois serão cassados. Ontem, a empresa teve 31 ônibus apreendidos por determinação judicial, em virtude da falta de pagamento de prestações de financiamento dos veículos. A tarde, a Secretaria dos Negócios Metropolitanos anunciou que a Empresa Passaro Marron assume, a partir

O filho do governador Franco Montoro, Eugênio Montoro, color à disposição o cargo de chefe do Gabinete Civil. Com isso, ab caminho para a ascensão do empresário e atual presidente Badesp, Roberto Gusmão, que sumirá o cargo de secretário; moldes da antiga Casa Civil. As pressões para a saída Eugênio Montoro começaram no momento em que o governador teontem pela manhã, depois que deputados das bancadas estaduais federal do PMDB se reuniram e o governador parou para explicar sobre os planos de mudanças administrativas, dos quais foi informado pelos jornais. As mudanças deverão ser efetuadas hoje, às 9 horas, pelo governador, antes da reunião do secretário para avaliar o primeiro dia de administração. Montoro afirmou que as decisões serão aquelas que não acietará, pressões

of the usual national mobilization related to a Brazilian football team match. The text started clearly «O ambiente durante todo o dia lembrava uma final de Copa do Mundo. Não era para menos: Minas Gerais sempre foi o ponto de equilíbrio entre o Sul progressista e o Norte conservador, berço dos principais movimentos políticos que mudaram a História do País»<sup>907</sup>, other parts of the text followed the same tone «E, ao final, o Brasil venceu»<sup>908</sup>, and «A emoção de se estar vivendo um dia histórico foi num crescendo até que, pouco depois das sete da noite, com a cidade parada, a multidão de mãos dadas cantou com Simone “Caminhando e cantando e seguindo a canção...”»<sup>909</sup>. In the Middle of the text a small box presented the calculations made by the «FSP» on the attendance to the «Diretas Já» rallies, according to it until that day more than 1.2 million people had already demonstrated their will of voting for president. In our interpretation, the last element presented agrees with the argument of enunciation construction of a national mobilization around the theme.

On the internal part of the newspaper were two the pages in which the subject was discussed. In page number four, the Minas Gerais rally occupied the whole page in an almost identical organization that was seen in the coverage of the protests in São Paulo a month before. The detailed description of the facts was accompanied by three pictures and was divided in four main stories. The present analysis will be focused on the bigger image placed in the top half of the page and occupying around 1/5 of it. Right under the main title «Minas takes to the streets to demand direct elections», accompanied on the left by the main text also signed by Kotscho and the continuation of the first page extract, under it the caption proposed the repetition of the information presented in the front cover «Mais de 300 mil pessoas ocuparam a Praça da Rodoviária, num clima de euforia comparável ao de uma final de Copa do Mundo»<sup>910</sup>.

In this moment, a small digression seems necessary, the notion of a euphoria similar to a football match as a synthesizer and propeller element to the political movement, showed to be useful in that context. Although, on the other side clearly reveals the consensual intention of it, as well as its controlled aspect, in other words, the narrative was proposing a determined kind of unity that was supposed to do not consider the national issues or the needed

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<sup>907</sup> «The atmosphere all day long was reminiscent of a World Cup final. It was not for nothing: Minas Gerais has always been the point of equilibrium between the progressive South and the conservative North, cradle of the main political movements that changed the History of the Country».

<sup>908</sup> «And, in the end, Brazil won».

<sup>909</sup> «The emotion of living a historical day was growing until, shortly after seven in the evening, with the city at a standstill, the crowd hand in hand sang with Simone "Caminhando e cantando e seguindo a canção..."».

<sup>910</sup> «More than 300 thousand people occupied the Bus Station Square, in an atmosphere of euphoria comparable to that of a World Cup final».

accountability of the dictatorship perpetrators. In so, a consensus, euphorically and festive relation to the rallies should be build, the option of a confrontation with the regime was not in the order of the day. As presented so far that has been the form that the «FSP» found and was authorized to act in a constant negotiation with the militaries.

Returning to page's number four; the image chosen (*photo 115*) was practically the continuation of that one placed in the front page, although a little bit closer to the crowd, this element allowed the reading of some of the banners present in the crowd in which are clear some words such as «Diretas» and «Eleições». In brief, the picture, in this case horizontal, also shot from the top to the bottom angle in a panoramic plan, framed the generic and national-popular crowd with extra details, the same enunciation logic that was applied to the texts on that page narrating the event unfolding. Beyond reinforcing the consensual element and the agenda, the texts kept editorializing the newscast; a major example is the article under the secondary title «Diretas mudam velha tradição dos comícios»<sup>911</sup>, the first paragraph, also signed by Kotscho, pointed to a supposedly change in the political attitude in the rallies

A campanha pelas diretas está mudando a velha tradição de que em comício o mais importante fica para o fim. O mais importante, como repetiram os principais oradores políticos no comício de Belo Horizonte é o tempo todo o povo na praça? Inundando as ruas de gente, fazendo a festa, das diretas.<sup>912</sup>

These elements were also presented as a way of emphasizing the need of national unity around a popular aspect of the street's occupation by the people, although, as the present analysis is indicating, this «people» occupation of the streets should occur in a very specific way, preferably in a festive form rather than a contestation or rupture proposal.

Still on that day's «FSP» edition, on page number six the rubric «A sucessão pelas urnas»<sup>913</sup> presented new developments related to the «Diretas Já», the main headline of that page was «Today, demonstrations across the interior», accompanying it the unique picture of that page. A photo (*photo 116*) that occupied around 1/8 of the page and followed by the caption «Quércia [São Paulo's State governor] anunciou, no encontro, que a Marcha dos Municipalistas, "que não é partidária", irá a Brasília»<sup>914</sup>. In short, the main idea presented in the page and detailed in the texts was the political mobilization of mayors in the internal parts

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<sup>911</sup> «Directs change old tradition of rallies».

<sup>912</sup> «The campaign for the directs is changing the old tradition that in a rally the most important thing is left until the end. The most important thing, as the main political speakers at the Belo Horizonte rally repeated, is all the time the people in the square? Flooding the streets with people, celebrating the Directs».

<sup>913</sup> «The succession through the ballot box».

<sup>914</sup> «Quércia [São Paulo's State governor] announced at the meeting that the March of Municipalists, "which is not partidary", will go to Brasilia».

# Minas sai às ruas para exigir eleições diretas

**RICARDO KOTSCHO**  
Enviado especial o Belo Horizonte

Contestado da 1ª página

Passadas, comício por toda parte, gente alegre cantando pelas ruas, padeira que o Carnaval tinha chegado, mais cedo, no embalo de um grito: "Diretas Já, Minas, logo a pacaia e comportada Minas Gerais, rasgo a fantasia. Cada um participou como pôde. Num prédio de Afonso Pena, a principal artéria de Belo Horizonte, de onde se avista o sopé da Serra do Curral, as versas de um poeta anônimo pendura dos no peito da janela, anunciavam:

"Hoje somos ondas soltas,  
E tão fortes quanto eles  
nos imaginam fracas.

Quero ver quando invertida a correnteza,  
como eles resistem à surpresa  
como eles reagem à ressaca."

Era a faixa dos estudantes de Engenharia Civil da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. Como ela, dezenas, milhares espalhadas pela cidade, enfeitando os prédios, anunciando o grande comício da tarde, de dezesseis, provisões, foi um comício para valer, uma superprodução, em que o governador Tancredo Neves sempre alçou com muita discrição.

O palanque de 185 metros quadrados, com 11 metros de altura, banheiros, sala de imprensa e camarim, tinha apenas uma enorme bandeira brasileira dominando toda a frente. A choro de papel, que normalmente anuncia a passagem do ano, ontem em Belo Horizonte comemorava a passagem de uma era, duas décadas sem festa e sem alegria, que estão chegando ao fim.

A democracia é sempre uma festa, bancos fechando logo depois do almoço, repartições públicas dispensando seus funcionários. Quem haveria de querer ficar de fora, ouvindo o barulho que vinha das ruas, despertando a todos? Três da tarde, no "Pratão" — como os mineiros chamam o obelisco comemorativo do centenário da Independência, na Av. Afonso Pena — a festa começa oficialmente, com o hasteamento da bandeira nacional e a festa começa oficialmente, com o hasteamento da bandeira brasileira herdada em passadas campanhas.

Os gritos de "Abaixo a rede Globo" não perduram nem o ator Denis Carvalho, que veio trazer seu apoio à campanha. "Antes do ser essa organização eu sou um cidadão brasileiro", explicou o ator, e foi bastante aplaudido. Denis anunciou alguns dos maiores astros locais: Oliveira e Malê, Marcos Paulo, Iria de Oliveira e Malê, Prô, e o cantor de Mar, Bolívia. A maior ovacão foi para Chico Buarque de Holanda, que estava apenas alguns versos: "A gente vai levando, a gente vai levando, a gente vai levando".

Ai veio Simone, levantando a massa com "Caminhão" e logo em seguida o comício deu a maior volta que um político já ouviu em Minas Gerais. Foi para o empresário Acleto Diniz, presidente regional do PTB. Não se tratava de um grupinho seccário, como se costuma afirmar nestes ocasiões: foi uma vaia mesmo da multidão.

"A independência parte de Minas Gerais", anunciou Ziraldo antes da execução do Hino da Independência, e em seguida, Osmar Santos, o locutor das diretas, assumiu o comando do comício. O jornalista Roberto D'Ávila, um dos convidados especiais, fez uma apelo a todos os jornalistas para que sigam o exemplo da "Folha" no apoio à campanha pelas diretas.

Os governadores e presidentes nacionais dos partidos chegaram pouco antes das oito da noite. Tancredo Neves logo tira o paletó, Franco Montoro arregala as mangas da camisa, o comício chega ao seu ponto culminante, mas quem resume tudo é a atriz Luiza Lombardi: "O que está acontecendo hoje, aqui, é a vitória". O ator Raul Cortez critica o ministro da Justiça, Aluísius, pelos processos instaurados ultimamente, com base na Lei de Segurança Nacional: "Que gente é aquela que tem medo de artistas, de intelectuais? Nós continuaremos até o fim, juntos".

Reinaldo, o grande ídolo da torcida mineira, também vai até o microfone para dar seu apoio às diretas e recebe uma ovacão papal: "Rei, rei, Reinaldo é festa rei". O povo faz festa, que não iria acabar tão cedo. Em Minas, o carnaval começou ontem, em clima de vitória da Seleção Brasileira numa Copa do Mundo. Aquela história de que ministro trabalha em silêncio acabou. Foi um barulho danado, bonito demais.



Mais de 300 mil pessoas ocuparam a Praça da Rodoviária, num clima de euforia comparável ao de uma final de Copa do Mundo

## Diretas mudam velha tradição dos comícios

BELO HORIZONTE (Do enviado especial Ricardo Kotscho) — A campanha pelas diretas está mudando a velha tradição de que em comício o mais importante fica para o fim. O mais importante, como repetiram os principais oradores políticos no comício de Belo Horizonte é o tempo todo o povo na praça? Inundando as ruas do centro, fazendo a festa das diretas, ontem, Eritica e Luiza, que fizeram os discursos mais veementes, foram também os mais aplaudidos. Os discursos das estrelas políticas do comício de Minas:

**Bristol:** "Vou levar um recado para minha gente no Rio. Vou dizer que Minas está unida e, quando Minas se

uma, alguma coisa vai acontecer. Devemos dizer aqueles que não querem as eleições diretas, que não queremos revanchismo, mas não queremos também que as coisas que aconteceram em 20 anos continuem a acontecer. Queremos as eleições diretas para que tenhamos um presidente que tenha a coragem de colocar cada macaco mobilização do povo, de que o povo mineiro fosse capaz de levar o povo para a rua, e que quem nos amonstrar com ameaças, querendo dizer que há medida de bandeiras vermelhas. Devo dizer que nossas bandeiras estão vermelhas e de vergonha pelo que fizeram neste país. Os militares não precisam ter medo de serem julgados, pois quem não deve não teme. Só queremos que quem nos roubou quem assassinou, seja julgado. Essa campanha não será vencida por um partido só. E preciso unificar. Se for o caso, preciso dar a nossa própria vida em troca da nossa liberdade."

**Tancredo:** "Minas não pode deixar o Brasil sem sustentação, nesta hora. E disse alto e bom som que o povo brasileiro não abre mão de votar. A tranquilidade desse comício foi uma demonstração de civismo."

**Ulisses:** "A emenda Dante de Oliveira foi aprovada aqui, por essa multidão. Minas Gerais, com Tancredos, deu o primeiro grito pela independência. E esse comício foi o primeiro grito pela aprovação das eleições

diretas e pelo restabelecimento da democracia plena."

**RICHA:** "Minas, que já libertou este País uma vez, com os Inconfidentes, agora está libertando o Brasil do jugo do autoritarismo."

**Camata:** "Demos hoje um grande passo para a recuperação de nosso direito de escolher o presidente da República."

**Marcos Guilmarães,** presidente nacional do PMDB, foi o último orador da noite e, em seguida, todos os governadores e presidentes dos partidos deram as mãos para cantar o Hino Nacional, a mesma cena repetida pelo povo em todos os comícios por onde tem passado a caravana das diretas.

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## Bandeira é hasteada, começa o ato público

Do Sucursal de Belo Horizonte

O ato inaugural do "Grande Comício de Minas pelas Diretas" foi o hasteamento de uma bandeira do Brasil, com 230 metros quadrados, em um mastro colocado no alto do obelisco existente na praça Sete de Setembro, em pleno centro de Belo Horizonte. Esta cerimônia aparentemente simples estava carregada do simbolismo existente nas manifestações mineiras: a praça estava sendo reconquistada pelo povo.

"Para chegar até a praça Sete de Setembro, a bandeira do Brasil foi conduzida ao longo de quase dois quilômetros, desde o Palácio da Liberdade. O pavilhão havia sido entregue a três diretas e o ministro da Justiça, Aluísius, pelos processos instaurados ultimamente, com base na Lei de Segurança Nacional: "Que gente é aquela que tem medo de artistas, de intelectuais? Nós continuaremos até o fim, juntos".

Reinaldo, o grande ídolo da torcida mineira, também vai até o microfone para dar seu apoio às diretas e recebe uma ovacão papal: "Rei, rei, Reinaldo é festa rei". O povo faz festa, que não iria acabar tão cedo. Em Minas, o carnaval começou ontem, em clima de vitória da Seleção Brasileira numa Copa do Mundo. Aquela história de que ministro trabalha em silêncio acabou. Foi um barulho danado, bonito demais.

do Saúde, da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. Organizada pelo Comitê Universitário, que engloba as entidades dos estudantes, professores e funcionários, tinha como ponto de referência uma harnheita charanga que animava os seus integrantes.

"Na área central da cidade o trânsito já estava completamente congestionado, em virtude da mudança de itinerário de 112 linhas de ônibus urbanas, que a partir das 16 horas começaram a rodar com rota livre. No interior do Secretariado de Agricultura, o coordenador da Comissão de Mobilização da Região Metropolitana Roberto Martins, estava apreensivo quanto à chegada das pessoas à área do comício. "Soube que o Antônio Carlos (um dos principais corredores de transporte da cidade) está completamente congestionada", dizia ele despreensivo.

**"Pra começar"**

Passava das 15 horas, portanto, do horário marcado para o início oficial da "Festa Cívica de Minas", quando

Verde e amarelo

Nos edifícios residenciais existentes no centro de Belo Horizonte, poucas eram as janelas de apartamento entaladas em toldos de mesa. Já eram mais os cartazes convidando para o comício, ou faixas verdes e amarelas, ou faixas brancas com o nome de Minas, a mesa quadrada do palanque nacional, a bandeira do Brasil estava hasteada como a mostrar a adesão da entidade à tone do restabelecimento das eleições diretas. Favilhões nacionais eram vistos em outros prédios, o que não é usual na cidade, e não ser por ocasião dos feriados nacionais.

Por volta de 16 horas, o público começou a ocupar a área destinada à realização do comício. Dezenas de bandeiras das legendas partidárias eram conduzidas até a proximidade do palanque. Do alto do prédio apimentava a intensidade da choro de papéis picados. As passadas comemorativas estavam em andamento. "Hoje Fez, a cidade estava preparada para o comício.

No setor comercial, lojas e bancos localizados mais próximos da área destinada à concentração popular começaram a fechar suas portas. Era o comício que estava prestes a começar, com uma hora de atraso.

## Festa democrática com o povo nas ruas

Do Sucursal de Belo Horizonte

Belo Horizonte amanheceu vibrante o clima do "Grande comício de Minas pelas Diretas". Almas de minhoca, militantes partidários, procuravam reservar lugares para integrantes de suas respectivas organizações, demarcando a área com faixas e cartazes. Dos prédios localizados ao longo da avenida Afonso Pena caíam papéis picados. O ato público era a fama das rotas e nem mesmo os vendedores ambulantes estavam alheios a ele.

João Canavaro, por exemplo, explicava que todos os frequentes que compravam maquiagem não estavam fazendo o comício. "Eu tenho vontade de ir — assegurava — mas somente poderei fazer isso depois de vender toda a minha mercadoria. Afinal, eu nunca voto para presidente".

Por volta de meio-dia o trânsito começava a ser desviado das proximidades da praça Rio Branco, em frente ao Terminal Rodoviário, onde foi realizado o comício. Ao mesmo tempo, eram organizadas as primeiras passadas. Uma das maiores convocava a ser reunir no "campus"

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**"Quero votar"**

Artista plástico e músico desempregado, João Ladrer aproveitou o instante do hasteamento para tocar o seu trompete acompanhando os hinos Nacional e da Independência, ainda puxar o canto da "Ó Minas Gerais".

"Praço ponto no quarteirão fechado da rua Rio de Janeiro, onde consigo alguns bicletes como músico e exposto meus trabalhos. Vi a passeata do povo e resolvi chegar até aqui para dar a minha colaboração, pois também quero votar", explicou João Ladrer. Ele negou com veemência ter recebido dinheiro para tocar o seu trompete.

De vários pontos da cidade surgiram passadas com destino à praça Sete



Mais de 300 mil pessoas ocuparam a Praça da Rodoviária, num clima de euforia comparável ao de uma final de Copa do Mundo

## Ônibus circular de graça

Do Sucursal de Belo Horizonte

Apesar de os ônibus que servem a Região Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte haverem circulado gratuitamente entre 15 e 24 horas, não foi montado um esquema especial para o retorno das pessoas às suas casas após a manifestação. Para a realização do comício foi necessário o remanejamento de 112 linhas de ônibus urbanos (o que representa 80 por cento das existentes na capital mineira) e, no final da manifestação, o alto falante anunciava onde se deveria tomar ônibus para os bairros.

Também os policiais de serviços nas imediações do comício receberam fichas com os locais para onde as pessoas deveriam se dirigir para encontrar os ônibus. O policiamento foi discreto, com os policiais ficando nas imediações.

Às 22 horas, a Central de Operações da Polícia Militar ainda não havia recebido qualquer comunicado de ocorrência na área do comício. Hoje, deverá ser feita e divulgado um balanço do trabalho público.

A Secretária da Segurança Pública de Minas calculou em 150 mil o número de pessoas que compareceram ao comício.

Início de festa: hasteamento da bandeira com muitas crianças assistindo



of São Paulo's State; according to the page's main story, all the five hundred and seventy two municipalities of the State were about to join the national protest for direct elections – in the left column was published a list of the cities, places and hours of the scheduled demonstrations.

The photo in a opposite direction of the verbal elements of the page, indicated a partidary aspect of the fact. In a slightly bottom to the top angle, the horizontal medium american plan image presented the «I encontro de vereadores do PMDB do Estado de São Paulo»<sup>915</sup> as was written in the banner placed in the background; right in the middle of the scene, probably shot using a wide-angle lens, was present the State governor Orestes Quércia (PMDB) standing while holding a microphone and speaking, seated next to him were present other three men, although none of them was identified in the verbal elements of the page. Regarding this image picking, are central the elements connected to the partidary connection with the «PMDB», even if the overall intention of the movement and the discursive construction proposed by the «FSP» was an attempt of detaching the institutional political element of the movement, strongly connected to the «PMDB», contradictorily the references to it were often present in the newspaper pages and discourse. This contradictory element might be interpreted as the way that the daily paper found to keep under control the officiality of the political movement against the dictatorship, at the same time that was being built, one day after the other, a new ideologic-political of itself and, even if the surface of the «Diretas Já» movement was the one of a political resistance and confrontation to the regime.

*25/02/1984 – Jornal do Brasil*

On that day, the «JB» promoted a protocolar approach to the rally that was held in Belo Horizonte, although, the continuity in the presence of the agenda started to give signs that the newspaper was consolidating a new moment in its relation with the «Diretas Já» in a clearer support attitude to the civilian movement. The overall tone was less engaged than the one that «FSP» promoted, nevertheless, as the months passed by and the movement gained strength more attention was given to it in the «JB» pages. The main headline of that day's edition was «Tancredo guarantees that the people will not give up on direct elections», proposing a gaze to the rally in which the main actor was a politician, in a different interpretation key in comparison with the «FSP» that imputed to the people in the streets the main action of the day. That is to say, the «JB's» headline pictured Tancredo Neves as the synthesizer of the people's will and as it's voice, imputing in his words the desire of most of the population as a consensual truth.

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<sup>915</sup> «1st meeting of São Paulo State PMDB city councilors».



The picture (*photo 117*) that was chosen to interact with the headline and the two-paragraph introductory text was another aerial shot of Belo Horizonte city center. Placed in the top half of the page and occupying approximately ¼ of it, was followed by the caption «A pregação pelas diretas reuniu mais de 200 mil pessoas»<sup>916</sup>, presenting a difference in the population attendance number comparing to the 300 thousand that the «FSP» informed. On the other hand, the image serves to an explicit interaction purpose from what was presented in the verbal elements of the page, represent the Brazilian people in the streets. The shot made in a top-down angle and in a panoramic plan, pictured the main square of Belo Horizonte and the crowd on it, are visible same banners, but no one can be read, the upper corners of the image were delimited by the surrounding buildings. If the comparison movement with the «FSP» was made once again with this first page photo, can be seen a major difference in between them, in the first case, the image captured the crowd in an angle in which the end of was not visible, although in the «JB» case, the way the photo has been shot and edited showed a concentrated crowd, giving less strength to the narrative discourse of a bigger gathering of people. In both cases the generic aspect of the «Brazilian people» reunited in a consensus towards the direct elections was present and constantly being reinforced. Another difference between both newspapers front cover's relied in the fact that the «JB» had also published a Figueredo's picture talking to a child during his official visit to the Brazilian northern State of Pará in an editorial demonstration of a loyalty to the official agenda of the president.

In the inside page number three, the main headline, «Tancredo affirms that the people will not give up direct elections» was almost the identical repetition of the front cover headline and was followed by a large horizontal image (*photo 118*) of the politician during his speech in the rally stage occupying around a fifth of the page. In the caption of the image placed right under it were presented the information «Tancredo considerou a manifestação uma “estupenda demonstração de civismo e patriotismo” dada pelos mineiros»<sup>917</sup>. At this point is necessary to highlight the use of the words civism and patriotism by Tancredo, and also in some of the secondary titles of that page. These words were used in a regular basis by the regime as a moral orientation to some of its actions (as was presented in the extracts of the Institutional Acts), in this sense, the presence of it in the «Diretas Já» movement and some of its newscast indicate an attempt to re-signify it as part of the political movement goals.

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<sup>916</sup> «More than 200,000 people gathered for the direct elections».

<sup>917</sup> «Tancredo considered the demonstration a "stupendous demonstration of civism and patriotism" given by the mineiros».





Tancredo considerou a manifestação uma "estupenda demonstração de civismo e patriotismo" dada pelos mineiros.

POLÍTICA  
**Tancredo afirma que povo não abre mão das diretas**



Um momento de grande emoção ocorreu durante a manifestação realizada em Belo Horizonte, quando Tancredo Neves, então governador de Minas Gerais, se dirigiu ao povo e afirmou que este não abre mão das eleições diretas para presidente da República.

Em discurso emocionado, Tancredo afirmou que a população mineira demonstra um alto grau de civismo e patriotismo ao participar ativamente da manifestação. Ele destacou que a luta por eleições diretas é uma luta justa e necessária para a democracia brasileira.

Tancredo também mencionou a importância da participação popular e a necessidade de um governo comprometido com o bem-estar da população. Ele encorajou os mineiros a continuarem firme na luta por suas demandas políticas.

**PARK PALACE**  
O MÁXIMO EM SOFISTICAÇÃO NA BARRA DA TIJUCA

Tudo como programamos. Grande espaço, material nobre, alta qualidade para superar as expectativas.

Um tradicional, luxuoso e moderníssimo. No centro de um bairro de 20.000 m² em um bairro a ser desenvolvido, o Parque da Barra, de 800.000 m², com uma enorme praia e mar.

Edificada com 3 piscinas, 200 m² de área total por apartamento, 4 quartos, 2 banhos, ampla sala, varanda e 3 vagas de garagem.

Em um ambiente seguro de Ar. Centralizado, Barra da Tijuca.

ESTAB. ZILAKSON

In the case of this internal page was integrally dedicated to the details of the rally that had occurred in the day before, although, the images and specially the one that it is being analyzed now, proposed the reinforcement of the institutional politics in a moment in which the movement was gaining the streets with. In so, the image was focused on the rally's stage, the horizontal medium plan, pictured Tancredo Neves in a lateral angle during his speech on that day. The Minas Gerais governor was standing, wearing a black pant with a long sleeve's shirt, and had his right hand pointing forward. The contrast between the stage and the dark background has been responsible for emphasizing his position of leadership not only of the «Diretas Já» but also of that day's rally. In other words, the composition choices that the photographer made and the way that the medium shot, probably with flash, created a first plan extremely bright added by Tancredo's centralized position while in his back (the left corner of the image) approximately a dozen of people were also portrayed, nonetheless they cannot be identified. In brief, the photo language in this case was focused on reinforcing Tancredo as a major political leadership and one of those who were in control of the movement. To that, the interactions proposed by both images with the verbal elements were fundamental in this composition, generating a reaffirming circle of a determinate enunciation.

*10/04/1984 – Folha de S. Paulo*

A couple of months after the Belo Horizonte's rally, on April's 10<sup>th</sup> the country saw what has become the biggest street demonstrations in decades, putting more pressure into the «Diretas Já» agenda. That day's editions of «FSP» proposed once again a preventive coverage to the rally that would take place that afternoon in Rio de Janeiro. In the top of the page, the main headline indicated «Rio makes a monster rally today»; on the left upper side of the page, right after the secondary title «Governo já ameaça TVs de punição»<sup>918</sup>, a small text indicated how the tension in the Brazilian society was rising as the country was getting close to the date in which was scheduled the Dante Oliveira Amendment voting, April 25<sup>th</sup>. In the text, the newspaper underscored the militaries intention of censorship to the possibility of a live TV transmission of the National Congress session on that day.

Returning to the layout of that day's front cover, approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the page was dedicated to the national political agenda. In the upper half, the subject was the direct elections agenda, with a two paragraph text on the right column describing how the rally was being prepared and pointing the presences of all the opposition (MDB) state governors and the, in

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<sup>918</sup> «Government already threatens TVs with punishment».



addition to it, has also been narrated the presence of several artists in the rally and the divided presentation of it between Osmar Santos (radio sportscaster) and Chacrinha (TV presenter) two of the most famous communicators of the country. Still on the upper half of the page a large horizontal and rectangular picture (*photo 119*) was followed by the caption «Na Candelaria, operários aprontam o palanque e o “púlpito” dos oradores do comício, para o qual os organizadores esperam mais de um milhão de participantes»<sup>919</sup>. The number of attendance information can be added up to what was indicated in the text aside that 600 thousand people were expected to be near the stage and other 600 thousand in the surrounding areas.

The picture itself was dedicated to the rally stage. That is to say, the aerial photo that was placed on that day's cover was made probably from a nearby building in a deeping angle and on a panoramic plan. Is possible to see the stage that was placed in the middle of the city's center square, cars, buses, and trucks around it helps to localize the image and the stage. The shot was made from a long distance what might indicate the use of a tele objective lens, although the sharpness and focus of most of the image creates some difficulty in confirm this hypothesis, especially if be taken in consideration the absence of a plans flattening. An important notion that this photo transmits, in being made like we are describing, is the fact that the city was getting ready to a major event that would happen on its center. The distant and generic aspect of the scene can be interpreted was a form that the newspaper editors found of involving most of the Brazilian population that could not be present in that square on that day. In other words, this image was used to bring closer to the readers the stage of the country's main political in decades.

In the second half of the front cover another image (*photo 120*) was presented regarding the national political agenda on that day, this image, on its place was not dedicated to the «Diretas Já» campaign, but to the Figueiredo official visit to Morocco. This information was presented in the caption that followed the picture, «O presidente Figuerido iniciou a visita oficial ao Marrocos, onde foi recebido pelo rei Hassan 2, que decretou feriado para que a população pudesse ir às ruas recepcionar o visitante»<sup>920</sup>. The vertical photo carries several interesting elements that gave to that first page a strong composition in our interpretation; in the picture can be seen two different woman wearing a bourka, a taller one (and seem to be also older) in the background, had her face framed in the photo and, even if with a little blur

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<sup>919</sup> «In Candelaria, workers set up the stage and "pulpit" of the speakers at the rally, for which the organisers expect more than a million participants».

<sup>920</sup> «President Figuerido began his official visit to Morocco, where he was received by King Hassan 2, who declared a public holiday so that the population could take to the streets to welcome the visitor».



# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

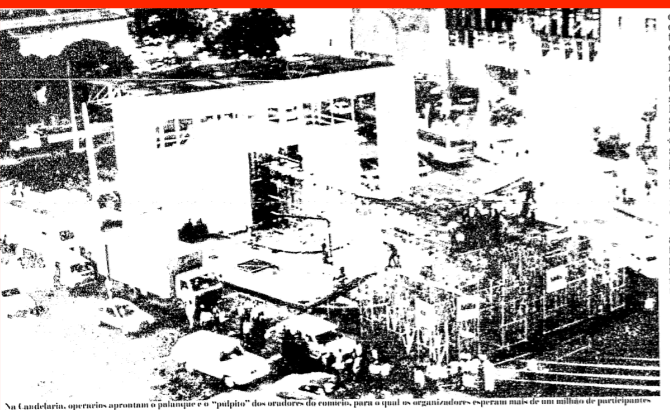
Editor Responsável: Boris Casoy • São Paulo, terça-feira, 10 de abril de 1984 • Um jornal a serviço do Brasil • Ano 64 • N.º 20.096 • Al. Barão de Limeira, 425 • Cr\$ 400,00

**Soviéticos denunciam desrespeito à Carta Olímpica e insinuem boicote à Olimpíada de Los Angeles** PAG. 25

## Governo já ameaça TVs de punição

Conforme a "Folha" antecipou na edição de ontem, o governo pretende fazer com que as emissoras de rádio e televisão deixem de transmitir ao vivo a sessão do Congresso do dia 25, quando será votada a emenda Dante de Oliveira. Em reunião realizada ontem em Brasília, o secretário-geral do Ministério das Comunicações, Rômulo Villar Furtado, advertiu os representantes das emissoras que elas se tornarão passíveis de enquadramento no Código Nacional de Telecomunicações se levarem ao ar algum discurso pronunciado na sessão e que contenha "críticas contestatórias" às autoridades ou ao regime. O Código prevê penas que variam da simples advertência a cassação. PAG. 6

# Rio faz hoje comício-monstro



Na Candelária, operários apertam o punhal e o "pulpito" dos oradores da comício para o qual os organizadores esperam mais de um milhão de pessoas.

comício-monstro pelas diretas o Rio promove hoje, a partir das 16 horas, na Candelária, deve transformar-se numa grande festa popular, com todos os ingredientes de estilo carioca. Integrantes da guarda e da Partida, camisas de armarial deste ano, desfilarão os oradores e artistas terão nomes anunciados por rádio e projetado num balão suspensas do palanque. Chacrinha e Jar Santos, junto com outros artistas, vão se revezar na apresentação. Estarão presentes os serradores Franco Montoro, credo Neves, José Richa, Gérson Camata, Gilberto Mestrinho e Barbosa Martins. O governador Leonel Brizola encerrará os discursos.

## Hélio Silva faz 80 e ganha o maior presente



O povo se impôs, diz o historiador Hélio Silva, que faz hoje 80 anos, irá ao comício na Candelária, "o maior presente que o povo poderia me dar no dia do meu aniversário. Em entrevista ao nosso enviado especial Ricardo Kotscho, ele diz que "jamais, em toda a história do Brasil, houve um movimento em que houvesse tão grande participação do povo". Um povo, segundo o historiador, politizado e que "se impôs, daqui para a frente, traçando o futuro do Brasil". PAG. 5

## Opinião da "Folha"

Leia na pag. 2 as editoriais "Congresso sem precedentes", sobre a necessidade de o Legislativo reafirmar sua autonomia de poder constituído e "Voto e a praxe eletrônica", analisando as implicações do recente aumento da taxa de juros interbancários.

## Os inenarráveis projetos do outro lado do Nordeste

Uma fábrica de placas de gesso que está esvaziando até o chão, uma laboratório de sítio na Bahia para os Estados Unidos, e a usina de açúcar e álcool. Mandaram do grupo Agrovale, que transformou terras improdutivas em um mar de cana e hoje a cidade de pólar o Rio São Francisco, são alguns dos projetos industriais e agrícolas do outro lado do Nordeste. PAG. 7

## CMT não presta contas aos empresários de ônibus

Os empresários de ônibus denunciaram que CMT está condicionando a suspensão de intervenção em 13 empresas de transporte autônomo, pelos proprietários, de um terço de confissão de dívida e outro de aplicação. Eles dizem que o de aplicação está em direção aos empresários, mas a aplicação de depósitos ocorrida na intervenção de Jucimara, presidente da CMT, confirmou não presta contas aos empresários. PAG. 7

## A paz depende muito dos EUA, alerta o Papa

Após receber no Vaticano as credenciais do embaixador norte-americano, o papa João Paulo II alertou que a paz mundial depende em grande parte da forma como os EUA exercem seu poder global. PAG. 7

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## Previsão do tempo

Bom em São Paulo, com nebulosidade moderada, ventos leves. A tarde, temperatura em torno de 24°C. Temperatura em São Paulo: 21. Arterial: 20. Umidade: 60%. Precipitação: 0.5. Vento: 10. Pressão: 1013. Hora: 12. Hora: 12. Hora: 12.

# Setores do PDS manipulam greve, acusa Montoro

O governador Franco Montoro afirmou que a greve do magistério público é manipulada por setores do PDS, infiltrados de "agentes provocadores" e se insere em um movimento nacional para prejudicar a campanha pelas eleições diretas para a Presidência.

# Metalúrgicos de S. Bernardo fazem acordo

A proposta do Grupo 14 da Fiesp foi aprovada pelos empregados de quatro montadoras de São Bernardo - Ford, Volkswagen, Volkswagen Caminhões e Motores Perkins em assembleias realizadas nos locais de trabalho. Hoje haverá assembleias na Scania e na Mercedes Benz. No entanto, a diretoria cassada do Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de São Bernardo (que integra o chamado "grupo independente") considera inaceitável a proposta da Fiesp para as demais empresas do setor metalúrgico. Isso poderá significar a delimitação de greves em pequenas e médias empresas.

# Geada pode chegar mais cedo este ano

As geadas deverão chegar antes do tempo este ano, o que poderá trazer dificuldades adicionais ao governo, já em abril. A atual concentração de massas polares no Sul e no Sudeste do País, usualmente registrada apenas a partir de mês de maio, levou o Instituto Nacional de Meteorologia a prever possibilidades de geadas próximas.



O presidente Figueiredo iniciou visita oficial ao Marrocos, onde foi recebido pelo rei Hassan 2º, que decretou feriado para que a população pudesse ir às ruas receber o visitante. - PAG. 7

# URSS anuncia espelho espacial; EUA perseguem Max

Em mais um lance na disputa entre as superpotências pelo controle do espaço, a União Soviética anunciou que seus cientistas estão desenvolvendo um projeto para colocar em órbita enormes sistemas de espelhos, a fim de refletir a luz solar para pontos escolhidos na Terra.



O presidente Figueiredo iniciou visita oficial ao Marrocos, onde foi recebido pelo rei Hassan 2º, que decretou feriado para que a população pudesse ir às ruas receber o visitante. - PAG. 7

result from the tele objective plan's flattening in the image, a slightly smile can be seen. The second woman was pictured in the very center of the photo and only her eyes can be seen, in her hand a small poster of the Brazilian military president Figueiredo was being held in a horizontal position, on it the General appeared wearing a black suit, sunglasses and smiling.

This whole scene that was concentrated with the help of the close-up plan carries a metalinguistic photographic element, which, in interaction with the diverse verbo-visual elements on the page reinforces the authoritarian facade of the military regime in Brazil, especially when the image associates the Figueiredo's visit to Morocco with the festive day that was decreed in the country, so the population could go demonstrate its welcoming to the Brazilian representant. This not so spontaneous demonstration of a warm welcome contrasts with the newspapers intention of indicating the dressing code in the country that the president was visiting, in addition to it, the Figueiredo smiling in the picture inside the picture can also be contrasted with the political situation in Brazil on that day, in which the tension was rising and the «Diretas Já» mobilization was stronger than ever. In other words, this choice made by the «FSP» editors can be interpreted as a form to say that when the country needed that its voice should be heard by its leader, the leader was not even in the country, and worst, was visiting another authoritarian country. In addition to this whole page context must be added the secondary title «Setores do PDS manipulam greve, acusa Montoro»<sup>921</sup> followed by a small four paragraph text in which the São Paulo State Governor Franco Montoro indicates how supposedly were present infiltrated agents of the «PDS» in the strike organizations related to the «Diretas Já» campaign.

In its internal pages, the «FSP» presented more details on the pages four and five, printing in each one a small picture related to the topic. Under the rubric «A sucessão pelas urnas»<sup>922</sup> the main headline of page number four was «Rio wants to turn today's rally into a civic party», in this an element that immediately recalls the reader attention is the metonymy of the city in a general aspect, as if the city itself was an animated subject; that is to say, the verbal elements on that headline were organized aiming the building of an unanimous consensus notion inside the city's population towards civic ideals as if connected to the rally. Expanding the historic subjects of the political actions to a generic notion of the event. In this logic, a small, squared picture was published on that page.

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<sup>921</sup> «PDS sectors manipulate strike, accuses Montoro».

<sup>922</sup> «Succession through the ballot box».





The image (*photo 121*) followed by the caption «A panfletagem, que começou de madrugada, continuou durante todo o dia»<sup>923</sup> occupied around 1/8 of the page presented the framing of a scene in which are visible three persons in an american plan from a medium distance and probably using a tele objective lens due to the flattening of the plans and blur in the background. On the left corner can be seen a woman looking to the right behind some leaflets, in the center of the image was pictured a middle age black man, wearing a small hat and a white t-shirt, in his hands are several pamphlets in which can be read the words «diretas» and «horas»<sup>924</sup>, indicating that those were promoting the rally for the «Diretas Já» and indicating the exactly time of it. A little bit on the back, in a second plan another man's face can be seen and, finally in the right corner an arm appears in the scene holding some other leaflets. In our interpretation the main elements of this scene are the pamphlets and the individual representants of the «Brazilian people» in a new effort made by the newspaper of reinforcing the street characteristic of the movement, in opposition to an ideal of extremely institutional politics making that used to be the norm so far in the country.

The same notion has been restated in the following page in which was published also a squared picture (*photo 122*) of what the newspapers retains was the first public rally in the country's history. The image was shot from an upper position and presented in a horizontal framing a huge crowd in a square; the caption gives more information about the scene «Em 1930, o primeiro comício em praça pública da história brasileira: Getúlio Vargas na Esplanada do Castelo, no Rio»<sup>925</sup>. The verbo-visual interaction is fundamental in this page, not only to a complete understanding of the meaning of placing that image inside the newspapers more than half a century after the facts, but also to a full comprehension of what was the notion being built and reinforced in that day's «FSP» edition. In brief, the photo of the 1930s, followed by the headline «Moved, Hélio Silva<sup>926</sup> sees history and goes to the streets with the people», and a long testimonial conceded by the noted history specialist to the newspaper and from which were highlighted in small boxes some phrases that emphasized the political movement «Jamais houve tão grande participação»; «Liberdade é, neste momento, diretas já»; «Nada mais poderá deter o movimento»; «Nenhum brasileiro poderá ficar indiferente»<sup>927</sup>.

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<sup>923</sup> «The leafleting, which started at dawn, continued throughout the day».

<sup>924</sup> «Directs and hours».

<sup>925</sup> «In 1930, the first public square rally in Brazilian history: Getúlio Vargas at the Castelo Esplanade, in Rio»

<sup>926</sup> According to the «Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro» the author was medic, writer and researcher in his works dedicated to History his focus has remained mainly in the political history of the XXth Century first half and Vargas's terms. His perspective to the facts occurred in the 1950s and 1960s was very close to the official version of it. Available in: <https://ihgb.org.br/perfil/userprofile/hsilva.html> Access in: 10/09/2022.

<sup>927</sup> «Never has there been such a large participation»; «Freedom is, at this moment, diretas já»; «Nothing else can stop the movement»; «No Brazilian can remain indifferent».



In so, this «FSP» page seems to have a very clear purpose, register, and underscore the fact that, to the newspaper and according to a specialized source, the moment that the country was undergoing was a historic event, being considered the biggest and most important public political demonstration of the country's history, and this element would justify the publication of a rally picture that happened during the Vargas regime decades before. Reinforcing even more this unity notion and consensus organization, the rest of the page was also dedicated to the topic presenting in the left column a complete agenda of «Diretas Já» protests and events related to in the whole country. Finally, is possible to indicate that at this point of the campaign, the «FSP» was aware of the consensus consolidation importance related to the agenda, and then the narrative of the facts was added of this historical layer.

*10/04/1984 – Jornal do Brasil*

On that day, «JB» was once more in the recent months putted in front a major national event that was about to take place in Rio de Janeiro, its hometown. Although, in the 1980s, the newspaper had lost importance in the national scenario, in the first months of 1984, was notable a growing space and relevance dedicated to the «Diretas Já» coverage in «JB» pages. This day shows itself as a good example of it exactly because already in the front cover, after the main headline «PDS will deny quorum for the vote on direct elections», at the end of a four-paragraph text on the top of the cover, were indicated the four pages dedicated to the political agenda. First of detailing the internal pages of that day's edition and the images printed in the front cover, is worth to underscore a small extract of the first page text; after the revealing of the quorum-denying tactics of the militaries party, the «PDS», to the Dante Oliveira's Amending voting day the text stated

O Rio vive, desde ontem, o clima de comício pelas eleições diretas – a partir de 16h de hoje, no centro – onde os prédios comerciais fecharão mais cedo e o funcionalismo público estadual será dispensado na hora da manifestação. O comitê organizador tem esquema para evitar bandeiras de organizações clandestinas junto ao palanque, onde concentrará 30 mil pessoas do PDT.<sup>928</sup>

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<sup>928</sup> «Rio has been experiencing, since yesterday, the atmosphere of a rally for direct elections - starting at 4pm today, in the center - where commercial buildings will close early and the state civil service will be dismissed at the time of the demonstration. The organizing committee has a scheme to avoid the flags of clandestine organizations near the stage, where 30 thousand people from PDT will concentrate».

This paragraph exposes some important characteristics of the political movement. In first place, a close connection to the institutional politics, especially in state level, due to the high number of states governors of opposition parties such as «PMDB» and «PDT»; this connection is clear in the dismissal of the state civil service in the moment of the rally. In second place, the attempt to avoid what was called «clandestine organization flags» reveals the concern in the institutional legality of the movement, but mainly, the control on who were the participants and the agenda that was being discussed and demanded in the rallies. In other words, the small paragraph quoted synthesizes the «Diretas Já» objectives, pressuring the militaries for the direct elections, give to the movement a street element and relevance, keep the control and political gains close to the opposition parties and avoid an enlargement of the agenda by other sectors of the opposition that were not so institutionalized. In this logic, both newspapers the «FSP» and the «JB» seemed and, during the present analysis, are demonstrating of being in accordance with these objectives, cooperating with it, by reinforcing these elements on their narratives of the events.

Expanding the first page analysis to the visual elements of it, a rectangular vertical image (*photo 123*) was placed right in the center of the page occupying 1/5 of it. The picture was followed by the caption «A área dos oradores no palanque está em fase de conclusão»<sup>929</sup>; that is to say, as well as the «FSP» main picture of the first page, in the case of the «JB» the idea was to illustrate how were undergoing the organization to the rally that would happen on that day. This photo, however present a major difference in respect to the one published in the São Paulo's newspaper. In the first case the shot was made from a building near the square in the direction of the stage, a composition that intend to recreate or emulate the view of the spectators of the event, as was exposed before, in an attempt of approximating the readers to the speakers and presents on the rally. In the case of «JB», on its turn, the shot was made from the stage in the direction of the city; the vertical image framed in the first plan, a small part of the Candelaria square, responsible of making a white framing in the lower part of the photo, right above it rises up the rally's main stage, that in its turn is mixed (in the center of the photo) with the surrounding avenue, cars and buses that passes by; in the upper half of the picture the margins are guaranteed by the tall city buildings, reinforcing the upwards gaze effect. Finally, the background of the image is once again white, the sky at the very top of the shot, retake the contrast effect and can be interpreted as the future to come that those who were in stage were aiming. Nevertheless, is fundamental reinforce that the main difference in this photo regarding

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<sup>929</sup> «The speakers' area on the podium is nearing completion».



the one published in the «FSP» is from where departure's the photographer gaze; the «JB» preferred a shot that offered the view of the rally's speakers, meanwhile, the «FSP» choose to emphasis the public view.

Still on that first page, a second image (*photo 124*) recalls the attention and deserve a quick comment. Placed right under the main photo, a small, squared picture with half of the size of the other one, had pictured a large crowd of men gathered in a yard. All of them seemed to be facing the same direction, were wearing t-shirts and some of them have their arm raised. Almost in the middle of the image, a little bit to the right of it can be individuate two standing men facing the opposite directions of the crowd in slightly higher level. The caption «Vinte mil operários da Volkswagen aprovaram o acordo»<sup>930</sup> and the two-paragraph text on the right side gives to the reader important information on the image, exposing the fact that in the day before in São Paulo's metropolitan area (still nowadays the biggest industrial concentration in the country) an agreement was achieved with different metalworkers' union's putting an end to a long strike of the category. Even if not directly connected to the «Diretas Já» agenda, this image has a strong meaning in the national context at that time, due to the political strength that the unions were gathering, especially around the «PT» and in presenting themselves as a new private apparatus of hegemony capable of influencing the political paths of the country and disputing with the historical power bloc that was controlling the power. Besides that, the strikes topic was a major concern within the «Diretas Já» organizers, because of its flammable characteristic in what was seen as an unstable context by those heading the movement.

The internal pages of that day's «JB» editions reveals the unfolding of the major goals and preoccupation that were placed in the front cover. In the present analysis we will focus on pages three and four, even if pages two and six also were dedicated to the agenda and had as main headlines «Ordem no comício preocupa Aureliano»<sup>931</sup> referring the concerns of the vice-president Aureliano Chaves on the maintenance of the calm in the event; meanwhile in page six the headline and its text were dedicated to the political negotiations regarding the Dante Oliveira's Amendment voting day always closer «PDS decide não votar emenda de Dante»<sup>932</sup>.

In page three however the attention was the rally's preparation, in so, the main headline that anticipated the image's page was «Centro do Rio stops today at 4pm for the direct elections». The picture (*photo 125*) was published right under it, almost in the center of the upper 1/3 of the page and occupied approximately 1/6 of it. The squared photo shows itself as

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<sup>930</sup> «Twenty thousand Volkswagen workers approved the agreement».

<sup>931</sup> «Order in the rally worries Aureliano».

<sup>932</sup> «PDS decides not to vote on Dante's amendment».

CIDADE

### Centro do Rio pára hoje às 16h pelas diretas



# Você Sabe Com Quem Está Voando?



Pan Am. Nada Supera Sua Experiência.





a continuation and detailing of the front cover image; that is to say, a closer and more specific look to how were undergoing the works of stage building in the previous days to the event. The shot follows the same framing logic that was presented in the first page, although in this case in a closer approach that most probably was achieved using a tele objective lens. In our interpretation the image has three different plans, a forefront one in which can be seen right in the center a worker wearing a raincoat that covers his head in a slightly bend to the front position. In a second plan right in the middle section of the photo other three workers are visible, in their cases none of them seems to be using a raincoat, however, the one on the right corner was wearing a white helmet. Three out of the four of them are working over the stage that places itself in an upper level in respect to the Rio Branco Avenue, the fourth one it is in a second level of the stage. Finally, is the Rio Branco Avenue and its traffic that composes the third and background plan – the main city's center avenue brings to the scene an element of movement and agitation that helps to organize the newspaper narrative of a city that gets prepared to a major event.

At the same time right, the picture allows the reading of a banner placed crossing the whole avenue in which was written «Brasil pra frente, diretas para presidente»<sup>933</sup>. This view and gaze perspective is also a continuity of the notion presented in the front cover, what would be the view of those who would be in the stage during the rally. The picture caption on the other hand presents an important information regarding the spectators «A ampliação do palanque permitirá que os oradores sejam vistos da Rio Branco»<sup>934</sup> indicating that a bigger stage would also enlarge the view of those who would attend the rally, however, seems to be clear a major difference in the importance that each newspaper dedicates to what would be the public perspective of it. Moreover, can be added the fact that this picture reinforces in a strong visual-esthetical proposal the presence and participation of the working class in the making of the rally and of the movement as a whole.

The following page, number four, did not presented a picture, but a map of the Candelaria Square surroundings. On the top of the page the headline was «Committee triggers scheme to keep away red flags»; in a closer look to the page organization a possible interpretation to the presence of the map in that page and the absence of a picture could be the fact that the main topic on the page was the preventive actions to avoid the presence of what was called by the newspaper as clandestine organizations, that is to say, political parties or

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<sup>933</sup> «Brazil forward, direct for president».

<sup>934</sup> «The extension of the stage will allow the speakers to be seen from Rio Branco».

**CIDADE** JORNAL DO BRASIL

### Comitê aciona esquema para afastar bandeiras vermelhas

Chaves garante que não haverá agitação no país no dia de votar escola

**Esquema**

**Mostrou como agora se dá de praxe**

**INDUSTRIÁRIO. SUA CABECA ESTÁ A PRÊMIO.**

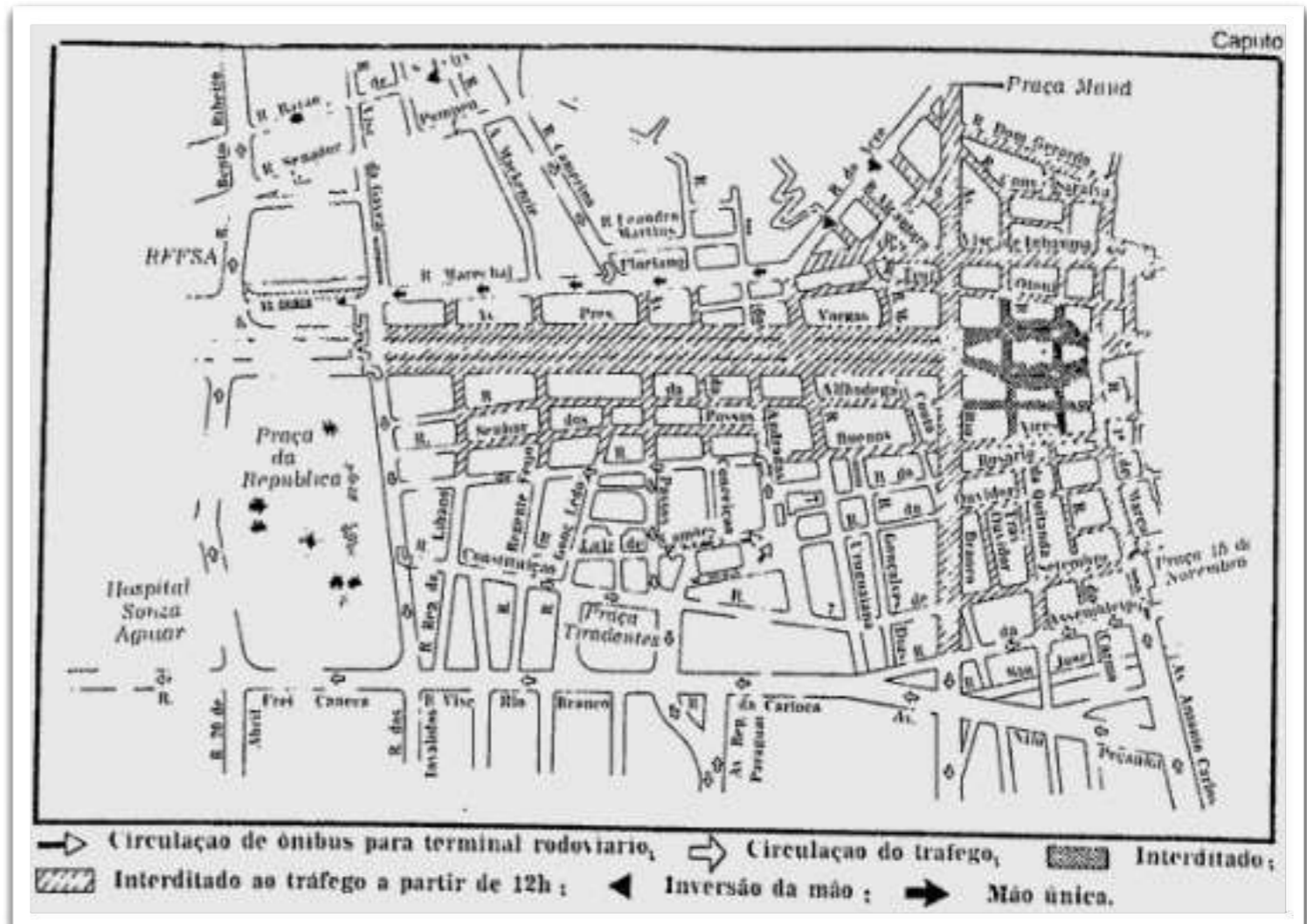
**PRÊMIO TALENTO BRASILEIRO**  
**JORNAL DO BRASIL**

**Revista Silvestre**  
 Nº 7

**ANUNCIE PELO TELEFONE**  
 256-2727

### Ajude esta cidade a ser maravilhosa outra vez.

**JORNAL DO BRASIL**



organizations that were still illegal according to the military's desires. In the present case the first two paragraphs of the half-page dedicated to the topic offers a direct explanation to the reasons of this concern

O Comitê Pró-Diretas, com apoio do Governador Leonel Brizola, armou um esquema especial para impedir que o espaço na frente dos palanques no comício de hoje, venha a ser tomado por militantes de partidos clandestinos, portando bandeiras comunistas.

Durante a reunião em que foi armado o esquema especial, igualmente ficou acertado que representantes de entidades clandestinas, como o Partido Comunista e o MR-8, não poderão discursar em nenhum dos palanques. "Qualquer parlamentar, eleito por partido legal, terá sua palavra assegurada, mesmo que deva sua eleição ao apoio de entidades não consentidas", garantiu o governador.<sup>935</sup>

In brief, the strategy to avoid the communist's presence was to fulfill the area close to the stage with «PDT» members that would have to present a filiation document to be able to be in that city area. In other words, this «JB» page presents in detail how the «Diretas Já» movement organizers acted to guarantee the total control of the rally in the hands of the already institutionalized parties, in a logic that at the same time kept marginalizing these other political organization, although in a discursive format that emphasized the national consensus towards the direct elections to the presidency. In another extract from the news text this attitude is once again very clear

Quanto a negativa de dar voz a representantes dos partidos clandestinos, Brizola foi claro:

- Se essas correntes que a gente costuma chamar de esquerda, embora esquerda seja uma coisa muito mais ampla, se consideram dentro do PMDB, então que fale o PMDB. Os que estão dentro do PT, como a Libelu, que falem no PT. Se alguém estiver dentro do PDT, fale o PDT. Se quiserem levar suas bandeiras, podem levar, mas, para cada uma dessas haverá 100 bandeiras brasileiras.<sup>936</sup>

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<sup>935</sup> «The Pro-Diretas Committee, with the support of Governor Leonel Brizola, has set up a special scheme to prevent the space in front of the platforms in today's rally from being taken by militants of clandestine parties, carrying communist flags.

During the meeting in which the special scheme was set up, it was also agreed that representatives of clandestine entities, such as the Communist Party and MR-8, will not be allowed to speak on any of the stages. "Any parliamentarian, elected by a legal party, will have his word guaranteed, even if he owes his election to the support of non-consented entities," assured the governor».

<sup>936</sup> «As for the refusal to give a voice to representatives of clandestine parties, Brizola was clear:

- If these currents that we usually call left, although left is a much broader thing, consider themselves inside the PMDB, then let the PMDB speak. Those that are inside the PT, like Libelu, let them speak within the PT. If someone is inside PDT, let them speak PDT. If they want to bring their flags, they can bring them, but for each one of these there will be 100 Brazilian flags».

In this interpretation logic, the presence of a map in that internal page works as a visual element of the page with an auxiliary function to the main discourse sense of the page. That is to say, the main topic was the several actions that were being take to guarantee the political and ideological control of the rally, just a small portion of the page (a little column in the center) was clearly dedicated to the practical organization of the city center and the area that would host the event, all the other secondary titles aimed the political unit of the act and the security of it, but also of the following days: «Segurança mobilizará 2 mil homens»; «Chaves garante que não haverá agitação no país no dia de votar a emenda»; «Montoro teme agora ação de provocador»<sup>937</sup>. As the «FSP», the «JB» seemed at this moment of the nation mobilization to had understand the reach that the movement had achieved and were acting in a more direct and constant attitude towards the guarantee of the needed national unity (at least in the appearance) to a more efficient political pressure towards the congressmen.

*11/04/1984 – Folha de S. Paulo*

In the following day of the massive rally in Rio de Janeiro, the «FSP» front cover was almost completely dedicated to the event. Right under the headline «In Rio, more than 1 million for the Directs» underlining the huge attendance to the rally, a giant horizontal picture (*photo 126*) of the city center was published occupying almost half of the page. The aerial photo was probably made from a helicopter considering the height and distance of the shot; in the panoramic image, probably made using a wide angle lens the enormous crowd was pictured right in the center of it, occupying a large sector of Rio Branco Avenue, the tall buildings in the avenue were bracing the people present in the protest, finally in the upper part of the image is visible the Candelaria Church, right in front of it the stage of the rally. Under the photo, a small map of the region was presented indicating in a simple sub-title how the streets were taken by those who attended to the rally, «massa compacta de manifestantes» and «massa de manisfetantes»<sup>938</sup>. Recalls the attention of the reader the use of the word «mass» to indicate the large number of manifestants, at the same time in the small map was exposed the fact that a crossing street that was not present in the image was also occupied by the crowd. The caption of the photo goes in the same discursive direction, «Desde o início da tarde até o final da noite, a imensa multidão ocupou a avenida Presidente Vargas e as ruas para exigir eleições

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<sup>937</sup> «Security will mobilize 2,000 men»; «Chaves guarantees that there will be no unrest in the country on the day of voting on the amendment»; «Montoro now fears action by provocateur».

<sup>938</sup> «Compact mass of demonstrators and mass of demonstrators».

# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

Editor Responsável: Boris Casoy • São Paulo, quarta-feira, 11 de abril de 1984 • Um jornal a serviço do Brasil • Ano 64 • N.º 20.097 • Al. Barão de Limeira, 425 • Cr\$ 400,00

## No Rio, mais de 1 milhão pelas diretas



Desde o início da tarde até o final da noite, a imensa multidão ocupou a avenida Presidente Vargas e as ruas próximas para exigir eleições diretas já.

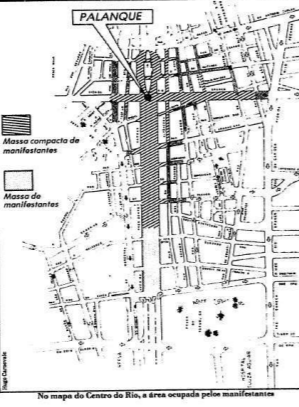
Eram nove horas e trinta e um minutos da noite. Um milhão e cem mil pessoas, empolgadas pelo forte discurso do governador Leonel Brizola, levantaram os braços e, seguindo o comando de Osmar Santos, o "leitor das diretas", cantaram o Hino Nacional. Com ênfase, sem incidentes, encerrava-se o maior comício da campanha pelas eleições diretas; terminava a maior manifestação popular da História do Brasil — muito maior do que a Marcha da Vitória, que, ali mesmo na Candelária, em 2 de abril de 1964, comemorava a queda de João Goulart.

A grande festa começou às duas da tarde, quando ônibus e barcas de Niterói suspenderam a cobrança de passageiros. Às 18h10, o primeiro orador, o líder estadual Apolinário Ribeiro, já falava para cerca de 800 mil pessoas, que ocupavam toda a região que podia ser vista do palanque. Pela avenida Rio Branco, já fechada, continuava chegando gente, amontando-se, ficando longe do palanque, sem visão, apenas ouvindo; importante era estar na grande festa, defender as diretas.

Houve um problema, que exigiu a intervenção da PM; mas nem isso foi suficiente para criar tensão; o que é a primeira vez que o povo sai às ruas em defesa de uma tese cívica desde a campanha "povo com a ditadura". E então foi a vez de Leonel Brizola ("Queremos um basta à exploração do capitalismo internacional. Queremos democracia para dar terras aos camponeses, pois não entendemos um País imenso, cortado por rodovias, com suas terras entregues a grupos internacionais"). Ele era aplaudido o tempo inteiro, interrompido aos gritos de "Brizola, Brizola" e "Um, dois, três, quatro, cinco, mil, queremos eleger o presidente do Brasil!".

Quatro governadores, todos do PMDB, falaram antes de Brizola; José Richa, do Paraná ("O povo está muito mais preparado para votar que o espírito Colégio Eleitoral"), Gérson Camata ("Essa multidão inabalável de vez a possibilidade de que o próximo presidente da República não nasça do colégio do povo"), Tancredo Neves ("Escolho querendo fazer deste País uma democracia sem povo e sem brasileiro não tolera que o País continue tutelado pelo regime arbitrário instalado no poder há 20 anos. O povo acabou com a tortura e a censura; agora vai acabar de vez com a ditadura"). E então foi a vez de Leonel Brizola ("Queremos um basta à exploração do capitalismo internacional. Queremos democracia para dar terras aos camponeses, pois não entendemos um País imenso, cortado por rodovias, com suas terras entregues a grupos internacionais"). Ele era aplaudido o tempo inteiro, interrompido aos gritos de "Brizola, Brizola" e "Um, dois, três, quatro, cinco, mil, queremos eleger o presidente do Brasil!".

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**Opinião da "Folha"**  
Linha de pé, 2 de setembro "No Rio, a opinião da "Folha" sobre a greve dos professores é bastante favorável. O texto publicado no dia 2 de setembro, sob o título "Professores contestam o governador", foi muito bem recebido. O texto foi publicado no dia 2 de setembro, sob o título "Professores contestam o governador", foi muito bem recebido. O texto foi publicado no dia 2 de setembro, sob o título "Professores contestam o governador", foi muito bem recebido.

**"Folha" debate segurança após lançamento de livro**  
O livro "Operações Indígenas", de Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, lançado na noite de 2 de setembro, gerou um debate interessante. O texto foi publicado no dia 2 de setembro, sob o título "Folha debate segurança após lançamento de livro", foi muito bem recebido.

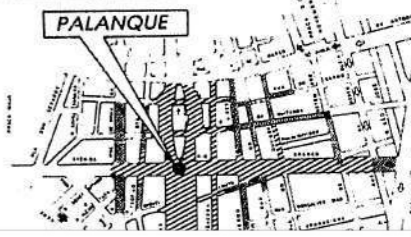
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Total	10	10

**Previsão do tempo**  
São Paulo: 20 a 25 graus. Rio de Janeiro: 20 a 25 graus. Brasília: 20 a 25 graus. Belo Horizonte: 20 a 25 graus. Salvador: 20 a 25 graus. Recife: 20 a 25 graus. Fortaleza: 20 a 25 graus. Manaus: 20 a 25 graus. Curitiba: 20 a 25 graus. Porto Alegre: 20 a 25 graus. Goiânia: 20 a 25 graus. Belo Horizonte: 20 a 25 graus. Salvador: 20 a 25 graus. Recife: 20 a 25 graus. Fortaleza: 20 a 25 graus. Manaus: 20 a 25 graus. Curitiba: 20 a 25 graus. Porto Alegre: 20 a 25 graus. Goiânia: 20 a 25 graus.



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diretas já»<sup>939</sup>. In brief, seems to be clear that the main goal of this first page was to exalt the size of the protest as well as its relevance to the country's history.

This aspect was reinforced in the subsequent text that accompanied the image occupying almost the entire other half of the page. The four-column text presented a synthesis of the event, indicating who were the main speakers (governors and congressmen), which were the moments of tension related to the presence of the political group «Alicerce da Juventude Socialista»<sup>940</sup> that carried a banner proposing a general strike in the Amendment voting day, but the main point was praising the size of the gathering, this element can be seen in the first lines of the text

Eram nove horas e trinta e um minutos da noite. Um milhão e cem mil pessoas, empolgadas pelo forte discurso do governador Leonel Brizola, levantaram os braços e seguindo o condado de Osmar Santos, o "locutor das diretas", cantaram o Hino Nacional. Com emoção, sem incidentes, encerrava-se o maior comício da campanha pelas eleições diretas; terminava a maior manifestação popular da História do Brasil – muito maior do que a Marcha da Vitória, que, ali mesmo na Candelária em 2 de abril de 1964 comemorava a queda de João Goulart.

A grande festa começou às duas da tarde, quando ônibus e barcas de Niterói suspenderam a cobrança de passagens.<sup>941</sup>

The initial lines of that day's edition of the «FSP» presents interesting information on the event, in first place the gratuity of the public transportation indicates an explicit institutional contribute to the protest made by the Guanabara State, considering that the public transport in the Guanabara Bay was under its jurisdiction. In addition to this, is important to underscore that the «FSP» editors when mentioning the «Marcha da Vitória» that occurred in April's 2<sup>nd</sup> of 1964 refer to it as the celebrations of Goulart's fall instead of the military coup victory commemoration which had the support of the «FSP» aiming the consolidation of a national consensus on that specific historical time. In the bottom of the page other five secondary titles complete the front cover, only one of them was related to the «Diretas Já» agenda, referring to a declaration of the president Figueiredo during his official visit in Morocco, «Figueiredo

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<sup>939</sup> «From early afternoon until late evening, the huge crowd occupied the Avenida Presidente Vargas and the streets to demand direct elections now».

<sup>940</sup> «Socialist Youth Foundation».

<sup>941</sup> «It was nine hours and thirty-one minutes at night. One million one hundred thousand people, moved by the strong speech of Governor Leonel Brizola, raised their arms and following Osmar Santos, the "directives announcer", sang the National Anthem. With emotion, without incident, the biggest rally of the campaign for direct elections was over; the biggest popular demonstration in the History of Brazil was over - much bigger than the Victory March, that, right there in Candelária on April 2, 1964, commemorated the fall of João Goulart. The big party began at two in the afternoon, when buses and ferries from Niterói suspended fare collection».

reitera apoio ao ao Colégio»<sup>942</sup>; the text under it reinforces the support that the military president was exposing in the occasion to the continuity of the indirect elections.

In its internal sections that day's «FSP» edition was dedicated from page number two until eight to the «Diretas Já» rally, always under the rubric «Succession through the ballot box». In page number four, the main headline was «Rio holds the largest rally in the history of Brazil» and a second large title was placed right under the photo in the upper third of the page, «The great Country meets the Nation». The left-column text presented a detailed chronological narration on how the rally unfolded during the previous day listing who were the main speakers of the day and quoting some extracts of their speeches. Has also been underlined the fact that was the State Governor Leonel Brizola the one responsible for the ending speech. In the four-column on the very center of the page a text signed by Ricardo Kotscho presented a more intimate, personal and almost literary recounting of the facts. The text also proposes a sort of summary of what has been the campaign for the direct elections so far, at the end of the reading of the text it seems that the movement had achieved his objective of retaking the direct elections in the country

Quando todos se deram as mãos, no fim do comício, no palanque e nas ruas, para cantar o Hino Nacional Brasileiro, o Rio de Janeiro já tinha voltado a ser o Rio brasileiro, alegre e moleque, sério se for preciso, generoso sempre. E lá se foi a multidão embora, debaixo de uma chuva fina com gosto de vida nova, cantando com mais força os versos de Vandrê que também se tornam um hino “Vem/vamos embora/ que esperar não é saber/ quem sabe faz a hora/ não espera acontecer”.<sup>943</sup>

In this narrative sense construction, the image (*photo 127*) that was chosen to compose that page presented the crowd from a closer angle than the one in the front cover. The rectangular picture occupied around a ¼ of the page and was probably shot using a wide-angle lens from the stage in the direction of the crowd. Elements of narrative continuity are visible such as the surrounding buildings, some parts of the stage and the public that was distributed along the whole Rio Branco Avenue until the background of the image. Nevertheless, an aspect that quickly emerges in a careful reading of the image are the different flags and banners present in the first plan of the photo. Is possible to identify two main groups of flags, the

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<sup>942</sup> «Figueiredo reiterates support for the College».

<sup>943</sup> «When they all joined hands, at the end of the rally, on the stage and in the streets, to sing the Brazilian National Anthem, Rio de Janeiro had already returned to being the Brazilian Rio, happy and soft, sserious,if necessary, generous always. And there went the crowd away, under a fine rain with a taste of new life, singing with more strength the verses of Vandrê that also become a hymn "Come let's go/ that waiting is not knowing/ he who knows makes the time/ doesn't wait for it to happen"».

A sucessão pelas urnas

# Rio faz o maior comício da história do Brasil

De Sucursal do Rio  
Mais de um milhão de pessoas realizaram no Rio de Janeiro, com maior comício da campanha pelas eleições diretas, uma concentração sem precedentes na história brasileira, ocupando, sem incidentes, 1,4 quilômetros da av. Presidente Vargas e, formando uma cruz, o tanto da av. Rio Branco, além de todas as ruas adjacentes.

A concentração começou antes do meio-dia, com organizações partidárias ocupando os pontos próximos ao palanque armado nos fundos da Igreja da Candelária. O comício, que durou pouco mais de cinco horas, começou com 10 minutos de atraso (foi encerrado 20 minutos depois do horário previsto).

Quatro governadores do PMDB: Franco Montoro, de São Paulo; Gerson Camatai, do Espírito Santo; José Richa, do Paraná; e Tancredo Neves, de Minas Gerais, atenderam ao convite do governador Leonel Brizola, do PDT, assim como presidentes do PMDB, deputados Ulisses Guimarães, e do PT, Inácio Lula da Silva, além de representantes de entidades que apoiam o movimento pelas eleições diretas: Excluídos Brizola e Lula, o deputado Márcio Jurumá (PDT-BA) e o advogado Sobral Pinto. 90 anos, foram mais aplaudidos. Afonso Arins, Eduardo Feltre estiveram no palanque.

A emoção foi a grande marca do comício. Estavam emocionados apresentadores, todos tarimbados com o contato permanente com o público. Estavam emocionados os policiais militares os mais experientes, aqueles que já viveram outras campanhas memoráveis. Estava especialmente emocionada a massa que compareceu em peso à convocação do comício.

Milton Nascimento, Taliguara e Fafá de Belém foram os artistas que mais fizeram vibrar a massa humana, em que se misturavam classe média alta e trabalhadores. Fafá de Belém, com Menestres das Alagoas", e ao final, soltou um pombo que, atordoado pela ovação, voou alguns metros e pousou sobre o palanque.

"O que parecia estar reunido nesta praça pública não são apenas um milhão de pessoas, mas 130 milhões de brasileiros que se comprimem nas praças públicas de todo o País para que não continuem seus usurpando o direito de escolher o presidente da República", disse o governador Tancredo Neves.

Concebe o governador Leonel Brizola encerrar o comício. Antes, ele propôs a palavra do deputado Dante de Oliveira (PMDB-MT), ninguém nunca mais ouzouar falar em consenso ou negociação, que não seja o consenso das eleições diretas. Ele pediu a palavra.

"Se alguém ainda tinha alguma dúvida antes deste histórico 11 de abril, que fique sabendo que o Brasil se reencontrou definitivamente com seu destino, na grande cruz formada pelo mar humano que, a partir da Candelária, inundou a avenida Presidente Vargas, para lá da praça da República, e a avenida Rio Branco até a Candelária, de um lado, até a praça Mauá de outro, explodindo num rio só, há muito tempo parado num rio, no estado de Direito legítimo".

Por fim, referiu-se a "certos relatórios", que falavam da "medida impopular" manifestação, de partidos não legalizados, mais associados que o povo do Rio de Janeiro repete, estas instituições. "O que prevalece nesta manifestação é o verde e amarelo da nossa bandeira".

Bandieiras e faixas pedindo a legalização dos Partidos Comunistas, que no início da manifestação eram contrárias, ao final foram usadas pelas bandeiras do PDT, do PMDB e do Brasil. Uma enorme faixa pregando a greve geral no dia 25, foi retirada pelo povo, a pedido do governador, no pronunciamento.

Após cantar o Hino Nacional, e então sob chuva, a massa se destelou em ordem, cantando "Para não dizer que não falei de flores", de Geraldo Vandré. O transporte público foi gratuito para a ida à Candelária e para o regresso às residências.

## Engenheiros calculam a multidão

Na maior concentração popular da campanha pelas eleições diretas para presidente da República, um milhão e cem mil pessoas presenciaram o comício realizado no centro do Rio de Janeiro, formando uma enorme cruz humana, que partindo da Candelária atingiu a Estação da Central do Brasil, a Candelária e a Praça Mauá. Da multidão, cerca de 700 mil pessoas concentraram-se na área de visão direta do palanque, e o restante espalhou-se pelas ruas laterais e praças próximas.

Para calcular a multidão, engenheiros da Secretaria Estadual de Transportes tomaram por base as medidas das avenidas Presidente Vargas e Rio Branco, combinadas com uma ocupação média de 5,5 pessoas por metro quadrado. A área ocupada pela Presidente Vargas correspondeu a um retângulo de 1.000 metros de comprimento por 100m de largura. Dividido em três partes, esse retângulo teve até seis pessoas por metro quadrado na área mais próxima do palanque, caindo logo depois para seis, cinco e quatro. Em mais três partes, prevaleceu a ocupação na base de quatro e cinco pessoas por metro quadrado. Com isso, a Presidente Vargas chegou a



Cartazes e faixas dos partidos de oposição e entidades da sociedade civil reivindicaram na avenida a volta das eleições diretas para presidente da República

## O País grande reencontra a Nação

RICARDO KOTSCHO  
Enviado especial do Rio

"O Rio de Janeiro, velho..."  
Ohandado para aquela multidão, o amigo nada mais disse, nem lhe foi perguntado. Nem era preciso dizer mais nada, depois do abraço, marcialmente de olhos marejados, a não ser que é o Rio de Janeiro, sim, mas é acima de tudo o Brasil, palco da maior e mais fantástica manifestação popular de todos os tempos.

Depois desse comício do Rio de Janeiro, a história de uma travessia que começou timidamente em São Paulo, com uns 15 mil pessoas pedindo eleições diretas, em frente ao estádio do Pacaembu, no longínquo mês de novembro do ano passado — e faz apenas seis meses — ninguém nunca mais ouzouar falar em consenso ou negociação, que não seja o consenso das eleições diretas. Ele pediu a palavra.

"Se alguém ainda tinha alguma dúvida antes deste histórico 11 de abril, que fique sabendo que o Brasil se reencontrou definitivamente com seu destino, na grande cruz formada pelo mar humano que, a partir da Candelária, inundou a avenida Presidente Vargas, para lá da praça da República, e a avenida Rio Branco até a Candelária, de um lado, até a praça Mauá de outro, explodindo num rio só, há muito tempo parado num rio, no estado de Direito legítimo".

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Penas que Teófilo Vilela e todos os que ficaram pelo caminho não estivessem vivos para ver como valeu a pena acreditar, resistir e lutar até o dia em que não dava mais para segurar. O Brasil voltou vinte anos atrás em algumas horas, para poder olhar novamente para a frente, o futuro e a esperança grande imprensa, desabava diante da grandeza de um povo, que já não precisa de consolo para saber onde está. Melhor assim, do que nos comícios dos comícios do Brasil onde não se encontra um único jornalista, até poucas semanas atrás, para conversar e trocar ideias sobre o número de pessoas na praça, como os repórteres costumam fazer.

Demorou um bocadinho, mas foi bom de ver outra vez jornalistas de todos os jornais e televisões, empenhados em contar o que havia de mais importante no momento. Por um momento, vendo aquela festa toda, a Rede Globo anunciando em estílo extraordinário de "Jornal Nacional" no vivo, lá na Candelária, que a festa, mas não acreditavam no final feliz. Até que, nesses comícios do Rio de Janeiro, entre tantos notáveis da oposição, se descobriu, na passarela que liga um palanque a outro, a figura de Eduardo Feltre, o ex-ministro da Educação de Figueiredo, que ficou famoso por uma frase dita ao sair do cavalo. Parlamentares do PSD são aplaudidos, só por estarem no palanque, mesmo que ninguém preste muita atenção no que dizem. Alas, a imprensa que se tinha, ao atravessar aquela multidão, e que ninguém tinha muito interesse em falar. Foram 32 os oradores oficiais, mas centenas de milhares os

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## Ulisses adverte que derrotar o povo seria como invadir o Brasil

De Sucursal do Rio

"O povo não pode ser derrotado, seria quase como uma invasão do Brasil", comentou o presidente do PMDB, deputado Ulisses Guimarães, indagado sobre uma eventual derrota a campanha pelas diretas. Quanto à possibilidade de que o PSD negue o voto para a votação da emenda ante de Oliveira, destacou que seria tais um entre os gestos de "insânia, absurdos e até ridículos" a que o artigo oficial se propõe.

Ulisses esteve na sede do Clube de Engenharia por volta de 13 horas, mas não ficou para o almoço que a diretoria do clube, totalmente interessada na campanha pré-diretas, ofereceu aos políticos. Na entrevista que concedeu ao lado do presidente da PT, Lúcio Inácio Lula da Silva, e do autor da emenda das diretas, deputado Dante de Oliveira, previu que tiraria outras medidas, como a tentativa de negar qualquer "votação" para impedir a aprovação das diretas. Mas isso "apenas demonstra que não desesperados, estão apelando". Para o deputado Dante de Oliveira, a emenda já tem o apoio de 80 deputados do PSD, "sem contar os que não se declararam", e ele certamente voltaria atrás diante de uma proposta de eleições diretas em 1989 ou 1990", observou.

O senador Saturnino Braga (PDT-BA), comentando a hipótese de a emenda das diretas vir a ser derrotada dia 25, considerou que, neste caso, "provavelmente um grupo dentro do próprio PSD — a que certos vice-presidente Aureliano Chaves — tomariam a iniciativa de comprar o Colégio Eleitoral, encerrando a hegemonia dos candidatos indiretos (Maltz, Andrézka)".

A campanha pelas diretas, passada a fase das grandes manifestações populares, se concentrará junto aos parlamentares, basicamente os do grupo Pré-Diretas do PSD, para que pressionem a cúpula do partido no sentido de obter novos adesões para aprovar a emenda Dante.

Esta estratégia foi discutida pelos governadores, deputados e líderes dos partidos de oposição, recebidos pelo governador Leonel Brizola no Palácio Laranjeiras. O governador de Minas Gerais, Tancredo Neves, declarou que não aceitaria qualquer negociação com o PSD que não incluísse eleições diretas. "O trabalho agora é de um homem, para engrossar a luta".

O governador do Paraná, José Richa, considera remota a possibilidade de a emenda Dante de Oliveira não ser aprovada. Se isso acontecer, disse ele, as oposições mudarão a estratégia e podem apresentar uma subemenda à emenda do governo, o que ainda terá de ser analisado.

Gota política também é defendida pelo governador de São Paulo, Franco Montoro, para que se derrotem os senadores do Congresso e sejam convocados para que se consiga o quórum de dois terços. Para Montoro, a única solução moral para a sucessão presidencial, através de eleições diretas, é realizada através da emenda de Oliveira.

O historiador Heitor Silva expressava grande contentamento com o comício, exatamente no dia em que se comemora 90 anos de nascimento de Brizola. "O Brasil virou um país de 90 anos, lutar durante 90 e participar na data do aniversário seria desrespeito de grande comício, a maior demonstração cívica jamais vista no País".

Participaram também da reunião no Palácio Laranjeiras o deputado Teófilo Vilela e o deputado Teófilo Ferraz, do grupo Pré-Diretas do PSD e o vice-governador de Mato Grosso do Sul, Ramo Tebello. Também estavam presentes o presidente do PMDB, Ulisses Guimarães (Fameri), e foi à Câmara Municipal Sobrinho, presidente da Associação Brasileira de Imprensa, Afonso Arins, Miguel Arraes e Francisco Júlio.

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Cartazes e faixas dos partidos de oposição e entidades da sociedade civil reivindicaram na avenida a volta das eleições diretas para presidente da República

**NAS BANCAS**  
**HOJE**  
Jornal do PMDB



Brazilian ones and the «PDT», the State Governor Brizola party has been responsible, as was indicated in the previous day edition of «JB» of occupying the front of the stage in a strategy to avoid the presence of the «clandestine parties». Another aspect that must be highlighted in this image is the compactness's of the crowd as well as the movement that the image transmits from the waving flags and massive presence of it. The protocolar caption of the image stated «Cartazes e faixas dos partidos de oposição e entidades da sociedade civil reivindicaram na Avenida a volta das eleições diretas para presidente»<sup>944</sup> although without mentioning which were those opposition parties.

Finally, closing that newspaper page the bottom third was dedicated to some practical elements of the rally, such as how was calculated the attendance to the rally, the fact that there has not been any problem with the sound system and especially the fact that the whole event had went on with calm and order, in this page no mention was made to the presence of the so-far illegal political parties or problems related to it.

If in page number five the images printed were dedicated to some of the artists and politics that were present in the rally exhorting once again the atmosphere of calm and tranquility in which the event ran during the whole day, page number six in its turn was dedicated to the some of the problems and critics that emerged during the day. The main headline of the page was placed in the top of the page and stated «Military Police remove banner in favor of a general strike», right under it a three-column text described the actions unfolding and how the «Alicerçe»<sup>945</sup> political group (a PT's section) that carried the banner did not listened to Brizola's requests of removing it and in the end the banner suffered a first attempt of being removed by the police being finally taken down by another group of protesters that agreed with Brizola. In the text it was indicated that one of the arguments to the banner removal was the fact that would interfere in the sight of those who would be placed behind it, the quotation of the «Alicerçe» representant stated that the removal had been asked because was not aligned with the political objectives of the group that was organizing the rally.

The image (*photo 128*) published in the top left-corner of the page occupying 1/8 of it was another aerial plan, in a deepening wide-angle shot of Rio Branco Avenue in which is possible to clearly see the banner, although it cannot be read the «general strike» section of it. Right in front of it can also be seen a «PDT» flag; the following caption of the image was dedicated to the consequent actions connected to the removal of the banner «A faixa do grupo

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<sup>944</sup> «Posters and banners from opposition parties and civil society groups called on the Avenue for the return of direct elections for president».

<sup>945</sup> « Foundation».



“Alicerçe” ficou pouco tempo na Avenida, foi logo retirada pela Polícia Militar». <sup>946</sup> Is important to underscore that the image captured a moment in which the banner was stretched and not the moment of its removal, this might be interpreted as the way that the «FSP» editors had chosen to present this fact, preferring to do not present images of has been described as the moment of biggest tension in the whole rally. In so, the image presents the banner in the middle of a quiet and calm crowd, without any visual mention to the police or other manifestants intervention on it.

In the left section of the page were published three-column texts that presented the actions and opinions of left-wing parties that were still illegal in the country at that time and, as was presented before, were left aside from the rally. One secondary tittle presented the «PCB» position «Prestes protesta e faz crítica a Brizola» <sup>947</sup> indicating in the paragraphs bellow the absence of its leader, Luis Carlos Prestes as a protest to the anticommunist facade that the event had received when the presence of the extra-parliamentary parties was denied. Right under it another secondary tittle was dedicated to the «PCdoB» position, stating «PC do B chega cedo e ocupa seu espaço» <sup>948</sup>, this case on the other side presented a different action by the illegal left-wing party. Even not being invited to participate in the rally, its representants were present in the crowd with a high number of flags and banners; a special one showed to be the biggest on that day stating «Diretas Já – Legalidade para o Partido Comunista do Brasil» <sup>949</sup>. In both cases no picture was used to compose the narrative or the verbo-visual construction of that section of the page.

Nevertheless, another image has been printed in that same page and right under the two texts that made a reference to the left-wing parties. In the right bottom-end of the page another squared image (*photo 129*) presented a family (two adults and three kids) that attended to the rally on that day. The secondary title related to it was «André, Andréa e Adriana pedem futuro melhor» <sup>950</sup> and the caption «Omar vai com Maria e os filhos para o comício: “Estou com um grito preso no peito, quero votar para presidente”» <sup>951</sup>. The text connect to it was dedicated to how has been that family’s day in attending to the rally, how was to leave their suburban house, be in the city center and in the first rows of the public.

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<sup>946</sup> «The banner of the group "Alicerçe" stayed a short time on the Avenue, it was soon removed by the Military Police».

<sup>947</sup> «Prestes protests and criticises Brizola».

<sup>948</sup> «PC do B arrives early and occupies its space».

<sup>949</sup> «Diretas Já - Legality for the Communist Party of Brazil».

<sup>950</sup> «André, Andréa and Adriana call for a better future».

<sup>951</sup> «Omar vai com Maria e os filhos para o comício: “Estou com um grito preso no peito, quero votar para presidente”».

Só Andressa, ainda de colo (tem nove meses) não foi ao comício. Mas André (10), Andrea (8) e Adriana (4 anos) chegaram à Presidente Vargas antes das três da tarde, todos convencidos de que as eleições diretas são necessárias. Ao lado deles, o pai Omar Amaral e a mãe, Maria Elijane, mostravam-se duplamente orgulhosos: “Primeiro, porque meus filhos estão entendendo isso tudo. Eles sofrem junto comigo. Segundo, porque já sabem carregar faixas e cartazes como gente grande”.<sup>952</sup>

The photo was shot from a medium distance in a regular plan, framing the family in the middle of the Avenue, the parents were holding a bigger banner, while the two older sons had in their hands another one – in none of the cases is possible to read what was written on it. The youngest daughter was in the middle of the two couples. All of them are facing the photographer in a clearly posed image in what seems a moment of more tranquility and less crowded of the event.

Considering how the page was built, the topics covered and the images choice were dedicated to attend a specific objective, the reinforcement of the consensus idea around the «Diretas Já» campaign, even when dealing with the problems and critics that came from the left-wing parties the pictures attempt to present a scenario of calm and tranquility – in the first case not exposing the peak of tension and in the second one, was seen a preference to connect a verbo-visual interaction when referring to a «medium-family» that attended to the rally, rather to what has been the critics made by the political parties that were marginalized from the event. At this point, there was no consideration about the fact that those parties were also represents of a sector of the Brazilian population opinion, the present analysis impute this absence to the risk that this information and connections could represent to the unity consensus building, and beyond that, the subjection of the left-wing political leaderships can be read as another layer of a silencing strategy.

*11/04/1984 – Jornal do Brasil*

On the day after the rally in the Rio’s city center «JB’s» edition dedicated  $\frac{3}{4}$  of its front cover and four of its internal pages to the agenda. Differently from the «FSP» in its first page the «JB» presented two pictures (*photos 130 and 131*) both added occupied approximately half of the page, a  $\frac{1}{4}$  each. The main headline on that day was «Rally for the approval of direct

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<sup>952</sup> «Only Andressa, still a baby (she is nine months old) did not go to the rally. But André (10), Andrea (8) and Adriana (4) arrived at Presidente Vargas before three in the afternoon, all convinced that direct elections are necessary. Next to them, their father Omar Amaral and mother Maria Elijane were doubly proud: "First, because my children are understanding all this. They suffer together with me. Secondly, because they already know how to carry banners and placards like big people"».



No meio da noite a Avenida Presidente Vargas, a partir da Avenida Passos, ficou completamente tomada pelo público do comício

**JORNAL DO BRASIL**

**Comício pela aprovação das diretas pára o Rio e reúne 800 mil pessoas na Candelária**

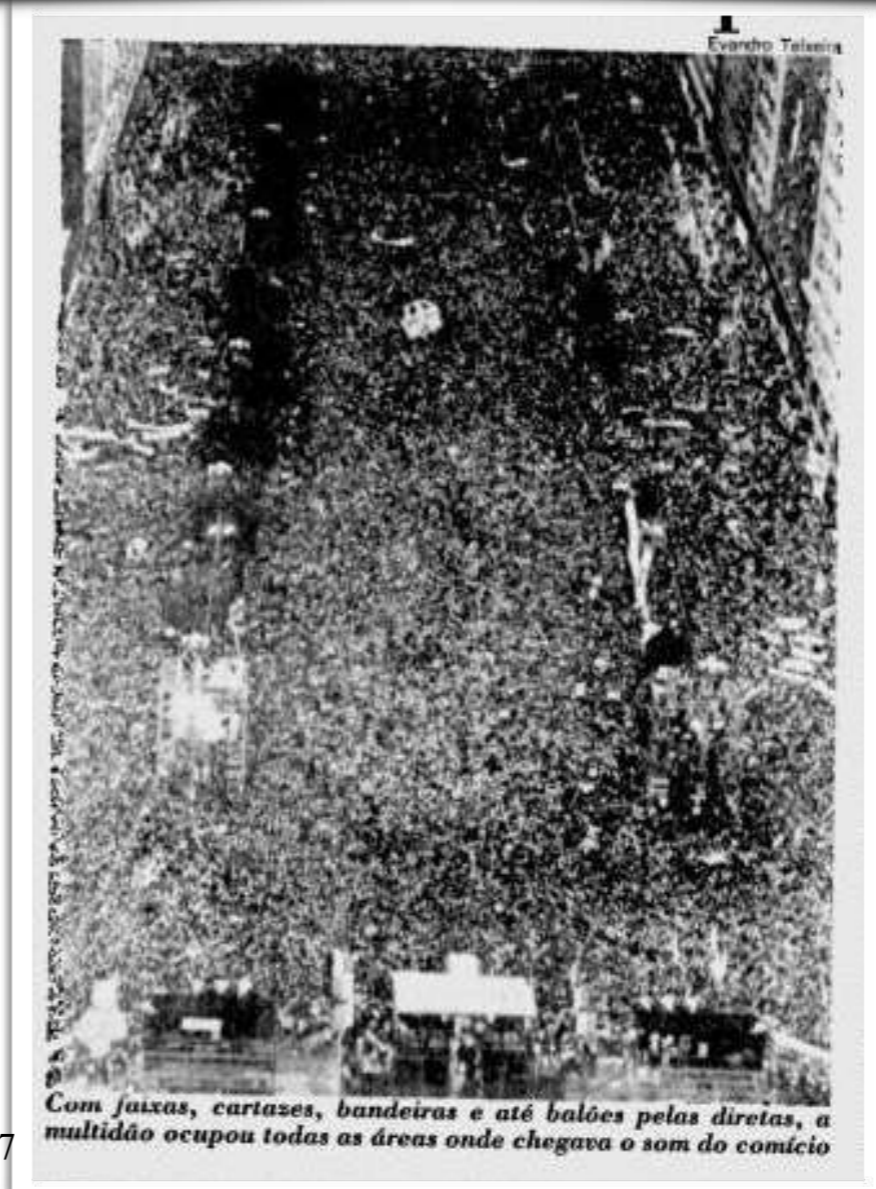
**Gulceás busca apoio do FMI à baixa de juro**

**Chuva pesada é novo flagelo para o Nordeste**

**Botafogo acha que restaurante atrai assalto**

**Professores de Minas anunciam fim da greve**

At the bottom of the page, there is a financial table with columns for various data points, including numbers like 270 and 200.



Com faixas, cartazes, bandeiras e até balões pelas diretas, a multidão ocupou todas as áreas onde chegava o som do comício

elections stops Rio and brings together 800 thousand people in Candelária», in here there is another difference from the information published by the «FSP» which stated that more than 1 million people had taken the streets the day before – this discrepancy in the numbers is quickly justified in the first paragraph of the two-column text aside of one of the photos

O comício pela aprovação das eleições diretas (o maior da história do país) realizado na Praça da Candelária, no Centro do Rio, reuniu, em seus diversos momentos, 800 mil pessoas, de acordo com o cálculo do JORNAL DO BRASIL. As Polícias Civil e Militar estimaram em 1 milhão o número de presentes, os organizadores em 1 milhão e 200 mil e a Polícia Federal em 500 mil.<sup>953</sup>

In so, it seem that while the «FSP» had chosen to divulgate the information presented by the Civil and Military Polices, the «JB» on its hand, chose in taking a mathematical average of all numbers presented and indicated as its own calculation – this action can be interpreted as a measure of caution in order to erroneously inflate the numbers, but also as less engaged journalistic tone towards the agenda, indicating a concern in having in consideration all the data that was available. At this point is important to underline that the attendance numbers to the rally shows itself as an important information exactly because of the relevance that was given to this data.

Regarding the photographs, the first one (*photo 130*) was an aerial and vertical image of the «Candelária Square» and «Presidente Vargas Avenue» completely occupied by the public that attended to the rally. The long-distance picture was probably made from a helicopter, however, cannot be excluded the possibility that the photographer (Evandro Teixeira) was placed on the top of Candelária Church. Nevertheless, in this case the use of a tele-objective lens had as consequence the flattening of scene creating the impression of a one plan image and an even more compact crowd. In a down-to-top look to the image can be identified the rally's stage, two sound towers, several banners, a balloon right in the center and, a small part of the building that framed the avenue and the protest. The caption of this photo described some scene elements and informed that the crowd was spread in all the areas that the sound system could be heard, «Com faixas, cartazes, bandeiras e até balões pelas diretas, a multidão ocupou todas as áreas onde chegava o som do comício»<sup>954</sup>.

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<sup>953</sup> «The rally for the approval of direct elections (the largest in the country's history) held at Candelária Square, in downtown Rio, gathered 800,000 people at various times, according to Jornal do Brasil's calculations. The Civil and Military Police estimated the number of those present at one million, the organizers at one million two hundred thousand, and the Federal Police at 500 thousand».

<sup>954</sup> «With banners, placards, flags and even balloons for the direct elections, the crowd occupied all the areas where the sound of the rally reached».

The second image (*photo 131*) in a top-down reading order was a horizontal picture of the avenue, although in this case in a different direction, almost as if recreating the public view the shot also made from a long distance presented in its first plan the crowd in the lower part of the photo, some urban equipment such as light posts and trees, the framing buildings on the side and its second plan the rally's stage and, finally, the «Candelaria Church» in the background. In this photo is important to underline the importance that the contrast have in the narrative and information flow that the image carries, that is to say, the lights of the city, on the stage and on the church are central to give a different attractive look to the shot and recalls the reader attention into what was actually happening in the scene, in the present analysis interpretation the two-photo sequence create a discursive path in which the second one had the role of deepening the major information presented in the first one that was, «this has been the biggest public demonstration in the country's history».

In brief, if the in *photo 130* the focus of the narrative building was in exposing and illustrating the size of the crowd that was present in that day in Rio's center, in *photo 131* the main objective was contextualizing the historical context and horizon, organizing the narrative into the identification of the space in each the event occurred and the differences carried to that exactly place due to the «Diretas Já» rally. Nevertheless, both photos propose an inversion on the gaze perspective that was indicated in the day before, if the in previous edition the preference of the «JB» editors has been the one of privileging the view from the stage, in this day's edition the notion that has been published was the opposite – the view from the public to the stage has been the one chosen, an action that might indicate the will of giving to all the readers an idea of what would have been their presence in the protest.

A final aspect of this «JB» front cover are two information that appeared only in the newspaper coverage to the rally, in first place the fact that the «Hotel Guanabara» had rented its rooms to those who wanted take part in the rally, but «without mixing with the crowd»; and also the commentary made by the «PDS» leader on the Senate, Aloysio Chaves «“O Rio não é Atenas, nem a Candelária o palco de uma democracia grega, para decidir a forma de eleição do Presidente da República”»<sup>955</sup>, a statement that is not exactly connected to the tradition of the military discourse in sustaining the country lived under a democracy, which can be seen in the «Atos Institucionais» texts as has been previously presented.

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<sup>955</sup> «"Rio is not Athens, nor Candelaria the stage of a Greek democracy, to decide the manner of election of the President of the Republic"».

In the internal page number three once again two pictures were published, the present analysis will be focused in the smaller one (*photo 132*). Under the headline «Rio puts 800 thousand people on the streets for direct elections» a two-column text occupying almost half of the page presents a general description and information of the rally, although in a less engaged tone if compared to the «FSP» texts, the «JB» also dedicated its attention to the dispute between the legal and illegal (left-wing) parties in the day before. In the text was highlighted the fact that even if parties such as the «PCB» and PCdoB» were not allowed to be on stage, its members were present in the streets disputing the space with other militants.

Right under were placed on the left side of the page a small map of Rio's city center indicating which were the avenues and streets that had been occupied by the rally public. In a similar way that was made by the «FSP» the sub-title to the map that the «JB»<sup>956</sup> created used some words that proposes a different meaning to the whole discursive construction, in this logic the title of the map «O centro ocupado pelo povo»<sup>957</sup> goes into the same direction giving protagonism to the public. Under the map, in a small text has been explained how the newspaper made its own calculation of the public attendance having as reference the square meters size of the city's region that has been occupied.

On the right side of the page a small rectangular photograph was published accompanied by the caption «Sobral Pinto, Franco Montoro, Tancredo Neves e Ulysses Guimarães, da esquerda, para a direita integravam o grupo dos oradores mais aplaudidos, todos pedindo diretas»<sup>958</sup>. The image occupied approximately 1/6 of the whole page and presented in an american plan (from the waist up) from a down-to-top angle the jurist – Sobral Pinto – and the three opposition politicians that were considered the main speakers of the rally all of them wearing suits. Is curious to note that each of them gave its gaze to a different direction, in an imagetic and symbolic contrast to what the verbal elements of the page indicated as a common goal, the direct elections. In addition to this element, must be considered the fact that all of them were men, white, over sixty years old, even though the absence of gender, ethnical and social diversity in the leadership of the «Diretas Já» movement was in this case exposed, the idea of a consensual and unitary movement was still being reinforced in the overall discourse of the «JB». This aspect reveals a notion of controlling the masses that those leaderships had at the same time that was wanted and needed a people's aspect to the

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<sup>956</sup> «Concentrated crowd – Dispersed crowd».

<sup>957</sup> «The centre occupied by the people».

<sup>958</sup> «Sobral Pinto, Franco Montoro, Tancredo Neves and Ulysses Guimarães, from left to right, were among the most applauded speakers, all calling for direct elections».



COMICIO

# Rio põe 300 mil pessoas nas ruas por eleição direta

**Atos comemorativos sob aplausos e euforias**

Comemorando o primeiro dia de liberdade política, milhares de pessoas se reuniram em todo o Rio de Janeiro para celebrar a vitória da eleição direta. O clima era de euforia e aplausos, com as ruas lotadas de pessoas que se reuniam para assistir aos discursos e celebrar a liberdade.

**Realize seus sonhos**

**Qualidade é com a gente**

**A Clappy tem Dismac para dar e vender.**

NA COMPRA DE UMA CALCULADORA COM VOZES E RITA, VOCÊ LEVA GRATIS UMA ANVICALCULADORA

**dismac**

**VARIS**



movement, that is to say, aiming the consensus into a determined project of direct elections and democratic retaking the hegemonic discursive building used other narrative strategies (that the present analysis is proving to indicate) trying to deliver this popular legitimation that the «Diretas Já» movement needed.

The photographs had than a central role in this strategy of finding other forms to legitimated and diversify those who were willing more democracy and being part of the «Diretas Já» political movement. In page number four, inside the newspaper rubric «Comício»<sup>959</sup> the main page headline was «Sunny dawn and shredded paper rain in Candelária»; right under it the story text was detailing the final arrangements to the rally in the morning of the previous day, as well as the atmosphere of celebration that preceded the event. The entire left column of the page presented eight different topics that endorsed this overall aspect of celebration in the page. The vertical picture (*photo 133*) placed in the middle of the upper half of the page, occupied almost ¼ of it and in a long distance shot, using a tele objective lens on a close-up plan made in a strong down-to-top angle presented the framing a part of one of the buildings in the city's center, a small banner in the left-bottom corner convoking the population to the rally on that day and four women squeezed into an open glass window looking down – probably in the stage's direction in front of the Candelária Church. The caption of the image was «Numa das janelas, o indiscreto charme das mulheres»<sup>960</sup>, the tone of the words choice, interacting with the verbal elements of the page dedicated to a celebration day and also the absence of any other verbal connection to the visual elements present in this image allow the interpretation in which this picture choice was most probably connected to the perception of the «JB» editors of more diversity at least in the visual appearance of the «Diretas Já» movement. In this sense were presented visually some unknown women as a quick way of building a diversity notion, potentializing the legitimation process with the readers that would achieve a consensus around an idea of democracy that, although was mostly in the appearance rather than in the political practice of it. This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that, in that page, no mention or quoting was dedicated to any woman that attended to the rally.

Still in the section «Rally», in page number five was presented an interesting photo sequence regarding the banner of the «Alicerçe da Juventude Socialista» asking for a general strike on April's 25<sup>th</sup> and that was removed with force by members of the «PDT». The page headline was not directed dedicated to it but worked as a topic framing to the page; «Chaves

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<sup>959</sup> «Rally».

<sup>960</sup> «At one of the windows, the indiscreet charm of women».



admits emergency if Congress suffers pressure». Was than in the secondary title «Guerra de “slogans” agita a praça»<sup>961</sup> that the photo sequence was placed, the three images (*photo 134*) registered the peak of tension on that day, all of them were squared pictures and presented the exact same size composing a column that occupied approximately ¼ of the page in the upper half of it. Each image was followed by a caption explaining the sequence of actions; «Brizola mandou retirar a faixa propondo greve geral»; «Militantes de um grupo do PT reagiram a socos e pontapés»; «No final da briga, a faixa foi rasgada por Brizolistas».<sup>962</sup>

The first one was a panoramic horizontal picture of the crowd, in the first plan of the medium shot are visible several flags and banners, although cannot be seen the one that was demanding a general strike on the Amendment voting day. Right under it, the second photo framed the moment in which a small gap has opened in the crowd and a physical confrontation was in course, this can be inferred from the blur in the first plan of the image in which are visible four men in combative movements, in the left corner of the background a star can be seen in a flag, this might be an indication of a «PT» flag considering that a red star is the main symbol of the party. Still in the background other participants of the rally were pictured looking to the conflict, a building and some trees framed the very end of the picture. Finally, the last photo of the sequence registered the moment in which the banner has been torn apart by «PDT» member according to the caption. This last image, added to the information that all the photos were taken by the same photographer confirms that the actions happened in relatively long-time span; this notion can be inferred due to the difference of perspectives that each image had. The last shot was made from an upper level in a deepening angle and pictured the exact moment in which the moment was being warped by a group of approximately ten men, once again the blur in the right-lower half of the image reveals an action still in course. Is important to underscore that without the interaction between the verbal and visual elements of the page the sequence would have a different meaning, exactly because is through the caption reading that the relevance and details of the turmoil are explained.

By deepening the interaction between the verbal-visual elements present in the page is revealed the essence of the narrative building presented by the «JB». In first place, the initial paragraphs of the story were dedicated to the description of the space dispute that occurred between the legal and illegal parties in the street, the communist parties «PCB», «PCdoB» and «PRC – Partido Revolucionário Comunista» a dissidence of the «PCdoB», were present

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<sup>961</sup> «Slogan war rocks the square».

<sup>962</sup> «"Brizola ordered the removal of the banner proposing a general strike"; "Militants from a PT group reacted by punching and kicking"; "At the end of the brawl, the banner was torn down by Brizolistas" ».



demanding their return to legality and their possibility of existence. After the subtitle «Tumulto» a Brizola's strong phrase has been quoted indicating that to the rally organizers certain attitudes or ideological positions would not be tolerated in name of the public visibility to the stage: «Eram 14h30min, quando o Governador Leonel Brizola perdeu a paciência e sentenciou. – Eliminem essa faixa. Puxem para baixo. Aí não pode ficar».<sup>963</sup> In the following paragraphs is informed that the organizing committee had agreed upon the impossibility of having banners in the street to preserve the visibility. The idea of a consensus was present in the following text under the secondary title «Saturnino insiste no consenso»<sup>964</sup> the text described the idea presented by the «PDT» senator Roberto Saturnino Braga of a consensual name with the military party, the «PDS» as a way of avoiding an impasse and guaranteeing the existence of direct elections. «Segundo o representante do PDT, o candidato de consenso deveria receber mandato de dois a três anos para promover, “com apoio unânime da nação” a transição definitiva do “autoritarismo para a democracia plena”».<sup>965</sup>

In this is necessary to underscore the contradictoriness of the proposal, especially when connecting it to the social horizon that the rally presented the day before. If there were parties that were still illegal, asking for participation in the institutional political life of the country, and that carried political relevance as was being demonstrated and even pictured during the rally, how could be presented a consensual candidate that would receive a unanimous support of the nation? Putting in other words, what kind of consensus was this one that was being proposed and built? According to what has been seen during the present analysis, the building of a hegemony in which the left-wing parties that, at that time, were still illegal would be left apart was the path desired to the country's political transition, without a placing major rupture. That is to say, the objective of the political opposition leaderships who headed the movement was to consolidate a national unity around a political process that would generate no harm to militaries, keeping the political control in the hands of both, the situation and the moderate opposition, without opening a breach to other opposition parties that were presenting a more critical attitude towards the militaries. Inside this context and during the unfolding of the «Diretas Já» movement, the newspapers that are being analyzed presented themselves as speakers of this moderate opposition political group working as an important private apparatus

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<sup>963</sup> «It was 2.30pm, when Governor Leonel Brizola lost his patience and sentenced. - Eliminate that strip. Pull it down. It can't stay there».

<sup>964</sup> «Saturnino insists on consensus».

<sup>965</sup> «According to the PDT representative, the consensus candidate should be given a mandate of two to three years to promote, "with the unanimous support of the nation" the definitive transition from "authoritarianism to full democracy"».

of hegemony capable of amplifying the ideas and objectives that were being presented and narrated as the complete and unanimous «nation's will and desire» as the unity that the country needed, and deliberately not effectively taking in consideration the existence and relevance of other political actors in the country. In addition to this, the element of self-legitimation by the newspapers appears as a bonus layer in the process, that is to say, by accepting and supporting the «Diretas Já» movement and project, both newspapers could replace themselves in the national communication scenario as democracy supporters, although, as is being presented each of them proposed this attitude in different intensities and time ranges. Finally, as indicated, the controlled and slow transition into a moderate opposition was exactly what the militaries were aiming (Matos, 2008 p. 58).

*16/04/1984– Folha de S. Paulo*

Less than a week later after the massive rally held in Rio, São Paulo once again was in the center of the «Diretas Já» mobilization. That day's edition of the «FSP» presented in its cover the headline «Diretas are in Aureliano's hands» followed by a short three-paragraph text in which was detailed the fact that according to the «PMDB»'s national president, Ulysses Guimarães, the Vice-President Aureliano Chaves was himself in favor of the direct elections for presidency and should use his influence inside the «PDS» to enlarge the already sixty-three names list of situation congressmen in favor of the agenda. Under it a secondary title stated «Às 17hs, a grande passeata»<sup>966</sup> followed by a few-lines text detailed the event of day scheduled to take place in the city center of São Paulo, a one-kilometer-long march asking «Diretas Já» from the the Sé Square until the Anhangabaú valley.

Still in the upper half of the front cover, alongside the indicated texts a squared picture (*photo 135*) was published. The horizontal shot, in a medium american plan was divided in two plans; in the first one a young black man was picture holding a banner with all the information related to the march, day (time and place) he was wearing a white shirt, jeans pants and sunglasses; is remarkable his V signed with the right hand, demonstrating trust in the victory of the political movement. In the second plan can be seen the Anhangabaú valley in which a small group of people was gathered, and cars were still passing. The caption of the image contextualized the scene «No Anhangabaú preparado para a multidão o clima pró diretas já contagiou um guardador de carros»<sup>967</sup>. Is interesting that has been through the presence of this

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<sup>966</sup> «At 5pm, the big march».

<sup>967</sup> «In Anhangabaú, prepared for the crowd, the pro-directives atmosphere has already infected a stalkeeper».





simple man that a «popular» element was carried to the image, in addition to it, must be underscore the words choice in the phrase building «pró diretas-já» an expression that was in use in that moment in which the political articulation towards more congressmen votes in favor of the direct elections was needed. The rest of the front cover was dedicated to other topics of that day, the «Diretas Já» agenda reapers in the inside pages of that day's edition.

In page number four the main headline was «São Paulo retakes the streets today to demand Direct Elections»; although a small picture has been published in the right-bottom corner of the page, the main verbal-visual interaction elements were in the top of the page, in the right corner a city's center map was placed as a complementary information to the main story of the page, that was dedicated to the «Diretas Já» movement contextualization and information on the march of that day, the text presented itself practically as a publicity spot to the march. This publicity tone was presented in the whole page, which contained information related to the gratuity of the trains and metro in the city on that day, as well as the complete agenda of the movement in the whole country. Finally, completing the composition of the page, almost half of it was occupied with a petition that had the title «Jornalistas pelas diretas»<sup>968</sup> in which was presented a long list of the name of journalists that subscribed the petition in favor of the direct elections, nevertheless, the most interesting aspect of this document is the final phrase of it «Convocamos a população de São Paulo a participar da grande caminhada pelas eleições diretas, que vai acontecer no dia 16 de abril em São Paulo, a partir das 17 horas, com início na Praça da Sé e encerramento no Vale do Anhangabaú».<sup>969</sup> Is at least complex that the same page that contains the major information on the march in a supposedly professional tone, was printed the journalists petition, in our interpretation this can be read as sign of indirect positioning of the «FSP» journalists in that moment of the country's history.

The following page presented another important verbo-visual interaction of that day's edition. The comic strip that was published right after the headline «Direct elections depend on Aureliano, says Ulysses» on it could be seen two characters smiling and running, holding a torned apart flag in which can be read the letters P and D, one of them was saying «Então ficamos assim **Pró-Diretas Já**»<sup>970</sup> the bold element it fundamental to symbolic connect the **PD** in the flag – at the same time an attend reader could make the meaning connection with the caption of the picture in the front cover, as well as the main idea of that day's edition – the

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<sup>968</sup> «Journalists for direct elections».

<sup>969</sup> «We call on the population of São Paulo to take part in the great march for direct elections, which will take place on 16 April in São Paulo, from 5pm, starting at Sé Square and ending at Anhangabaú Valley».

<sup>970</sup> «So that's it for the Pro-Diretas Já».

A sucessão pelas urnas

São Paulo volta às ruas hoje para exigir diretas já

Quase três meses depois do início da greve...

gria e largo de Moema. Outros cortejos partirão de vários pontos da cidade...

Secretaria da Cultura, no 8º andar, o governador, o prefeito e outras autoridades...

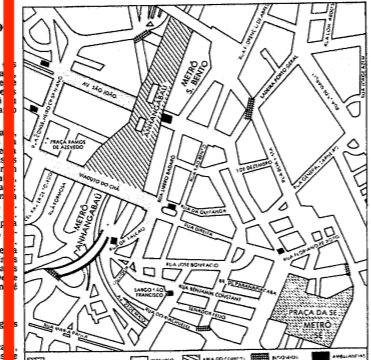
CMTM e Metrô não cobram passagem

O vale do Anhangabau, uma principal via de ligação da cidade...

O trânsito será totalmente modificado com bloqueios em vários pontos da cidade...

Conselhos

Os técnicos da Prefeitura dão alguns conselhos à população:



A passante começa na Sé, atravessa o viaduto da Cha e termina no Anhangabau

Semana das Diretas

Deixe o carro particular em casa, evite o trânsito, não saia de casa...

Evite adulação no retorno para casa, não se faça manifestar...

Atividade para a praça da Bandeira e para o Jardim do Passandú.

Conselheiro Crispiniano — para largo do Passandú.

Liberto Badard (via Brigadeiro) — para o Jardim do Passandú.

Liberto Badard D. Falcão — para largo do Passandú e 7 de Abril.

Praca do Patriarca — para largo do Passandú e 7 de Abril.

Praca de São Paulo — para largo do Passandú e 7 de Abril.

Praca da Sé (via Con. Furtado) — para largo do Passandú e 7 de Abril.

Pontos médicos

Dois ônibus-hospital estarão estacionados na Avenida São João...

Praca da Sé (via Con. Furtado) — para largo do Passandú e 7 de Abril.

Praca da Sé (via Con. Furtado) — para largo do Passandú e 7 de Abril.

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Atividade para a praça da Bandeira e para o Jardim do Passandú.

JORNALISTAS PELAS DIRETAS

Mês, jornalistas profissionais obituários, acompanhando o vultoso do emprego...

Mês, jornalistas profissionais obituários, acompanhando o vultoso do emprego...

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Mês, jornalistas profissionais obituários, acompanhando o vultoso do emprego...

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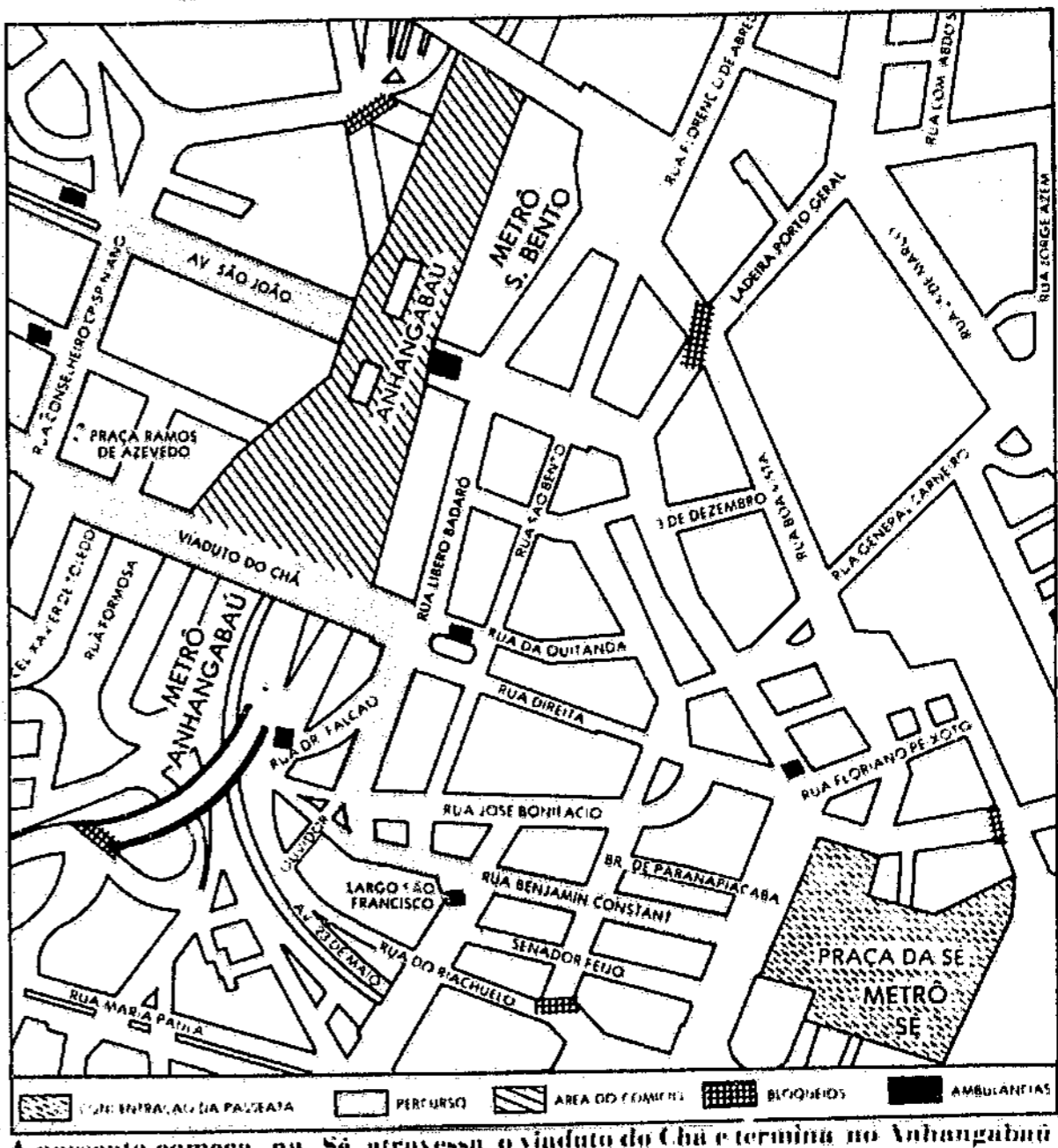
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A passante começa na Sé, atravessa o viaduto do Chá e termina no Anhangabau



Supley, Fafá, Omar e Covas, no Normal: pelas diretas já

No estádio, Fafá convoca a cidade para a manifestação

"O povo tem consciência de que quem está fazendo baderna no País são os que defendem as eleições indiretas, por um colégio que não o representa..."

Lula confia na manifestação

"Lula confia na manifestação de hoje, que vai ocorrer no Estádio do Morumbi..."

Mat Grosso

Mat Grosso, governador do Paraná, defende a realização das eleições diretas..."

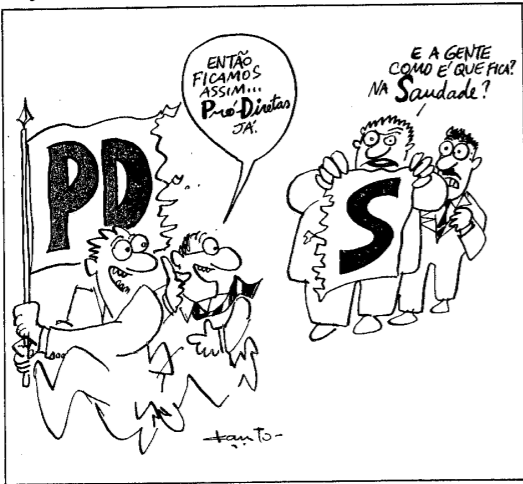
FOUHA DE S. PAULO

Segundo-feira, 16 de abril de 1984 — POLÍTICA — 3

A sucessão pelas urnas

# Diretas-já dependem de Aureliano, afirma Ulisses

O presidente nacional do PMDB, deputado Ulisses Guimarães, afirmou ontem em São Paulo, durante conversa com jornalistas em sua residência, que a aprovação da emenda Dante de Oliveira, que estabelece o pleito direto para a eleição do sucessor do general Figueiredo, depende do vice-presidente Aureliano Chaves. "Se que o vice-presidente seja aprovado, a emenda Dante de Oliveira, se Aureliano fizer valer sua influência e engajar-se firmemente na campanha pró-diretas-já — isso pelo menos é o que o vice-presidente tem defendido em suas muitas recentes declarações —, a dissidência pedebista pode-se ampliar e fornecer os 13 votos faltantes para a aprovação da Dante de Oliveira na Câmara Federal no próximo dia 23.



## Pedestistas revêem sua posição

NÉLIO LIMA  
Repórter do Jornal de Brasília  
O episódio com o deputado Alcides Francisco somou-se ao comício do Rio de Janeiro para diminuir o espaço político do PDS. Isso a menos de duas semanas da votação da proposta de emenda Dante de Oliveira. No partido oficial, só ganhou terreno o Grupo Pro-Diretas. Inúmeras, por parte dos parlamentares governistas passou a achar que, se o governo quer mesmo negociar uma proposta alternativa, esta já deveria ter sido enviada ao Congresso. A noção de exigência de tempo vai tomando conta do partido oficial. O líder na Câmara, Nelson Marchezan, não existe, hoje, a mesma confiança de há quinze dias, quanto à possibilidade de derrotar a emenda Dante de Oliveira. O encontro que teve com os "pró-diretas" na quinta-feira — ainda sob o impacto das denúncias contraditórias do deputado Francisco — levou-o a reavaliar a situação. O quadro que se vai traçando, hoje, ao ministério Leitão de Abreu, na Granja do Ipiranga, não é muito diferente do que havia há três dias, quando se constituíram em pontos de negociação e diálogo.

## Com sua emenda, governo tenta evitar diretas-já

HENRIQUE GONZAAGA JR.  
O alto escalão governamental inicia hoje uma contra-ofensiva ao Congresso Nacional para tentar inverter a tendência pró-diretas-já dos parlamentares. A proposta de emenda constitucional alterando a Constituição de 1964, que estabelece o pleito direto para a eleição do presidente em 1988, mas admitindo negociar sua redução para 1986. O texto enviado ao Congresso Nacional, sob o nome de "Emenda de 1986", prevê a realização de eleições diretas em 1986, mas com a possibilidade de serem adiadas para 1988, caso o Congresso não se pronuncie até o fim de maio. A proposta também prevê a possibilidade de serem realizadas eleições indiretas em 1986, caso o Congresso não se pronuncie até o fim de maio.

## PDS não consegue achar casuísmo mágico

CLÓVIS ROSSI  
Do nosso equipe de reportagem.  
O PDS e o próprio governo, ao menos em seus setores mais lúcidos, já chegaram à conclusão de que não há casuísmo constitucional inerte e capaz de satisfazer a todos os setores do partido. Essa constatação foi feita pelo ministro Leitão de Abreu — ficou evidente durante a série de reuniões entre o ministro e dirigentes do partido para tentar encontrar a fórmula ideal para enviar à Câmara Federal a proposta de emenda Dante de Oliveira, tocada a todo vapor pelas oposições. Nesses encontros, boa parte do PDS propôs a realização imediata de eleições diretas para os Prefeitos das Capitais, enquanto outros setores defendiam o pleito imediato para os municípios considerados áreas de segurança nacional. Surgiu o primeiro impasse: Leitão de Abreu teve de explicar que a grande maioria dos governadores do país se opunha à eleição para as Prefeituras das Capitais, na certeza de que seriam inexoravelmente derrotados. A proposta também se esbarrou com o fato de que a maioria dos governadores do país não se opunha à eleição para as Prefeituras das Capitais, na certeza de que seriam inexoravelmente derrotados.

## Em meio às essas contradições, deve surgir o pacote do governo, propondo eleições diretas para o sucessor de Figueiredo, ainda-se a data em aberto 1988, 89 ou 90, para negociar com o oposição.

Em meio às essas contradições, deve surgir o pacote do governo, propondo eleições diretas para o sucessor de Figueiredo, ainda-se a data em aberto 1988, 89 ou 90, para negociar com o oposição. O texto da proposta é cristalina: como nem o governo nem a oposição tem de 2/3 necessários para fazer aprovar uma emenda constitucional, talvez a oposição se conforme com o mal menor que seria representado pelo restabelecimento das diretas indiretas, mas a prazo relativamente curto. E com o artifício da votação em dois turnos.

## Duas urnas, pró e contra

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## Leitão não nevina dois turnos pelas urnas

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## Por isso mesmo, o artifício emano por Leitão de Abreu é mais complexo

Por isso mesmo, o artifício emano por Leitão de Abreu é mais complexo: ele pretende desquivar a emenda constitucional número 2 (de 1964), pela qual o segundo turno não é nova votação apenas para os dois candidatos mais votados, mas uma definição do Congresso, por meio de uma fórmula que possa ser proposta a oposição para se negociar. Afinal, como diz um dos mais experientes homens públicos do País, o senador balneário Luiz Viana Filho, "nenhum político está disposto a praticar harakiri".

"Aparar diretas é questão de sobrevivência".

## Indiretas preparam explicação aos eleitores

Indiretas preparam explicação aos eleitores. Para os indiretistas empedernidos, essa tese não tem importância alguma. Cada eleitor é uma espécie e, em 1986, o povo nem se lembrará de quem elegeram. O texto da proposta é cristalina: como nem o governo nem a oposição tem de 2/3 necessários para fazer aprovar uma emenda constitucional, talvez a oposição se conforme com o mal menor que seria representado pelo restabelecimento das diretas indiretas, mas a prazo relativamente curto. E com o artifício da votação em dois turnos.

## Outros pedestistas vão fazer o mesmo, como uma espécie de estratagemia de sobrevivência

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## Uma fórmula mágica?

Uma fórmula mágica? Na busca de contradições pedestistas, surgem até remédios já usados antes para confortar impasses institucionais: tanto Herbert Levy como o senador catarinense Jorge Bornhausen, vice-presidente nacional do PDS, apontam na volta do parlamentarismo como solução para a crise. "O que não pode ser resolvido em nível de opinião e em comícios deste ano — e o partido que tem a responsabilidade de despoliticar —".

## "O clima é pró-diretas", reconheceu o pedestista Abraham Dabus, de São Paulo, o que, de resto, se reflete diretamente sobre determinados deputados, obrigados a mudar de posição.

"O clima é pró-diretas", reconheceu o pedestista Abraham Dabus, de São Paulo, o que, de resto, se reflete diretamente sobre determinados deputados, obrigados a mudar de posição. Reconhecendo, o deputado catarinense Manoel Gonçalves, que era pelas indiretas, foi chamado para uma reunião pelo prefeito de Maranguape e nove vereadores, que lhe exigiram uma definição. Gonçalves não teve como escapar: diz que foi eleito com nove mil votos, agora é um dos parlamentares que se dispõe a votar a favor da emenda Dante de Oliveira.

O paulista Herbert Levy, pró-diretas e aurelianoista convinto, reconhece o risco que corre não só o partido, mas principalmente o País, se o governo insistir em remar contra a maré: "Se se insistir nas indiretas, que são repelidas pela maioria, e ainda por cima nos candidatos que têm as maiores possibilidades de ganhar a convenção do PDS (referência óbvia a Maluf e Andreazza), sobre os quais também pesam restrições, estará aberto o caminho para o imponderável".



## De fato, embutida na emenda, está a eleição direta do presidente da República, no dia 15 de novembro próximo, antes do que prevê a emenda Dante de Oliveira (15 de janeiro).

De fato, embutida na emenda, está a eleição direta do presidente da República, no dia 15 de novembro próximo, antes do que prevê a emenda Dante de Oliveira (15 de janeiro). A fórmula é engenhosa porque Maluf observa a Herbert Levy, permite a eleição direta do chefe de Estado mas não do chefe do Governo (o primeiro-ministro), o que pode tranquilizar as Forças Armadas.

## O cipal parece, entretanto, completo demais para ser resolvido por fórmulas mágicas. Mesmo porque, nos casos casuísticos, não há a visão abrangente capaz de compreender as contradições internas no PDS e deste com o N'Co.

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need of gathering more «PDS» congressmen that would be **pró-diretas**.<sup>971</sup> In the right half of the comic strip other two men with scared faces were holding the other section of the flag which contained the letter S, one of them was saying «E a gente como é que fica? Na **Saudade?**»<sup>972</sup> once again the bold element was used to confirm the connection between the word «saudade» and the letter **S** in the flag. The idea was to build a nostalgia aspect around the members of the «PDS» which did not intend to vote for the direct elections as if the support to the militaries was something that stayed behind in the country's history; at the same time presented the fact that inside the situation party there was not a consensus about the topic. Is possible to say that this «FSP» edition had left more explicit than ever its positioning in favor of the agenda and even if the pictures were less present in this edition, the visual elements still had a central role in amplifying the newspaper positioning.

*16/04/1984 – Jornal do Brasil*

In the case of the «JB», on that day, a different proposal to the «Diretas Já» agenda was seen. Considering that during the 1980s the newspaper had lost his relevance in the national scenario, its attention was directed to events that took place in Rio de Janeiro or were part of the government official agenda, in so the march that was scheduled to happen in São Paulo on that day did not have space in the April's 16<sup>th</sup> edition. The main headline presented on the cover was «Government amendment foresees an indirect second round for the direct elections in 1989» and was followed by a four-paragraph text in which was exposed the possibility of a new Amendment created by the military government that would guarantee the not only the indirect elections in 1985, but as well as a possible indirect second round in 1989 in the case that an absolute majority would not be achieved. Only in the last paragraph that Ulysses Guimarães affirmation that was quoted in the «FSP» front cover indicates the possibility that the vice-presidente Aureliano Chaves could pressure the «PDS» towards the pro-direct elections vote on April's 25<sup>th</sup>, although the expression «pro-direct elections» was not present in the «JB» cover, as well as any photograph related to the topic.

The first two internal pages of the newspapers were dedicated to the political newscast of that day. In page number two the main headline was «Ulysses says Aureliano decides direct» and was followed by a small passport photo of the «PMBD» president, Ulysses Guimarães.

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<sup>971</sup> «Pró-directs».

<sup>972</sup> «And what about us? In nostalgia? ».



5. O JORNAL DO SÁBADO, 1984

POLÍTICA

# O dia seguinte é todo dia

**E**ntão, a resposta para quem pergunta se o Brasil vai voltar a ser uma democracia é: "Sim, mas não amanhã". O Brasil vai voltar a ser uma democracia, mas não amanhã. O Brasil vai voltar a ser uma democracia, mas não amanhã. O Brasil vai voltar a ser uma democracia, mas não amanhã.

## Ulysses afirma que Aureliano decide diretamente

**Eid aposta que Maluf sairá candidato do PDS com 70% da convenção**

Maluf - O General Ulysses Guimarães, líder do PDS, afirmou hoje que Aureliano Chaves decidirá diretamente sobre a candidatura dele ao cargo de governador de São Paulo. Ulysses afirmou que Aureliano Chaves decidirá diretamente sobre a candidatura dele ao cargo de governador de São Paulo. Ulysses afirmou que Aureliano Chaves decidirá diretamente sobre a candidatura dele ao cargo de governador de São Paulo.



### Paulistas fazem hoje passeata da Sé ao Vale do Anhangabaú

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Associação Brasileira de Agências de Propaganda Digital

SEMPRE O MELHOR EM BANG BANG

SEGUNDA SEM LEI

7

# Ulysses afirma que Aureliano decide diretamente

## Eid aposta que Maluf sairá candidato do PDS com 70% da convenção



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Associação Brasileira de Agências de Propaganda Digital

The image in poor conservation conditions pictured the face of the opposition leader in a top-to-bottom side angle wearing a suit in a tired expression (*photo 136*). The text that was published alongside the photograph describes the run for votes situation and sees with optimism the forecast of votes. At the final quarter of the page under the secondary title «Paulistas fazem hoje passeata da Sé ao Vale do Anhagabaú»<sup>973</sup> a small reportage detailed what would be the march in the city of São Paulo indicating that even if the organizers expected more than 1 million presents, according to the municipality calculations only 100 thousand could be in the region of the protest. Once again, there is a major concern by the newspapers editors with what would be the better way to calculate the attendance numbers.

Finally, in page number three, a huge advertisement occupied more than half of the page, the other half presented a story detailing the possibility of an indirect second round election in 1989. In none of the internal pages there was any other photograph or visual element expect for the already indicated picture of Ulysses Guimarães. A possible interpretation for the lack of space and attention to the «Diretas Já» agenda in this moment of the country's historical context but also of the newspapers history is connected to the fact that there was material difficulties and constraints that imposed obstacles to a more wide-ranging newscast coverage; this allied to a less engaged attitude towards the topic resulted in a more discreet edition.

*17/04/1984– Folha de S. Paulo*

In the day after the march, the «FSP» proposed an intense news coverage about the event with a complete first page dedicated to it as well as eight internal pages in which the topic has been treated. The front cover had on that day two main headlines, the first one was placed on the top of page and stated, «São Paulo has the biggest rally», the second one was published after the photographs of that day's cover and presented the government proposal to the direct elections' agenda «Figueiredo sends amendment and appeals for negotiation». On the right column of the page a seven-text paragraph presented what the presented analysis considered is the most editorialized first page text published so far; in it the national unity concept (even with the communist parties) had been achieved in the day before, the attendance was once again highlighted, although with a different element, the protest had been so big and so peaceful that the number of persons present were not important any more.

Quantas pessoas foram a passeata? Montoro falou em quase dois milhões, Osmar Santos anunciou 1 milhão e 700 mil, a PM

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<sup>973</sup> «Paulistas march today from Sé to Vale do Anhagabaú».

calculou 1 milhão e meio, o secretário do Planejamento da Prefeitura, Jorge Wilhelm, cita 1 milhão, o repórter Clóvis Rossi (ex-correspondente da “Folha” em Buenos Aires), comparando com a manifestação do último comício de Raul Alfonsín, não acredita em mais de 800 mil. Não importa: o que vale é que jamais houve outra concentração desse nível e sem nenhum incidente a prejudica-la, nenhuma briga, nenhum batedor de carteira.<sup>974</sup>

At the very end of this main first page text, four lines were dedicated to report the president’s announcement in a TV National Broadcast of his proposal for direct elections only in 1988.

In addition to this longer text a second smaller one was published in the very bottom of the page illustrating and detailing Figueredo’s proposal that was send to the National Congress of direct elections to president only in 1988, the reduction in the next president’s term length (from six to four years) and an indirect second round if necessary. Regarding the verbal elements of the page the «FSP» editors view was clearly expressed, the preference was the day before march that had become a rally, the president’s pronunciation in TV and the proposal he had submitted to the Congress were in second plan, although still in first page.

The same logic has been seen in the photograph’s choice in that day’s newspaper edition. In total were published four different pictures in the first page our focus will be dedicated to the biggest one. The image (*photo 137*) had been placed right under the main headline and presented the caption: «O vale do Anhangabaú, às 20h00; mais de um milhão de pessoas preenchem todos os espaços disponíveis, na maior manifestação que a cidade já viu (vista do alto do prédio da Eletropaulo)».<sup>975</sup> The long-distance panoramic picture occupied approximately 1/3 of the page fulfilling almost the entire upper half of it; the shot most probably was made using a wide-angle lens, capturing almost the entire view of the Anhangabaú Valley that was possible to the see from the top of São Paulo’s State Electricity Company building. The valley, that is one of most important squares of the city center, was framed completely full of people, there are however some elements that can be identified such as palm trees that are present in the square, light-posts, the surrounding building’s and, a brighter spot in the right half of the photo indicating where probably was placed the rally’s

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<sup>974</sup> «How many people went to the march? Montoro talked about almost two million, Osmar Santos announced one million seven hundred thousand, the Military Police calculated one million and a half, the City Hall Planning Secretary, Jorge Wilhelm, mentioned one million, the reporter Clóvis Rossi (former correspondent of "Folha" in Buenos Aires), comparing it with the demonstration of Raul Alfonsín's last rally, does not believe in more than 800 thousand. It doesn't matter what matters is that there has never been another gathering of this level and without any incident to harm it, no fights, no pickpockets».

<sup>975</sup> «The Anhangabaú valley, at 8pm; more than a million people fill all available spaces, in the largest demonstration the city has ever seen (seen from the top of the Eletropaulo building)».





stage on that day. Besides these elements, a long banner can be seen in the middle of the image cutting across horizontally the square, is not possible to see what was written on it and, at the same time there was no reference to it in the newspaper's texts. Is our interpretation that the general idea that the «FSP» was proposing with this main photo was remarking the importance, size and relevance of the event, building through the geographical identification of the exactly place where it happened a historical image of that period in the Brazilian history. Finally, the other three images added different layers to this goal, as well as to the notion that the country was an unity in favor of the «Diretas Já»; alongside another aerial image of the march, in this case from its beginning at the «Sé Square», presenting a chronological element, were also two photo from a closer plan, in one were pictured the three State governors that were present in the march as they were walking: Leonel Brizola (Rio de Janeiro), Franco Montoro (São Paulo) and Tancredo Neves (Minas Gerais). The last one was an image of the football player Sócrates, that was in the edge of his transfer to the Italian football team «Fiorentina» and had promised on that day that if the direct election were approved, he would stay in the country.

Regarding the internal pages, the present analysis will be dedicated to four images that were selected according to its relevance in summarizing the general aspects of the «FSP» enunciation and discourse about the march/rally and the final days of the «Diretas Já» campaign. Being that said the first image (*photo 138*) that must be see in detail is the one placed in page number four. Right under the title «Figueiredo proposes direct elections for 88 and appeals to dialogue» a rectangular internal photo occupying approximately 1/8 of the page, divided in two main plans, presented a scene of the meeting in which Figueiredo had, alongside several ministers, discussed and deliberated the Amendment proposal that was sent to the National Congress. The shot made most probably using and wide-angle lens was made in a close distance to the first subject captured, framed in the left-bottom corner and with a little blur. The rest of the scene was composed by eight white (middle aged) men in suits sitting around the president at a large wooden table, in the background there is only one other man standing. Over the table were placed glasses, microphones, and some paper sheets, in the background and behind the president two flags are seen. The caption of the photo has an important interaction factor to the reader, exactly because explains and deepens what was being visually exposed, «Figueiredo reuniu-se com todos os ministros do Planalto para comunicar os termos da proposta de emenda».<sup>976</sup> Nevertheless, perhaps the most important characteristic of this picture was its size, in a comparison with the other one's that will be detailed in the pages

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<sup>976</sup> «Figueiredo met with all Planalto ministers to communicate the terms of the proposed amendment».



to come this one was the smaller; one hypothesis for this is a possible choice that was made by the «FSP» editors in giving less visual importance to the topic connected to Figueiredo. Another possibility is connected to the fact that the texts present in that page were dedicated to details of the Constitutional amendment sent by the President to National Congress proposing direct elections for President in 1988 and the full text of the proposed amendment was also published below the image and on in the following page, this large amount of text might had imposed a limited space to the visual elements on that page.<sup>977</sup>

Page number seven on its turn presented two pictures, the one (*photo 139*) that will be here analyzed is the one placed right under the headline «Governor dedicates his whole day to the act of protest». In the image shot from a medium distance, although proposing a horizontal close-up plan of a section of the demonstrators in the «Anhagabaú valley», almost all were middle-aged white men, some are smiling, others with a serious expression, there is a single beard man that had his right hand covering his face. In the background can be seen flags and a banner, without identifying what was written on them, in the background there are visible parts of a concrete building. The persons in the foreground of the photo seem to be leaning on a fence. Once again, the caption played a central role in triggering a needed interaction between the verb visual elements of the page and the intentions of the «FSP» editors. By stating, «A população de São Paulo saiu novamente as ruas para exigir a imediata volta das diretas»<sup>978</sup> was being suggested and underscored to the reader the presence and importance of the popular element in the protest, in other words, one more time the street element of the movement was being emphasized as discursive form of pressuring the military government and the National Congress towards the approval of the direct elections.

The texts on that page were a mix of emphasis on the unity and happy elements of the day before protest, the one in the right column exposes the cheerful presence of the São Paulo's State Governor Franco Montoro at the demonstration, albeit he was fearful of criticism from «PT» members and state teachers that were on strike. The several smaller texts in the bottom half of the page comment on the opinions and actions of the main political leaders that were present as well as other civil organizations participation. According to them, if on the one hand the «OAB»<sup>979</sup> was present and mobilized in favor of the campaign, on the other hand the

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<sup>977</sup> According to Taschner (1992, p.175) inside the structural reorganization that the «FSP» was undergoing in the first half of the 1980s has been imposed an agreement between the newspapers administrative sector and its editors, these ones would have access to a certain amount of paper each month, a fixed quantity of pages would be given, although the different section of the newspaper would fill in only after the Advertisement sector indicated on each edition what would be the space for the publicity.

<sup>978</sup> «The population of São Paulo took to the streets once again to demand the immediate return of direct elections».

<sup>979</sup> «Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil - Brazilian Bar Association».

A sucessão pelas urnas

Governador dedica todo o seu dia ao ato de protesto

Faz outra, Caetano

WASHINGTON NOVAES  
Especial para "Folha"

Ainda não sou golador, mas já tenho dois anos de treino. Como guerrilha, estranho o pequi, já pesquei no rio Araguaia.

A São Paulo que encontro no dia de sua grande passeata pouco tem a ver com a São Paulo da garça em que vim morar no dia 2 de janeiro de 1963, e onde vivi até 16 de novembro de 1966, quando me mudei para o Rio de Janeiro. Ainda pela cidade de manhã e ainda reconheço meu primeiro apartamento ao lado do Teatro Natal, o segundo na Sebastião Pereira, o Caetano de Campos, a Confeitaria Vienense. Mas quase todo o resto mudou.

A tarde, quando vou em busca da passeata, ainda hesito. Na praça do República, na Sete de Abril, na Xavier de Toledo, o povo ainda parece ter alguma semelhança com os grupos excitados e incontroláveis que, na avenida Ipiranga, na década de 50, procuravam inutilmente Carnaval e as fantasias.

Na rua Direita e na praça da Sé às 9 da tarde, o clima ainda é frio e não parece haver muita gente. Mas já dá para ver que a imensa maioria é jovem, não é classe média e, outra vez, mas me falta coragem.

Desce para o Anhangabá, até a praça do Correio. Ali, aos 8 anos de idade, em 1942, de mãos dadas com meu pai, pela primeira vez me deslumbrei com os luminosos e neon do Vale. Eles ainda estão lá. Mas agora o que me deslumbra e comove é o povo, não a tecnologia. Um dia eles se juntaram e depois de escolher o presidente, serão felizes.

Na esquina de Ipiranga com a São João a adolescente penhorava no peito um sinal vermelho, não tem a deslelgância discreta que o Caetano cantou. Tem uma faixa pelas diretas que considera mais atuante e jornalística do que a faixa do partido. É uma galana.

Faz outra, Caetano. Sampa mudou.

humilhação. Um cartaz empunhado por um senhor expressa tudo: "Passa, que morra você. Nós queremos viver".

Diante da Faculdade de Direito de Largo São Francisco, onde vivi cinco anos, assisto à passagem do povo durante uma hora e dez minutos bem marcados no relógio. É o que vem à memória ainda e a tragédia da morte de Getúlio Vargas — momento no qual ainda parecemos congelados. Na manhã em que o "Repórter Esso" anunciou seu suicídio, em 1964, corri para o Largo São Francisco e ali me encontrei em andamento um comício que pedia sua renúncia. Trinta anos depois, o povo pelo qual ele disse morrer está nas ruas para protestar contra aquelas mesmas coisas que — disse ele na Carta-Testamento — levaram à morte. "Eu quero, eu vou votar para presidente como fez o meu pai", canta o bloco.

Vem uma bandeira de música tocando um dobrão. Oito ou nove companheiros, vestidos de branco, vão cantando e dançando. Depois do baile, de termo de luto branco, dançamos atrás da bandeira do Brasil. O povo não quer mais o homem de lúgubre, tem vontade de sair dançando atrás, outra vez, mas me falta coragem.

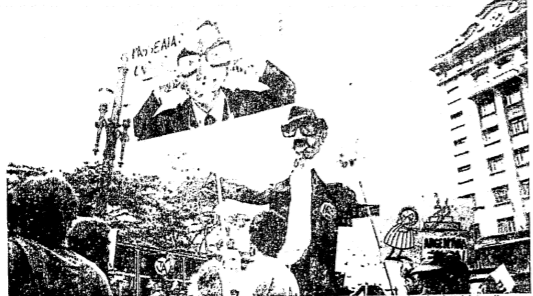
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Faz outra, Caetano. Sampa mudou.



A população de São Paulo saiu novamente às ruas para exigir a imediata volta das diretas.



Mais uma vez Teotônio Vilela foi lembrado nas ruas como um dos símbolos da campanha pela volta das eleições diretas.

Como outras entidades, OAB mobiliza tudo para a campanha

Uma gravata amarela de crochê foi o primeiro acessório que a presidente da OAB seção São Paulo, Alzirio Thomas Bastos, colocou para sair à frente da comissão de organização da passeata. Ela é, em sua opinião, o símbolo da OAB usavam detalhes amarelos em suas roupas durante o trajeto da Sé ao Vale do Anhangabá.

Assessorias desse tipo, entretanto, representam pouco diante do trabalho que a entidade vem fazendo pelo restabelecimento das diretas. Thomas Bastos, ex-funcionário do Departamento de Planejamento da OAB, na praça da Sé, fez uma retrospectiva de 23 anos a entidade tem feito pelas diretas. Um dos pontos de pressão que considera mais atuante é o jornal da entidade, com uma tiragem de 60 mil exemplares mensais.

As lideranças empresariais não foram convidadas. Pelo menos formalmente, como ocorreu por ocasião do comício na Praça da Sé, quando a convocação partiu da comissão organizadora. Esta talvez seja a justificativa para o fato de terem participado da passeata de ontem apenas dois entre os empresários que já se manifestaram pelas diretas, os mesmos que foram à manifestação do dia 23 de janeiro: Paulo Francini, diretor da Fiesp, e Dilson Fumaro, presidente da Frel.

Só dois empresários vão à passeata

Uma festa maravilhosa. Resultado da dinâmica delegatada pelo processo de abertura e sobre a qual as autoridades de Brasília não podem mais contar. "Por isso mesmo a manifestação ganha uma importância maior se seu propósito é obvio".

Francini diz que a sua participação é uma iniciativa pessoal. Não esteve sequer em contato com qualquer outra entidade. "Vejo com muita simpatia a campanha pelas diretas. O movimento é importante em si. Vai além dos sentimentos ideológicos e dos partidos políticos".

Todas as alternativas que se buscam para a institucionalização do regime terão de levar em conta essa intensa mobilização popular, disse Francini. "Há que se ter respeito à isso", declarou apontando para a gigantesca concentração do Vale do Anhangabá. A cartada, para ele, passa a ser a conciliação entre as propostas que chegam ao Congresso e a vontade de popular manifestada nas praças públicas, porque o movimento deve de ser de agremiações ou segmentos isolados da sociedade.

Segundo esse raciocínio, Francini disse que a agenda enviada ontem ao Congresso pelo governo já porou sua importância. "Qualquer solução terá de ser coerente com esse movimento, que se realiza independentemente das lideranças, por uma sociedade

"A Nação não pode ser vencida"

Contemplando o centro da cidade de uma das sacadas do prédio da Secretaria da Cultura, o presidente nacional do PMDB, deputado Ulisses Guimarães, exclamou, poucos minutos antes da grande passeata pelas diretas: "A Nação não pode ser vencida".

Li em baixo, grupos carregando faixas e cartazes podiam ser vistos caminhando em direção à praça da Sé. Correspondentes estrangeiros cercaram o presidente do PMDB, perguntando o que significava para o Brasil aquela manifestação. "São Paulo é a síntese do Brasil", respondeu o presidente do PMDB. "Essa manifestação não é meramente nacional, mas de representação internacional". E explicou por que "a Nação não pode ser vencida". "A eleição direta, para nós, é vital. Significa o primeiro passo para resolver a crise, a fome, a miséria".

O presidente do PMDB não escondia a sua satisfação por ser elogiado de Ulisses "Gólgotes, Diretas, Guimarães, como na véspera a revista "Veja" publicara e agora todos repetiam diante dele. Já de manhã, um encontro com economistas da OAB e depois durante uma reunião com o senador Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Ulisses tinha ouvido a mesma coisa. No começo da tarde, o deputado reuniu-se com o Comitê Nacional Pró-Diretas, na sede da OAB, ao lado da catedral da Sé. No final, caminhou ao lado de Lula, Duailde de Andrade, Hicardo Ribeiro e

o deputado Freitas Nobre até o fim da tarde. Ulisses recebeu muitas parabenizações e aplausos por várias pessoas. Mas estava mesmo preocupado com a meteorologia. "Será que o tempo vai conspirar contra nós?", perguntou.

Brizola e Tancredo comentam entusiasmados

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Francini diz que a sua participação é uma iniciativa pessoal. Não esteve sequer em contato com qualquer outra entidade. "Vejo com muita simpatia a campanha pelas diretas. O movimento é importante em si. Vai além dos sentimentos ideológicos e dos partidos políticos".

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As vésperas de um grande comício de uma grande passeata, o governador Franco Montoro renunciou, desde a manhã, estava excitado, querendo saber de todos os detalhes da organização final da mesma. Com um sorriso permanente, que nem os temores de vaia, manifestados por alguns assessores diretos (final, há a greve do professores e grupos pelistas sempre interessados em manifestar oposição ao governador), conseguiram desman-

Pela manhã, Montoro, entre um e outro despacho administrativo, fez telefonemas para os governadores Tancredo Neves, de Minas, e Brizola, do Rio, mostrando a importância de sua presença no ato que confiara, segundo ele, com mais de um milhão de pessoas. Exatamente com o general Fajrjara, da Casa Militar, o dispôs de segurança. Conversou com Eduardo Henrique (o caso sobre as últimas decisões relativas à passeata mostrava extrema cautela: "Está garantido mais de um milhão de pessoas no Anhangabá". A pergunta "se chover", respondeu: "São Paulo está com as diretas até o Anhangabá".

Ao meio-dia, Montoro presidiu, de terno escuro, a solenidade de abertura de um convênio entre a OAB e o Ministério Público, para a defesa do meio-ambiente, e nem se deu ao trabalho de fazer proclamações pelas diretas. Terminou convocando todos para a passeata. Em seguida, anunciou a nomeação de senador Fernando Henrique Cardoso e do ex-senador Roberto Guimarães com seu filho, e secretário particular, Ricardo Montoro. Tema da conversa a passeata.

Estrategicamente trocou o terno escuro por um blazer claro, camisa azul sem gravata, e abriu seu gabinete para os que estavam chegando de outros Estados para o ato público. O senador Mário Fresta (Acre) e o ex-senador Marcus Freire foram os primeiros a chegar. Neste momento já se tinha a certeza da presença de Tancredo e Brizola. Os dois chegaram às 10h30, tendo demonstrado entusiasmo com a manifestação. O gabinete do governador, neste momento, já começava a encher. Foi quando circulou a notícia, sem confirmação, de que o senador Aloísio Gouveia, líder do PSD no Senado, estava contatando a bancada pedesista sobre a conveniência de se afastar as diretas. Tal é o ministério de Montoro que ele chegou a dizer: "Acho a informação inverossímil, afinal o movimento pró-diretas está irresistível".

Como Tancredo ainda demoraria a chegar, Montoro optou por esperar na Secretaria da Cultura, ponto oficial da passeata. Com Brizola, tempo o micro-films do governo do Estado e a caravana seguiu pela avenida Giovanni Gronchi, avenida das Acélias, subiu a ponte Engenheiro de Almeida Prado, passou pelos Bandeirantes, daí passando pela avenida da Marília chegou ao Vale do Anhangabá. O governador chegou ao Largo São Francisco. Na Secretaria da Cultura, mais personalidades aguardavam Montoro e Brizola.

Os assessores do governador da Secretaria da Cultura, onde os políticos se reuniram antes da passeata, o prefeito Mário Covas, ex-senador Marcos Vinício e o ex-deputado Márcio Moreira Alves e outros se cumprimentaram. Um abraço festivo, refletido o entusiasmo daqueles momentos que precederam a grande manifestação política de São Paulo, o governador, ontem, no meio da tarde, chegou ao Vale do Anhangabá.

Um momento bem diferente daquele vivido pelos dois, no final de 1962, Programa Ferreira Viçosa, na liderança do PMDB e um discurso de Mário e Marquillo, foi usado como pretexto para a eleição de Aloísio Gouveia à. Mas diferente ainda dos dias que se passaram em 1962, quando foram cassados e banidos da vida política nacional por dez anos.

Depois do almoço, Covas já se encontrou com Marquillo várias vezes. Ontem, porém, foi pedido que o prefeito não se apresentasse ao lado do governador. Para ele, aquele abraço foi um exemplo "de recrudescimento da Nação inteira que está ocorrendo hoje, através de uma campanha para de amplos setores da população, sem pretensões de natureza pessoal", na qual, o que espanta, "há o volume de engajamento pelas diretas, mas o isolamento de quem está pelas diretas".

Covas teve ontem uma manhã normal, chegando à prefeitura às 10 horas e atendendo uma comissão de médicos até às 14 horas. Depois, como a passeata não se realizou, ele, em companhia de alguns assessores, seguiu para a secretaria da Cultura. Lá, deu várias entrevistas, trocou seu palete e gravata por uma camiseta amarela, com a inscrição "eu quero votar pra presidente" no peito, e saiu na comissão de frente da passeata. Não sabia o significado do comício. "O mais importante", saltitou, "não é a manifestação dos políticos, mas a manifestação popular".

Com o senador da PDS Eduardo Henrique Cardoso esteve todo o dia de ontem no Palácio dos Bandeirantes, mantendo contato com os governadores Leonel Brizola e Tancredo Neves e aceitando as últimas decisões para a realização da passeata. Mas seu trabalho não parou aí. Depois de sair do Palácio dos Bandeirantes, encontrou Henrique e ajudou a organizar o que seria a comissão de segurança da passeata. Não sabia o significado do comício. "O mais importante", saltitou, "não é a manifestação dos políticos, mas a manifestação popular".

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industrialists were still marginalized, only one representant of «FIESP»<sup>980</sup> has been present and the whole category has not been invited by the organizers to be present on stage. Finally, in the left-hand column a cheesy narrative text with the title «Faz outra, Caetano»<sup>981</sup> presented the author's (Washington Novaes) perspective about the atmosphere in the city during the previous day and ends up asking to the famous «MPB» singer, Caetano Veloso, for a new song about São Paulo and its inhabitants, because according to Novaes the city had changed due to the «Diretas Já» campaign. In an overall aspect this is one of the most editorialized pages of the «FSP» on that day, representing and expressing what were the opinions and intentions of the newspaper's owners and journalists.

The strong and explicit presence of the editors and journalists' opinions in that day's edition can be still seen in the details of page number nine. Right after the title «The colorful city, from Sé square to the Valley» a two-column text started with the following paragraph «Que cessem de uma vez por todas as vozes dos indiretistas. Não haverá argumentos por mais elaborados, que resistam à força do grito uníssono de "diretas-já" que milhares de pessoas fizeram ecoar pela cidade colorida de verde-amarelo da praça da Sé ao Vale do Anhangabaú»<sup>982</sup>, the continuation of it presented a narrative of the march and rally always in a joyful, peaceful and tone of Unity in between all presents, the last paragraph was dedicated to expose the impressions and opinions of some citizens that were there and were expressing their happiness, proud and emotion in being part of that country's historical moment. The text added to the alongside photograph was another demonstration of the newspaper intention in building a consensus around the movement, and on that day specifically, promote the idea of a final agreement between those who had present differences during the previous months and the notion of calm and respect of order that the protest had.

Regarding the main photograph of that page, in a strong deepening angle, the image (*photo 140*) captures a very small white boy sitting on the ground next to a poster resting on his feet on which the word «president» is read; next to him were published two other smaller images from different moments of the demonstration. The child in the photo was wearing shorts, a dark t-shirt and a hat, his hands indicate that he seems to be applauding something else; the shot added by the caption, «O aplauso do menino, a alegria das bandas e o humor da

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<sup>980</sup> «Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo - São Paulo State Industries Federation».

<sup>981</sup> «Make another one, Caetano».

<sup>982</sup> «Let the voices of the indirectists cease once and for all. There will be no arguments, however elaborate, that can resist the force of the unison cry of "diretas-já" that thousands of people echoed throughout the city colored in green and yellow, from Sé Square to Anhangabaú Valley».

A sucessão pelas urnas

A cidade colorida, da praça da Sé ao Vale

Que cessem de uma vez por todas as vozes dos indietistas. Não haverá argumentos, por mais elaborados, que resistam à força do grito uníssono de "diretas-já" que milhares de pessoas fizeram ecoar pela cidade colorida de verde-amarelo, da praça da Sé ao Vale do Anhangabá. E foi com vívida emoção, jamais vista, que de mãos dadas, erguidas para o céu, que todos cantaram o Hino Nacional Brasileiro, acompanhados da Orquestra Sinfônica Municipal de Campinas. Mas o povo também dançou ao som da "Valsa do Imperador" de Strauss, e formou o maior coral deste País para cantar, em primeira audição, a Sinfonia Eleitoral nº 1, composta pelo maestro Benito Juárez. "Diretas-já—já—já—já", dita sua única estrofe.

Não há como negar. A cidade jamais viu tanta gente reunida numa festa cívica, que se espalhou por toda a praça da Sé, tomou as ruas do centro velho e penetrou no Vale do Anhangabá, como se estivesse tornando um território. O passado se prova disso: Ademar de Barros, em 48, não reuniu tanta gente no mesmo Vale; nem a imagem de Nossa Senhora de Fátima, em 57, atraiu tantas pessoas, no mesmo local; e também a paixão do brasileiro não foi tão forte para comemorar as Copas 58, 62 e 70.

Desde às 13 horas, a Sé já havia se transformado em uma grande tribuna no livre, abrigando as mais diversas correntes ideológicas. No centro do "trio-elétrico" discursaram representantes do PMDB, PCB, PT, PRT e PTB. O povo aplaudia, indistintamente, sem voar. E novamente formou um coro improvisado para acompanhar Chico Buarque de Hollanda em "Agora de Você", e entoou alto o refrão de "Menestrel de Alagoas", indiscutivelmente o hino das diretas-já. E o velho senador Teotônio Vilela foi homenageado, caracterizado num bonco com 4 metros de altura, que abriu a comissão de frente da Sé no Anhangabá.

"Olhe, minha gente, o nosso senador está presente", gritava Usmar Santos, o leucor das diretas.



Uma outra comissão deixou nos rostos molhados pela garoa fina e nos comentários: "Foi a coisa mais linda que vi em minha vida", dizia emocionada dona Adolinda Marinho, 58 anos, viúva. "Pensei que jamais veria alguma coisa assim tão emocionante e forte", disse Mariana Vilela, 17 anos, estudante. "Dá um orgulho demais da gente se beneficiar", dizia emocionado José Aparecido Bastianello, 54 anos, operário na construção civil, decemembrista.

Conforme a sala vai se enchendo, a euforia vai tomar conta da "linha de frente", que logo se formará lá atrás. O senador Severo Gomes não tem mais dúvida: "Se a emenda passar na Câmara vai ser impossível o Senado segurar". Mesmo com os ânimos? pergunta o repórter. "Mesmo com eles. Se ficar dependendo do Senado, quem voltar contra vai ter a porta de sua casa saçada, não vai conseguir atravessar a rua de sua cidade nem para ir ao banheiro".

Encontros inesperados: Ademar de Barros Filho cruza com Márcio Moreira e dispensa as apresentações: "Eu o conheço e me lembro muito bem da última vez que o vi", numa referência ao fatídico mês de dezembro de 1968. Tarciso Neves cumprimenta Lula ao sair do elevador com um longo abraço e, perguntado se a manifestação que se daria a seguir seria decisiva, responde imediatamente: "Todas essas concentrações de rua têm tido um peso muito específico na aprovação da emenda."

As 17h10 o grupo se desloca para os elevadores que ordenam, com dificuldade, iam levando as personalidades democraticamente abertas para a rua. Frente para a batalha a linha dos puxadores do desfile ainda teria que esperar um pouco na rua Libero Badaró.

Expectativa na concentração dos membros da Comissão de Frente

"Você precisa voltar logo ao Rio de Janeiro?" pergunta alguém ao compositor Chico Buarque de Hollanda. "Não, eu preciso voltar logo", responde ele. O diálogo travado às 13h de ontem no prédio da Secretaria de Estado da Cultura mostra o clima na concentração dos políticos e artistas que formarão a Comissão de Frente da passeata: descontração, tranquilidade e expectativa.

Por volta das 16h40 estavam misturados no 12º andar do prédio da Secretaria — o segundo arranha-céu construído em São Paulo — e o primeiro em estilo "art deco", conforme explica o secretário Jorge Cunha Lima — os governadores Franco Montoro e Leonel Brizola (logo depois chegaria Tarciso Neves), Ulisses Guimarães, Lula, Zélia Alveti, Sérgio Ricardo, Júlio Medaglia, Walter Franco, Chico Pardo, Miguel Arraes, José Gregori, Fátima de Belém, Gofredo da Silva Telles, Djalma Bom, Severo Gomes, Hélio Bicudo, John Herbert, José Carlos Dias e Fernando Henrique Cardoso, entre outros.

Chico Buarque comenta a maciça adesão dos artistas à luta pelas diretas, que não teria ocorrido com o mesmo vigor em outras bandeiras democráticas anteriores: "Antes da saída por exemplo, o peso do medo era muito grande".

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O aplauso do menino, a alegria das bandas e o humor da faixa levada pelo burro sintetizam o clima de descont

faixa levada pelo burro sintetizam o clima de descontração e criatividade da passeata»<sup>983</sup> are, in our interpretation, a perfect synthesis of the main objective of the movement beyond the possibility of directly vote for president, that is to say, build a transition process to the democracy in which the main emotions would be happiness and playfulness, in opposition to an anger and a condemnatory tone that was present in other sectors of the Brazilian society at that moment. In brief, the «Diretas Já» was asking to vote for president and not to condemn or prosecute the militaries that, during almost two decades conducted the country with violence and authoritarianism. As is being demonstrating so far, the newspapers under analysis were actively acting in favor of this way of looking and proposing for political changes in the country. To this an extra ideological layer must be added that is the inclusion of a liberal perspective in this new consensus and reconciliation that was being built, placing itself in favor of the historical power bloc, protecting it from any subaltern alternative.

In page number ten, the last one that will be under analysis in this section, has been published several texts that presented different moments, elements and aspects of what had happened in São Paulo's city center during the previous day. The main headline of the page was «Teachers now sing for the election» in a reference to the category that was strike in the state of São Paulo during some weeks of the movement for the direct elections; the text in the upper third of the page describes their orderly and pro-directives participation, setting aside their critics and demands to governor's Montoro term. Is important to underscore that also this text (without being signed by a specific reporter) presented a strong opinion element as can be seen in the second paragraph

Inicialmente, como bons alunos, eles obedeceram às diretrizes do comando de greve, integrado pelas entidades representativas de professores, diretores e supervisores e não gritaram slogan nem empunharam faixas sobre suas reivindicações salariais.<sup>984</sup>

The lower two thirds of the page consisted of smaller texts that described and presented parallel details, such as, for example, the open critic that was made towards television coverage of the event. After the title «Televisão não transmite ao País toda a grandeza da manifestação»<sup>985</sup> was

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<sup>983</sup> «The applause of the boy, the joy of the bands and the humor of the banner carried by the donkey sum up the relaxed and creative atmosphere of the march».

<sup>984</sup> «Initially, like good students, they obeyed the directives of the strike committee, made up of entities representing teachers, headmasters and supervisors, and did not shout slogans or hold up banners about their salary demands».

<sup>985</sup> «Television does not convey the full grandeur of the demonstration to the country».



published a text in which a strong tone criticized the approach that most of the TV channels in the country proposed to the march. The final paragraph of it stated

Apesar da cobertura fragmentada da chamada mídia eletrônica, feita de má vontade e ainda descaradamente oficialista, foi possível ao telespectador que acompanhou os flashes das várias emissoras e a transmissão direta da Gazeta ver, no vídeo, exatamente às 20h30, o choque entre os dois Brasis: o do povo, alegre e decidido, nas ruas clamando por eleições diretas-já e o dos palácios de Brasília que em rede nacional anunciou a continuidade do que aí está.<sup>986</sup>

The presence and the tone of this story and paragraph in the pages of the «FSP» represents a synthesis of how the narrative and discourse of the newspaper had escalated during the months that the movement was on the country's streets emphasizing that the unity, happiness, streets pressuring power, the deinstitutionalization that it represents should be explicitly considered by televisions network and other mainstream press organs as the hegemonic political attitude that the Brazilian population must embrace. Moreover, in saying that there were two different faces of the country in conflict there was no mention to the contribution that the «FSP» had given during the previous decades to the arrival and maintenance of the militaries in power.

On the top of the page, the main picture of the page (*photo 141*) was dedicated to the teacher's participation in the protest. The vertical rectangular image captured a large group of people on a narrow street in the city center; the medium-sized agglomeration was composed mainly middle-aged men and women that seemed to be walking while carrying a banner that stated, «directs now». In the background of the photo that covered around 1/6 of the page surface, a concrete building can be seen, as well as some railings. The caption was reinforcing the cohesion element that had already been presented in the alongside reportage text, «Na passeata, o magistério omitiu propositalmente as reivindicações da categoria»<sup>987</sup>, once again a strategy used by the newspaper to reinforce the element of union in the country as well as including the participation of an important social category schoolteachers. Although, at least in the discourse, the total inclusion was of the mains goals of the movement, in practically was

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<sup>986</sup>«In spite of the fragmented coverage by the so-called electronic media, made unwillingly and still shamelessly official, it was possible for the viewer who followed the flashes from the various networks and the direct broadcast from Gazeta to see, on video, exactly at 8:03 p.m., the clash between the two Brazils: that of the people, happy and determined, in the streets clamouring for direct elections-now, and that of the palaces in Brasilia that announced on a national network the continuity of what is there».

<sup>987</sup>«In the march, the teachers purposely omitted the demands of the category».

A sucessão pelas urnas

Professores cantam agora pela eleição

O entusiasmo que caracterizou suas últimas manifestações parece distante daquelas 300 professoras, ainda em greve, da rede estadual, que se reuniram à tarde diante da Secretaria da Educação, na praça da República, dispostas a participar da passeata-comício. Mas outra vez as aparências enganaram: as duas e talvez milhares de colegas, só que individualmente e não em grupo, acabaram tendo parte ativa na manifestação.

Inicialmente, como bons alunos, eles obedeceram às diretrizes do comando de greve, integrado pelas entidades representativas de professores, diretores e supervisores, e não gritaram slogans nem cumprimentaram faixas sobre suas reivindicações salariais.

Porém, como se sabe, não são os últimos 15 dias tiveram suas letras adaptadas à causa das eleições diretas. "É diferente, é diferente/ quero votar por presidente", "Não, não, não no colégio do João", "Diretas já, diretas já/ o professor também quer votar", "O moral é imoral/ esse Colégio Eleitoral", e "Mamãe eu quero, mamãe eu quero/ votar/ num presidente, num presidente que não seja militar".

Eram 15h30, quando a passeata do magistério, tendo à frente o bloco com o nome de suas entidades representativas sob o lema "Diretas já - Magistério presente", começou a se dirigir à praça da Sé. Ao percorrer a rua Barão de Irapetinho, a passeata foi engrossada sobretudo por estudantes e chegou a aproximadamente mil manifestantes na altura do largo São Francisco.

Na rua Libero Badur, Naquela altura eles cantavam: "Vai acabar a ditadura militar" e "E



Na passeata, o magistério omite propositalmente as reivindicações da categoria

Televisão não transmite ao País toda a grandeza da manifestação

As sete emissoras de televisão de São Paulo não mostraram, mas uma vez, para os milhões de telespectadores do Estado e do Brasil, toda a grandeza da passeata-comício. A cobertura jornalística melhorou em relação às manifestações anteriores, na Capital e no resto do País, mas, assim mesmo, uma cobertura fragmentada, com flashes esporádicos ou então contida burocraticamente nos telejornais.

Com exceção da TV Gazeta — por sinal a que dispõe dos menores recursos humanos e técnicos e que transmite para a Capital —, todas as outras emissoras deturpam de leve ao ar, direto e ao vivo, a caminhada do povo e todos os fatores da concentração no Anhangabaú. O acontecimento exigiu que pelo menos uma emissora oferecesse aos telespectadores do Brasil uma cobertura completa, ininterrupta, já que o fato jornalístico e político do dia não estava nos desenhos e nas tele novelas, mas nas ruas de São Paulo.

A TV Globo fingiu redimi-se das fracassadas anteriores e fez uma área central todo o seu poderio de equipamentos e repórteres: 10 unidades de gravação ao vivo e 20 equipes de reportagem. Transferiu inclusive para São Paulo toda a direção de jornalismo da emissora, que fica sediada no Rio. A Globo colocou equipes no trajeto da passeata, sobre os prédios, em caminhões-elocubros da Eletropaul e num helicóptero. Mas tudo isso não resultou em um trabalho digno da emissora, porque ela não interrompeu sua programação normal e os flashes rápidos ficaram restritos ao Estado de São Paulo, através do "Globo Cidade".

Desenhos e novelas Quem rodasse o botão do televisor às 18h00 (momento em que o vale do Anhangabaú já estava lotado) viu a comissão de frente da passeata chegando ao palanque oficial encontrado no vídeo a seguinte programação: TV Manchete, desenho animado; TV Record, filme de aventuras; TV Globo, novela; TV Bandeirantes, desenho; TV Studio, novela; TV Gazeta, desenho; TV Cultura, programa feminino.

Somente após essa hora a TV Gazeta, com imagens gravadas pela TV Cultura, passou a transmitir sem interrupção, com a apresentação de dois artistas e os discursos dos governadores e dos presidentes dos partidos de oposição. E assim mesmo a TV Gazeta foi prejudicada pela

Correspondentes se entusiasma

Amo como estiveram presentes jornalistas de toda a Europa, Estados Unidos e Japão. Depois de acompanhar a passeata, da praça da Sé ao Anhangabaú, a opinião quase unânime dos correspondentes estrangeiros é de que o Congresso não poderá fazer insensível à pressão popular em favor das diretas já. Era impossível calcular o número de pessoas presentes ao Anhangabaú. A cada meia hora os jornalistas estrangeiros acrescentavam algumas dezenas de milhares de pessoas às suas contagens. Segundo o correspondente da UPI, a grandiosidade do comício realizado no Rio de Janeiro e deste de São Paulo está dando ao Brasil, na imprensa internacional, o mesmo espaço diário que ocupou pelas notícias do Oriente Médio. Segundo o correspondente da UPI, da ABC dos Estados Unidos e da Associated Press, da BBC de Londres, Sunday Times, Information da Dinamarca, TBS de Tóquio, entre outras, as imagens deste comício serão levadas a quase todos os países.

Demonstração incoerente Os incoerentes serão informados da

Apesar do excesso de passageiros, transporte funciona sem problema

A população atendeu os apelos feitos pelo DSV e pelo governo do Estado durante toda a semana, deixando seus carros em casa e lotando os transportes coletivos gratuitos. Como resultado, até as 16 horas de ontem, quando foram coloados blocos em 32 pontos de trânsito ao centro da cidade, o trânsito esteve normal, sem congestionamentos significativos. É certo que, com a chegada de grande número de pessoas à praça da Sé e vale do Anhangabaú, o trânsito nas imediações dos blocos começa a apresentar certa incoerência, como nos avvenidos São João e Pirajuru, ou ainda na av. Caspary Libero.

Alguns congestionamentos foram verificadas em locais onde aniram passadas isoladas, como a dos professores, na Praça da República, que procurava atingir as áreas do comício.

Mas, de acordo com o Comando de Policiamento de Trânsito, "Apesar da nossa expectativa de congestionamentos, o trânsito de São Paulo está muito bom, tranquilo, mais bonito do que imaginamos", avulso o tenente Rondon, no início da noite.

O DSV deslocou 200 policiais e 15 viaturas para a Operação Comício, para garantir a segurança e explicar os esquemas alternativos. Outros 300 policiais de trânsito cuidaram do movimento nos bairros próximos ao centro. Para o fim da passeata e do comício, o DSV também montou um esquema especial para dar vazão às áreas ocupadas da área da passeata e do comício. A partir das 15 horas, a CMTV passou a transferir vários terminais de ônibus. No entanto, apesar de existirem cartões afixados em todos os pontos da região, explicando a mudança de trajeto e a transferência dos terminais, era muito grande a confusão, principalmente entre as pessoas que queriam embarcar para a zona Leste.

O diretor de Operação da CMTV, Francisco Christovam, explicou que, no início, uma certa confusão já era esperada. "Mas depois, o povo se acostumou". E, realmente, a partir das 17 horas, não foi registrado nenhum problema de passageiros que não encontravam seu local de embarque. Esta normalidade da situação encontrou seu local de emprego na Companhia de Engenharia de Tráfego (CET), do DSV e da CMTV. No total, foram transferidas 117 linhas e 2.500 ônibus.

As 15 horas, quando o Metrô liberou suas catracas, o movimento de embarque de passageiros foi muito maior do que o de desembarque, nas estações da Sé, São Bento, Liberdade, Anhangabaú e República. No entanto, às 16 horas, esta situação se inverteu completamente. As composições começaram a chegar lotadas de pessoas com faixas, bandeiras e roupas amarelas. As 17 horas, o clima já era de festa nas estações próximas às áreas da passeata e do comício. Na Sé, os manifestantes já



Em minutos, faixas, o pedido de legalização das agremiações políticas clandestinas

Tuma vê Anhangabaú "coberto de vermelho"

"O verde do vale do Anhangabaú foi coberto pelo vermelho das bandeiras nos partidos de esquerda". Este foi o modo enconrado pelo superintendente regional da Polícia Federal, delegado Romeu Tuma, para informar Brasília do comício da Capital, já que não tinha condições de fazer uma estimativa sobre o número de pessoas que estava no local.

Para Tuma, "a massa de pessoas que ocupou um espaço físico muito grande é uma clara demonstração da capacidade de mobilização do Partido dos Trabalhadores e do Partido Comunista do Brasil (PC do B)". Ele ressaltou ainda que o número de participantes não era tão importante. O que está em jogo segundo Tuma, é uma disputa entre dois blocos: aquele formado pelo governador Leonel Brizola e o dos políticos do PMDB. Antes do início da passeata-comício, Tuma afirmou que não havia incidentes, embora todos os agentes PF tivessem sido colocados em posição de alerta. Desde o início da tarde, eles já estavam distribuídos em áreas previamente delimitadas, apoiados por um helicóptero.

As informações que chegavam ao gabinete da Superintendência Geral de Polícia em Brasília, ao Ministério da Justiça e a outros órgãos de informação do governo federal. Das informações preocuparam o delegado Romeu Tuma: o lançamento, por um dos seis helicópteros (três estavam a serviço da polícia estadual), que sobrevolavam a região central, de centenas de pequenos panfletos com as dizeres: "Solte um rolo pelas diretas. Dia 24 de abril participe do debate do barulho (teve) da votação da emenda"; e o roubo de dois caminhões com duas caixas de pólvora, cinco milibés em condutores

PF vigia artistas e políticos e torce para chover bastante

Espalhados na multidão, todos os agentes da Superintendência da Polícia Federal em São Paulo acomodaram panharam a passeata e o comício. Altraves de rádio-transmissores, os policiais observavam os fatos e informavam sobre a movimentação. Os nomes dos políticos, notadamente os ligados ao governador, foram cuidadosamente transmitidos para a central. As bandeiras nas cores "cacaúdas" pelos olhos atentos dos agentes, que utilizam óculos de proteção também eram emitidas pelos agentes, a exemplo de um que reclamava que "os manifestantes levam as faixas do lado esquerdo e não do lado direito".

Os artistas também tiveram seus nomes anotados pelos federais. Jogadores de futebol igualmente foram percebidos. As 16h30, quando quatro atletas do Corinthians, acompanhados por um policial, chegaram à praça da Sé, um policial fez sua transmissão: "Os jogadores Síntese, Mauro, Zé Maria e Vladimir estão chegando". O operador da central não pôde anotar todos os nomes e pôde: "Repita a escalação".

Para os policiais, a surpresa de um dia bastante tranquilo

O policiamento de toda a região ficou sob responsabilidade da PM, que mobilizou 2 mil homens: 500 para atuar na região do Heliário da passeata, 500 para atuar em cada uma das 17 horas com o objetivo de proteger o patrimônio, e o restante, policiais femininas e bombeiros. O coronel Goulart não demonstrou preocupação, logo no início, com um comício daquela dimensão. Afirmando ter prática por ter trabalhado em grandes concentrações, como futebol e carnaval, a Polícia Municipal de controle, caso algum policial se excessasse ao receber ofensas da população, ele afirmou ter designado um tenente para comandar cada grupo de 30 policiais.

O comandante-geral da Polícia Militar do Estado, coronel João Pessoa do Nascimento, atribuiu à tranquilidade como tudo aconteceu: "ao fato de que todos estavam em um mesmo objetivo". Diante da perplexidade do repórter com o fato de não haver ocorrências nem com bateladas de carteiros, o delegado-sectional Márcio Prudente Cruz sorriu: "Diretas já, meu caro".

A Polícia Civil não armou nenhum esquema para a região, a não ser algumas viaturas deslocadas para o local por solicitação de delegados da Divisão de Comunicação Social da Secretaria da Segurança Pública.

Partidos ilegais obtêm espaço

Os partidos políticos clandestinos de brigas talvez em função das incidentes no Rio de Janeiro, onde uma faixa de seu partido foi rasgada por integrantes do PDT sob as ordens do governador Brizola: "Ninguém é dono da campanha das diretas. Devemos lutar para que todas as tendências políticas possam se expressar com absoluta liberdade".

Na 2ª Exército

O expediente no QG do 2º Exército estava tranquilo e dentro da rotina. O general Sérgio de Ari Pires permaneceu o dia todo em seu gabinete, conversando com os oficiais. O futuro comandante do 2º Exército, general Sebastião Ramos de Castro, percorreu as seções do Estado-Maior para conhecimento dos problemas da área. Nenhum dos dois generais falou a explicação dada pelo oficial de ligação com o comandante do 2º Exército aos jornalistas que buscavam entender um ou outro fato sobre a passeata de Anhangabaú pelas diretas. Esse oficial comunicou que a passeata de comando do 2º Exército ocorreu no dia 4 de maio, às 10 horas, no QG do 2º Exército, com a presença do ministro do Exército.

A primeira, o general Ramos de Castro, que tinha o seu regresso a Brasília marcado para 15 de maio, não quis manter os mesmos cronômetros nas chefias das seções do Estado-Maior, bem como os oficiais-adjuntos. Haveria mudança em uma única seção e na chefia do Estado-Maior, cujo posto seria ocupado pelo general Luís Carlos Dória, em substituição a Carlos Tinoco Gomes, que vai comitar a Brigada de Belo Horizonte. A noite, permaneceram no QG apenas alguns oficiais e o pessoal especializado.

Com o comício feito as portas". Com o comício de Belo Horizonte e letra P do alfabeto outros agentes percorriam as imediações das faixas e informavam sobre a movimentação. Os nomes dos políticos, notadamente os ligados ao governador, foram cuidadosamente transmitidos para a central. As bandeiras nas cores "cacaúdas" pelos olhos atentos dos agentes, que utilizam óculos de proteção também eram emitidas pelos agentes, a exemplo de um que reclamava que "os manifestantes levam as faixas do lado esquerdo e não do lado direito".

Os artistas também tiveram seus nomes anotados pelos federais. Jogadores de futebol igualmente foram percebidos. As 16h30, quando quatro atletas do Corinthians, acompanhados por um policial, chegaram à praça da Sé, um policial fez sua transmissão: "Os jogadores Síntese, Mauro, Zé Maria e Vladimir estão chegando". O operador da central não pôde anotar todos os nomes e pôde: "Repita a escalação".

O delegado afirmou ter caído drasticamente o registro de ocorrências em todos os oito distritos policiais que abrangem aquela área, mostrava-se admirado pelo fato de o 1º Distrito Policial, sempre com movimento intenso em dias normais, ter estado "completamente tranquilo".

A Polícia Civil não armou nenhum esquema para a região, a não ser algumas viaturas deslocadas para o local por solicitação de delegados da Divisão de Comunicação Social da Secretaria da Segurança Pública.

Os dirigentes dessas agremiações estavam em São Paulo, onde se encontravam durante o comício no vale do Anhangabaú. Mas, no clima de festa e confraternização que marcou a manifestação, as mudanças foram esquecidas. Luciano Pinho, do Colegiado Nacional pré-legalização do PCB, chegou a observar: "Essas pessoas desconhecem o meu nome, não sabem quem sou, mas não sabem quem sou".

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Repórter de rádio e repórterem



Na passeata, o magistério omite propositalmente as reivindicações da categoria

not the same, especially because the illegal political parties were kept aside from officially participate of the movement. That was indicated in the other texts in the page deal with the issue of transport, security and the participation of illegal parties that had covered the city center in red.

*17/04/1984 – Jornal do Brasil*

The «JB» edition of that same day places itself as a good example of what the last text that has been analyzed in the previous edition of the «FSP» called as a shamelessly official coverage to the events related to the «Diretas Já» because the engaging level of other press organs was not the same as the one presented by the São Paulo's newspaper. In an overall, even if dedicating the whole front cover of that day to the events held in São Paulo, the coverage made by the «JB» had a more serious tone and less emotional. Although presenting an inversion in the order or relevance of the agenda topics, in the first page of that day's edition were also published two headlines. At the top of the page the title was «Figueiredo proposes direct elections in 88 with a mandate of 4 years and reelection», the one placed in the bottom of the front cover was «Diretas Já unites 1 million 300 thousand people in Anhagabaú in São Paulo». The first one detailed Figueiredo's proposal for a two-round election (second indirect) in 1988 and was followed by quotes from the president's statement on TV at the same moment of the rally in São Paulo's streets. The second one was dedicated to the description of the protest; once again the data in relation to the number of people present was highlighted, as well as who were the main political leaders present. Nevertheless, the most relevant verbal element was a Tancredo Neves's phrase that carried in the State of Minas Gerais governor's words choice also a synthesis of the political intentions of the movement. By stating, that «Chegou a hora de libertarmos esta pátria desta confusão que se instalou no país há 20 anos»<sup>988</sup> Tancredo was once more pointing out that the movement desire and intention was not to build a strong rupture with the militaries, that was expressed in the word «confusion» instated of dictatorship or military regime.

Regarding the photographs published in that first page, in comparison with the «FSP» the number of images was different, the «JB» presented only two of them, however they had occupied approximately the same space in the page, half of it. Both were horizontal images, the first one (*photo 142*) placed at the top of the page just below the first headline and text, exposed the ministerial meeting attended by Figueiredo, six white men in suits (ministers),

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<sup>988</sup> «It is time to free this homeland from this mess that was installed in the country 20 years ago».



sitting around a large wooden table, the Brazilian flag in the background divided a group of four ministers from the president, on the table can be seen glasses, papers, microphones and some dishes. Only the subject in the very foreground and out of focus on the left is looking at the president, the others have their gazes spread across the scene and none look at the photo. The caption had once again the role of informing and detailing who were those that were present in the meeting «Pires, Karam, Abi-Ackel, Aureliano, Figueiredo e Leitão de Abreu, na reunião ministerial que aprovou a proposta de emenda para as eleições diretas»<sup>989</sup>. The second photograph (*photo 143*) presented was an aerial panoramic view of the «Anhangabaú Valley» most probably shot from one of the surrounding buildings that in that region of the city are very tall. The valley was completely occupied by the crowd, can also be seen some banners, and lights from the rally stage, as well as other elements of that part of the city are identifiable such as the Municipal Theater as indicated in the second caption, «No maior comício do país, a multidão lotou os jardins diante do Teatro Municipal (D, ao alto) e se estendeu ao longo do Vale do Anhangabaú».<sup>990</sup> According to the order of presentation of the image's and the tone in the texts we might affirm that the goal of registering the country's historical moment was, as in the case of the «FSP», one of the «JB» editors goals, nevertheless the Rio de Janeiro's newspapers demonstrated already in its front cover a coverage that was closer to the institutional information of the regime rather than to the «Diretas Já» movement organizers.

The number of internal pages dedicated to the agenda was smaller if compared to the «FSP». In the case of the «JB», pages from two to six treated the march/rally held in São Paulo. The first internal page had as main headline Tancredo Neves's phrase that was already underlined «Tancredo wants to free the country from "confusion"». In the text immediately below the headline, Tancredo's speech is taken up again to reinforce his position and the notion that, for the leaders of the movement, a national unity had in fact been built in favor of the direct elections. In a more official tone, the text refers to Tancredo's statement that affirmed the fact that the «Diretas Já» was now making a movement towards the National Congress, that is to say in a returning to the institutionalization of the agenda «Esse movimento há de penetrar no Congresso Nacional e fazer entender aos parlamentares que o povo que escolher seu Presidente o mais rápido possível»<sup>991</sup>. The other texts in that page had described the route, the

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<sup>989</sup> «Pires, Karam, Abi-Ackel, Aurelianos Figueiredo and Leitão de Abreu at the ministerial meeting that approved the proposed amendment for direct elections».

<sup>990</sup> «In the country's largest rally, the crowd packed the gardens in front of the Municipal Theatre (D, top) and stretched along the Anhangabaú Valley».

<sup>991</sup> «This movement must penetrate the National Congress and make parliamentarians understand that the people must choose their President as soon as possible».



tension that the three state governors that were present felt during the march and the presence of several red flags in the rally.

The unique rectangular picture (*photo 144*) that was printed in that page was taken with a telephoto lens at long distance, occupying approximately 1/8 of the page, presents a scene that happened during the march. In it the persons framed in the foreground, at the bottom of the image were slightly blurred, with their gaze towards the group focused on the center of the image, such group brings together the main political leaders of the movement; only one woman can be seen, the others were white men wearing white shirts. The «PT» flag element that appears in the center of the photo in fact divides the two leaders mentioned in the caption, «Na comissão de frente do comício, uma bandeira do PT separa Tancredo e Montoro»<sup>992</sup>, however, the flag is held by someone in the crowd and the game of perspective puts it in the middle of the front committee, in the background of the photo is visible an iron door closed and four other flags waving, one of them is another «PT» flag. This image was focused in placing in the newspapers pages those who were the political leaders of the movement, the institutional part of the «Diretas Já»; so far, in a different enunciation key to the one that was proposed by the «FSP» there were few elements of the people in the streets.

This will change in page number three, under the headline «São Paulo holds the largest rally in the country for direct elections» was published a vertical picture (*photo 145*) of the «Anhangabaú Valley» filled, several banners and flags were visible. In the background, the exit of the Anhangabaú tunnel, some trees and tall buildings of the city center can be seen in a perspective that flattens the planes, indicating the use of a tele objective lens and mostly taken from the top of the «Viaduto do Chá». In the case of this image, is present an enhancement of the generic and unifying aspect of a scene in which the city's population had retaken the streets after decades of authoritarianism, marking once again the historical element of the protest and the campaign for the direct elects. The caption was used to reinforce this aspect «Mesmo antes da chegada da passeata pelas diretas, a multidão já ocupava uma enorme área ao longo do Vale do Anhangabaú».<sup>993</sup> Nevertheless, the photographs and the texts of that day's «JB» edition does not present a so explicit opinion and preference as was seen in the «FSP».

The two texts that were published in that page alongside the photograph, were dedicated to a description of what was called the «last big rally» before the voting day of the Dante de Oliveira Amendment in National Congress. Also detailed the presence of only three opposition

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<sup>992</sup> «At the front of the rally, a PT flag separates Tancredo and Montoro».

<sup>993</sup> «Even before the arrival of the march for the directives, the crowd already occupied a huge area along the Vale do Anhangabaú».





governors: Tancredo Neves, Leonel Brizola and Franco Montoro. Again, has been exposed the situation of the opposition parties that were still illegal and because of that were once again prohibited by the organizers from officially participating in the demonstration. In a secondary text, placed on the right side of the picture, has also been detailed the fact that the Governor Montoro has been booed during the rally what resulted in a shorter speech made by him. Further on in a different key that was seen in the «FSP» the text describes the strong criticism that the São Paulo's governor received from teachers and «PT» members who were on strike during those weeks. These can be interpreted as examples of the sober and more institutional coverage that the «JB» was proposing on those days, keeping a more discreet and less engaged or compromised tone regarding the political agenda of the country.

Finally, in page number four, the last one that will be analyzed in this section, was placed also the smaller picture (*photo 146*) of that day's edition. In the same table as the front cover photo, Figueiredo was pictured leaning over the table with his left arm outstretched as, according to the caption, he receives the text of the amendment from the minister. However, the medium distance american plan that occupied around 1/10 of the page, totally focused and proposing a very protocol president agenda photograph, the image looks more like if the president was asking to the Minister to pass him something, rather than receiving an object or sheet of paper in his hands. Is also a rather protocol photo. The caption was reinforcing the opposite idea «Figueiredo recebe de Leitão de Abreu o texto da emenda constitucional»<sup>994</sup>.

The main page's text, after the headline «Figueiredo proposes two-round direct elections for 1988» details the president's proposal for the direct elections and the reaction of some «PDS» governors. In an overall, was a rather protocol report, in line with the government's official discourse, but at the same time was building a major narrative in the «JB» historical sequence of an active participation in the «Diretas Já» pressuring movement against the militaries. The text box on the right upper half of the page was completely dedicated to the president's TV announcement from the previous day underlining a sentence in which he declared: «Não devemos nos precipitar».<sup>995</sup> In the second half of it is probably the verbal element that is most interesting to the present analysis, in that section of the page has been published the complete text of the justification of the Amendment sent to National Congress by the President. This fact isolated would already compose a strong official and governist element of «JB» attitude towards the specific moment the country was undergoing, especially

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<sup>994</sup> «Figueiredo receives from Leitão de Abreu the text of the constitutional amendment».

<sup>995</sup> «We should not rush into anything».

2 ... 17/04/1984 ... POLITICA ... FEDERAL DO BRASIL

### Figueiredo propõe para 1988 as diretas em dois turnos

**“Não devemos nos precipitar”**



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### Presidente pede ao Congresso que aprimore seu projeto

... PDS tenta apressar leituras  
... A Assembleia de São Paulo  
... Figueiredo recebe de Leites de Abreu o texto da emenda constitucional

# “Não devemos nos precipitar”

Brasília — Luciano Andrade



Figueiredo recebe de Leites de Abreu o texto da emenda constitucional

if in comparison with the space and attention that the movement itself was receiving. Nevertheless, in our interpretation it is important to quote a long paragraph of the Amendment justification because of its rhetorical synthesis strength of what has been the government enunciate on democracy during a dictatorship

A lei, manifestação da vontade popular, não provém diretamente do eleitorado. É produto, pelo contrário, da manifestação de vontade dos seus representantes “**Todo o poder emana do povo e em seu nome é exercido**”. Com apoio nesse dogma – fundamento da nossa organização política – os representantes do povo fazem a lei. Mas não fazem somente a lei: procedem à reforma da própria Constituição. Isto é: criam normas hierarquicamente superiores as da lei. O próprio poder constituinte originário – aquele que emana de uma Constituinte, especialmente convocada para instaurar uma nova Constituição não é poder exercido diretamente pelo povo. Expressa – sim – de modo indireto vontade que se presume ser a do povo. Esta é manifestada usualmente pelos constituintes, ou seja: pelos delegados eleitos pelo povo para fim específico. Para o fim de instituir sem limitação jurídica a Lei Suprema do País, a sua lei fundamental.<sup>996</sup>

Figueredo’s Amendment proposal provides important elements that closes a circle of the institutional legitimation process that the militaries had created from the beginning of the dictatorship through the practice of Institutional Acts as the tool used to give a veneer of officialdom to the regime. In brief, in referring to the law and the Constitution in its proposal, Figueiredo was reinforcing the need of respecting the legislation when considering the demand for direct elections in the following year, what would make the maintenance of indirect elections until 1988 as the possible legal path to the country. By retaking the Constitution as the fundamental law, it was retaken the contradictoriness of the militaries towards what can be called and enunciation regarding the respect to the law, especially if it is considered that the dictatorship has as its initial mark a rupture in the democracy and the Constitution in 1964.

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<sup>996</sup> «The law, manifestation of the popular will, does not come directly from the electorate. On the contrary, it is the product of the manifestation of the will of their representatives: "All power emanates from the people and is exercised in their name". Based on this dogma - the foundation of our political organization - the people's representatives make the law. But they do not only make the law: they reform the Constitution itself. That is: they create norms hierarchically superior to the law. The original constituent power itself - that which emanates from a Constituent Assembly specially convened to establish a new Constitution - is not power exercised directly by the people. Rather, it indirectly expresses the will that is presumed to be that of the people. This is usually manifested by the constituents, that is: by delegates elected by the people for a specific purpose. For instituting without legal limitation, the Supreme Law of the country, its fundamental law».

## Chapter 9 – Field and counter-field, Tancredo Neves election and death

The defeat of the «Diretas Já» movement with the rejection in parliament of the Amendment proposed by Dante de Oliveira in April's 25<sup>th</sup> of 1984, exposed the military's political strength in keep the returning process to a democratic regime under their control. In so, the slow, gradual, and negotiated path to the return of a civilian to the country's presidency has been guaranteed and followed until January of 1985. After some months of political negotiation and bargain between the «PDS» and the opposition, mainly the «PMDB» and the «PFL»<sup>997</sup>, the Electoral College<sup>998</sup> endorsed the victory of the Minas Gerais State ex-governor, Tancredo Neves, as the new President of the Republic. Tancredo's indirect election has only become possible because of a process of dissent within the «PDS». The government candidate, the ex-governor of São Paulo State, Paulo Maluf did not have the consensus inside of the party and a group of dissidents voted in favor of the opposition candidate. At the end of the election process, Tancredo Neves received four hundred and eighty votes, meanwhile, Paulo Maluf had one hundred and eighty votes. The election of Tancredo represented also the rejection of the so-called «revanchismo»; «Com efeito, o denominado “revanchismo”, que nada mais era do que investigar as graves violações dos direitos humanos pelo regime e esclarecer a questão dos desaparecidos políticos não germinou»<sup>999</sup> (NAPOLITANO, 2014, p. 310), indicating the success of the negotiate transition so desired by the military in a double front. First in guaranteeing in parliament the needed majority to the denial of the Dante de Oliveira Amendment and later, with the negotiation strength to do not allow a less consensual candidate.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of August 1984, «PMDB» and «PFL» had formalized and publicized the «Aliança Democrática»<sup>1000</sup>, an agreement between the opposition parties (PMDB, PDT, PTB and the new PFL) that created an electoral roll presenting the presidency candidature with Tancredo Neves (PMDB) and, as vice, José Sarney (PFL). In the case of the vice-president candidate, Sarney has joined into the «PMDB» trying to avoid any future problem with the Electoral Justice or boycott from his former party, «PDS». Right after the announcement of

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<sup>997</sup> «Partido da Frente Liberal – Liberal Front Party». This new party has been the result of the dissent process inside the «PDS», gathering the ex-members of the government party that were looking for a new political space to place themselves in the new Brazilian political design in which was no longer so strong the group that was explicitly in favor of the military.

<sup>998</sup> From 1964 on the Electoral College was composed by the members of the National Congress (479 Deputies and 69 Senators) and also by 138 delegates from the State's Legislative Assemblies. In total, were 686 those who had the right to vote and indirect chose the President.

<sup>999</sup> «which was nothing more than to investigate serious human rights violations by the regime and shed light on the issue of the political disappeared did not germinate»

<sup>1000</sup> «Democratic Alliance».

who would be the Alliance candidates, has been published a letter with the title «Compromisso com a nação»<sup>1001</sup>, in which some goals to the upcoming country's years were indicated as a commitment such as: fighting inflation and unemployment, settling the foreign debt and agrarian reform, as well as changes in the national programs dedicated to social security, housing and education.<sup>1002</sup> The idea was to explore the nation's union and consensus spirit that has been extremely boosted during the «Diretas Já» campaign. At the same that the Tancredo's candidature was aiming the left-wing oppositions, it has been extremely cautioning with the militaries remains and different political arrangements focusing on a future Ministers composition was already in play during the last months of 1984. In November of 1984 the «TSE»<sup>1003</sup> had decided that the principle of «party loyalty» was not applicable in the Electoral College, this fact allowed that the congressmen which had left the «PDS» into the dissenting «PFL» to vote for Tancredo/Sarney candidature.<sup>1004</sup>

During the electoral campaign and process, the political conciliator aspect of Tancredo has been continually underscored as his major asset in that moment of the country's context. Nevertheless, the Ministries organization revealed the weakness of it, especially in frustrating the opposition objectives after two decades of the militaries in power. In a heterogeneous composition, were present the ex-militaries allies, Aurelianos Chaves (Energy Ministry); Antonio Carlos Magalhães (Communications Ministry); Olávo Setúbal (Foreign Affairs). The «PMDB» occupied the Ministry of Agriculture with Pedro Simon; the Ministry of Planning with João Sayad and Ministry of Labor with Almir Pazzianotto.<sup>1005</sup>

Although, after being elected Tancredo was unable to take up the office. In the first half of March 1985, the elected President had to undergo an emergency surgery after felling strong abdominal pain when returning from a long international tour. From that moment on, he no longer left the hospital and after forty days of hospitalization died on April's 21<sup>st</sup> of 1985. Frustrating the nation's will of seeing him as President, although the office would still be occupied by a civilian president after more than twenty years of Military Dictatorship. José Sarney member of the «PFL» but ex-member of the «PDS» assumed the government trying to

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<sup>1001</sup> «Commitment to the nation».

<sup>1002</sup> More details about the genesis and composition of the «Aliança Democrática» are available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdac/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-tematico/alianca-democratica> Access: 25/09/2022.

<sup>1003</sup> «Tribunal Superior Eleitoral - Superior Electoral Court».

<sup>1004</sup> Available in:

[https://www.justicaeleitoral.jus.br/++theme++justica\\_eleitoral/pdfjs/web/viewer.html?file=https://www.justicaeleitoral.jus.br/arquivos/tse-resolucao-12017-principio-fidelidade-partidaria/@@download/file/TSE-resolucao-12017-principio-fidelidade-partidaria.pdf](https://www.justicaeleitoral.jus.br/++theme++justica_eleitoral/pdfjs/web/viewer.html?file=https://www.justicaeleitoral.jus.br/arquivos/tse-resolucao-12017-principio-fidelidade-partidaria/@@download/file/TSE-resolucao-12017-principio-fidelidade-partidaria.pdf) Access in: 20/09/2022.

<sup>1005</sup> Available in: <http://memorialdademocracia.com.br/card/eleicao-de-tancredo-poe-fim-a-ditadura> Access in: 20/09/22.

deal with the swelling in the ministries that has been made aiming a consensus and balance in the new government between the opposition and the militaries remains. The difficulties in keep the «Democratic Alliance» together were constantly growing after the 1985's elections. The victory defeating the militaries in the Electoral College has been its most significant act, in so the alliance existed until 1987, being dissolved after a new political reorganization among the right-wing parties. Is important to highlight the fact that Sarney' government has been turbulent, although was carried until the end, after a new Constituent Assembly and Constitution in 1988, direct elections were held, and Fernando Collor de Mello became the new president from 1989 on and the Brazilian New Republic was born, inheriting several problems and traumas.

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First of moving on to the detailed analysis of the press coverage on Tancredo's election and death is important to underscore some general aspects that can be seen through the analysis table that we propose. In first place, there is a consolidation of the extensive use of photographs in some dates and events that acquire a historical status or are called this form by the newspapers. In addition to this, another important aspect is the difference between the newspapers in the photographs use, if in one hand the «FSP» dedicated forty-one pages to the agenda in the four issues analyzed, having published a hundred and three photos in its internal pages, at the other hand, the «JB» in dedicating thirty-fives pages to the agenda published fifty-nine images. This fact might indicate the need of giving more space to advertisements on the «JB» case and the technical possibility of printing more images, or even more pages in each issue in the «FSP's» case. Finally, a last initial aspect that shows be fundamental at this point of the present analysis is, in both cases in not even one headline, secondary title, internal page, or caption the word «dictatorship» had been used, exposing, and symbolizing the layers of discursive control that the militaries were capable of putting on the mass media in the country. The mentioning of the word «dictatorship» had only appeared in the moments in which an article or interview had quoted someone else's discourse.

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Case / Data	Tancredo's death	TOTAL
<b>Period analysed</b>		
<i>JORNAL DO BRASIL</i> <sup>1006</sup>	15/01/1985; 16/01/1985; 21/04/1985; 22/04/1985	
N° of front pages	4	
N° of headlines	4	
N° front page photos	(2)15/01/1985; (2)16/01/1985; (1) 21/04/1985; (1) 22/04/1985	6
Main headlines	«País em festa ganha hoje novo Presidente» (15/01); «Tancredo: só há pátria com democracia» (16/01); «Americano afirma que Tancredo não tem cura» (21/04); «Tancredo morreu» (22/04)	
N° of internal pages	(5) 15/01/1985; (16)16/01/1985; (2)21/04/1985; (12)22/04/1985	35
N° of internal photos	(7) 15/01/1985; (12)16/01/1985; (2)21/04/1985; (38)22/04/1985	59
Main internal tittles	«Tancredo já admite escolher ministros militares»; «Voto da vitória deve ser dado a Tancredo às 11h30»; «Figueiredo e Tancredo dão início amanhã à transição» (15/01); «Tancredo supera os dois terços»; «Tancredo promete mudanças profundas e irreversíveis»; «Figueiredo cumprimenta Tancredo e lhe deseja êxito»; Ulysses saúda Tancredo como estuário da democracia»; «Pesquisa mostra que 70% da população apóiam Tancredo»; «Povo toma conta da rua e faz Carnaval da vitória»; «Encontro da esperança com a democracia faz a grande festa» (16/01); «Diagnóstico de americano desengana Tancredo» (21/04); «Coração de Tancredo parou às 22h23min»; «Vigília de esperança chega ao fim com um desafio»; «Fatalidade entrega os destinos do país a Sarney»; «A longa trajetória dedicada ao sonho inacabado»; «Ele ajudou a fazer três décadas de história do país»; «Um homem firme e conciliador, com visão de estadista»; «Um estilo político posto em palavras»; «Sarney diz que objetivo agora é preservar Aliança» (22/04);	
<i>FSP</i> <sup>1007</sup>	15/01/1985; 16/01/1985; 21/04/1985; 22/04/1985	
N° of front pages	4	4
N° of headlines	4	4
N° front page photos	(3)15/01/1985; (2) 16/01/1985; (1) 21/04/1985; (2) 22/04/1985	8
Main headlines	«Colégio referenda Tancredo: país acompanha sem suspense» (15/01); «Acabou o ciclo autoritário; Tancredo é o 1° presidente civil e de oposição desde 1964» (16/01); «Filho admite que Tancredo pode ir aos Estados Unidos» (21/04) «Tancredo Neves está morto; corpo é velado no Planalto; Sarney reafirma mudanças» (22/04)	
N° of internal pages	(11) 15/01/1985; (15) 16/01/1985; (2) 21/04/1985; (13) 22/04/1985	41
N° of internal photos	(23) 15/01/1985; (18) 16/01/1985; (0) 21/04/1985; (62) 22/04/1985	103

<sup>1006</sup> «Jornal do Brasil, the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> of January of 1985. N°s 280, 281. Year XCIV. The 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> of April of 1985. N°s 13 and 14. Year XCV».

<sup>1007</sup> «Folha de S. Paulo, the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> of January of 1985. N°s 20.376 and 20.377 Year 64. The 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> of April of 1985. N°s 20.472 and 20.473. Year 65».

Main internal titles	<p>«Após 21 anos, o Brasil terá hoje um presidente civil»; «Tancredo compromete-se com governadores da Frente»; «Amanhã, no Planalto, Figueiredo recebe o eleito»; «Tancredo, a lenta e segura ascensão de um conciliador» (15/01);</p> <p>«Eleição de Tancredo encerra o ciclo militar»; «Presidente eleito pede um grande mutirão nacional»; «Sai de São Paulo o voto para a vitória da Aliança»; «Para Ulysses a democracia já está enraizada no País»; «Com Carnaval e buzinas, Brasília faz sua festa»; «Na Sé, multidão comemora a vitória de Tancredo» (16/01);</p> <p>«Filho admite levar Tancredo aos Estados Unidos» (21/04);</p> <p>«Tancredo morre em São Paulo às 22h23»; «Com emoção, Britto comunica o desfecho esperado»; «Partidos de oposição apoiam permanência de Sarney»; «Sarney, ex-lider do PDS, chega à Presidência no PMDB»; «Tancredo deixa imagem de político hábil e conciliador»; «O político Tancredo revela os planos do candidato»; «Uma vida dedicada à política de conciliar extremos»; «Um ano decisivo para a transição democrática»; «Das diretas às indiretas, doze meses de campanha»; «Dia após dia, o País acompanha o drama de Tancredo»; «A morte imita a arte»; «Não há desespero em São João del Rey, só tristeza» (22/04).</p>	
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<p><b>Main headlines Translation</b></p> <p>«Folha de S. Paulo»</p>	<p>«Electoral College referendum Tancredo: the country follows without suspense» (15/01);</p> <p>«The authoritarian cycle is over; Tancredo is the 1st civilian and opposition president since 1964» (16/04);</p> <p>«Son admits Tancredo may go to the United States» (21/04);</p> <p>«Tancredo Neves is dead; body is mourned at the Planalto; Sarney reaffirms changes» (22/04).</p>
<p><b>Internal headlines Translation</b></p> <p>«Folha de S. Paulo»</p>	<p>«After 21 years, Brazil will have today a civilian president»; «Tancredo compromises with governors of the Front»; «Tomorrow, in the Planalto, Figueiredo receives the elected»; «Tancredo, the slow and sure rise of a conciliator» (15/01);</p> <p>«The election of Tancredo ends the military cycle»; «President-elect calls for a great national effort»; «The vote for the victory of the Alliance comes out of São Paulo»; «For Ulysses, democracy is already rooted in the country»; «With Carnival and honking horns, Brasília celebrates»; «At the Cathedral, the crowd celebrates Tancredo's victory» (16/01);</p> <p>«Son admits taking Tancredo to the United States» (21/04);</p> <p>«Tancredo dies in São Paulo at 10:23 p.m.»; «With emotion, Britto announces the expected outcome»; «Opposition parties support Sarney's permanence»; «Sarney, former leader of the PDS, arrives at the Presidency in the PMDB»; «Tancredo leaves an image of a skillful and conciliatory politician»; «The politician Tancredo reveals the candidate's plans»; «A life dedicated to the politics of conciliating extremes»; «A decisive year for democratic transition»; «From direct to indirect, twelve months of campaign»; «Day after day, the country follows Tancredo's drama»; «Death imitates art»; «There is no despair in São João del Rey, only sadness» (22/04).</p>



<b>Main headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	« A country in celebration today gains a new President» (15/01); «Tancredo: there is only homeland with democracy» (16/01); «American claims Tancredo has no cure» (21/04); «Tancredo died» (22/04) .
<b>Internal headlines Translation</b> «Jornal do Brasil»	«Tancredo already admits to choosing military ministers»; «Victory vote should be given to Tancredo at 11:30»; «Figueiredo and Tancredo begin the transition tomorrow» (15/01); «Tancredo surpasses two thirds»; «Tancredo promises deep and irreversible changes»; «Figueiredo greets Tancredo and wishes him success»; «Ulysses hails Tancredo as an estuary of democracy»; «Research shows that 70% of the population supports Tancredo»; «People take over the street and make Carnival of victory»; «Encounter of hope with democracy makes the big party» (16/01); «Tancredo disillusioned by American diagnosis » (21/04); «Tancredo's heart stopped at 10:23 p.m.»; «Vigil of hope comes to an end with a challenge»; «Fatality hands over the country's destiny to Sarney»; «A long trajectory dedicated to an unfinished dream»; «He helped make three decades of the country's history»; «A firm and conciliatory man, with a statesman's vision»; «A political style put into words»; «Sarney says the objective now is to preserve the Alliance» (22/04).

*Folha de S. Paulo – 15/01/1985*

In the first issue of this last group of editions that will be putted under analysis, the agenda that occupied most of the space and effort of both newspapers has been the voting day in Brasília. In brief, the January 15<sup>th</sup> of 1985 entered to the Brazilian History as the day in which the Electoral College created by the Military Dictatorship was reunited one last time to elect the first civilian President. As has been presented, after years of political negotiation this day represented the peak of a long political process, in so the main headline of the «FSP» on that day was, «Electoral College referendum Tancredo: the country follows without suspense».

The text that occupies almost the entire right-hand column of the newspaper's front page is dedicated to explaining the details of how the voting in the Electoral College would work on that day. The article presents the number and status of the voters and the fact that the candidates and representants of their political groups would open the event with a speech each. In the case of the «PSD» the candidate Paulo Maluf would speak and in the case of the «Democratic Alliance» Tancredo Neves and the leader of the movement, the Senator Ulysses Guimarães, would speak. The last two paragraphs of the text detailed Tancredo Neves' agenda and present the main points to be dealt with in the newspaper's edition, such as information on the electoral college, candidates' profiles, and a political analysis.

In the upper half of the page and below the pictures of each candidate, the short texts present quotes from them. In the case of Maluf (PDS) placing himself as one of the pillars of democracy alongside Tancredo. The latter, in its turn, had declared that indirect elections would only be forwarded after a new Constituent. The five secondary titles in the bottom of the page

deal with issues of international news, as well as national agendas, the most relevant for the present analysis revolves around the secondary title «Frentistas querem oito ministérios»<sup>1008</sup> highlighting the request of the members of the «PFL» to have eight ministries in Tancredo's government.

The rectangular and horizontal photo (*photo 147*) that occupies approximately 1/5 of the page frames a crowd. From the reading of the caption is possible to contextualize it, «Uma bola verde-amarela diverte a platéia do Rock in Rio; hoje; o sistema de som do rockódromo transmite a votação em Brasília».<sup>1009</sup> Due to the use of a tele objective lens, the image has its plans flattened, the background is blurred, and the crowd seems even more compact. Most of the photographed and sharply focused faces have their gaze directed to the green ball in the air. This composition creates the notion that the crowd, synthesis, and resumption of the public of the rallies for direct elections had the same socio-political objective. In other words, by placing an image of the «Rock in Rio» concerts on the front page of the newspaper two goals were achieved, the people (or the middle class) have been represented alongside the political leaderships in the upper part of the page, as well as its objective in consensus. This, in turn, a new page in the country's history, symbolized in the green-yellow ball, the national flag colors were highlighted instead of any political party colors or flags. In last place, is necessary to indicated that the two smaller pictures placed in the upper half of the front page presented the two candidates in joyful expressions, as if that day could be seen a sort of happy end to the nation.

Regarding the internal pages of that day's «FSP» edition, page number four present some interesting elements to the present analysis. Under the rubric «A eleição do presidente civil»<sup>1010</sup> the whole page was dedicated to it, describing in detail the steps of the voting process. The main headline in that page was «After 21 years, Brazil will have today a civilian president». The texts that were present on this page tried to give to the reader an overview of what voting day in Brasilia would be like, the part placed below the headline is dedicated to the details of the voting procedure of the Electoral College. Just below the main picture were exposed in the following text the issues that will be addressed in the candidate's or their representatives' speeches. In the lower half of the page two different texts present the agenda of the previous day of each one of the candidates, finally, a third text describes the events of

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<sup>1008</sup> «Frentistas want eight ministries».

<sup>1009</sup> «A green-yellow ball entertains the Rock in Rio audience; today; the rockódromo's sound system transmits the voting in Brasília».

<sup>1010</sup> «The election of the civil president».

# Colégio referenda Tancredo; País acompanha sem suspense



Paulo Maluf recebe um beijo do filho Otávio após a coletiva concedida no Hotel San Marco



Tancredo bate palmas durante a inauguração de uma agência do Bancoop em Brasília

### Maluf se considera um pilar de sustentação da democracia

"Não adianta chorar o leite derramado". Este foi um dos muitos desabaços do deputado Paulo Maluf aos jornalistas durante sua última entrevista coletiva antes da eleição de hoje, no quartel-general da campanha, no Hotel San Marco, em Brasília. Sem esconder a impressão de fracasso, ele se referia à dissidência pedobrista, que

### Tancredo descarta diretas-já, mas aceita eleição em capitais

Eleições diretas para a Presidência da República, "só depois da Constituinte". É o que defende o provável futuro presidente, Tancredo Neves. Ele não tem "nenhuma restrição" à realização de eleições diretas para prefeitos das capitais e estâncias hidrominerais ainda este ano. Mas ressalva: "Esta terá de ser uma decisão do

Hoje, às 9 h, o Colégio Eleitoral começa a escolher o primeiro presidente civil desde a deposição de João Goulart, em março de 1964. Tancredo Neves, candidato da Aliança Democrática, é o franco favorito; seu adversário Paulo Maluf, candidato do PDS, já admite a derrota, em entrevista a este jornal.

O Colégio Eleitoral é composto por 686 membros, sendo 479 deputados, 69 senadores e 138 delegados das Assembleias Legislativas. Um deputado, com certeza, não comparecerá: é Júlio Cururu, do PDT fluminense, em estado de coma. O vencedor será o candidato que obtiver pelo menos 343 votos, a maioria absoluta. Pelos levantamentos realizados até agora, Tancredo Neves atingirá este número por volta do meio-dia, quando a bancada de São Paulo estiver votando.

O processo eleitoral começará com o encerramento da votação, em dois discursos de no máximo vinte minutos cada um: falará em primeiro lugar o deputado Paulo Maluf, em nome do PDS; em seguida, o deputado Ulysses Guimarães, em nome da Aliança Democrática. Depois, os votos: primeiro a votar é o presidente do Senado, Moacyr Daltro, seguido pelos demais membros da Mesa; depois, a menos que uma questão de ordem proponha que Maluf, Marcello e Sarney votem rapidamente, para que em seguida possam retirar-se e acompanhar a votação em outro local, serão chamadas as bancadas de cada Estado, do Norte para o Sul. A primeira bancada a votar é a do Acre (último em votar é a de São Paulo). Depois os deputados, finalmente os delegados da Assembleia Legislativa (última a do Rio Grande do Sul).

No Congresso só poderão entrar os membros do Colégio, funcionários e jornalistas credenciados. A ordem de que a sessão seja pública será atendida com a transmissão ao rádio e televisão. Como o plenário é insuficiente para acomodar todos os membros do Colégio, vários milhares de TV foram espalhadas pelo Congresso, para que se assista à sessão sem aglomerações. Tancredo acompanhará a votação no salão instalado no Heliporto Petrólio Portella, do Senado, no auditório Nereu Ramos, da Câmara.

Apresentando em seu Gabinete, o candidato Tancredo Neves se reúne, por uma hora, em sala, com os governadores da Aliança Liberal. Comprometem-se a votar nas indicações que farão à eleição de Tancredo, por exemplo, se o governador do Piauí, Hugo Pinheiro, não quiser.

Uma das informações sobre a eleição do Colégio Eleitoral, a que traz também o perfil dos candidatos e seus vices, a avaliação da campanha pelas diretas e cinco meses de disputa dos 686 membros do Colégio, que o próximo ano encontrará e enviados especiais relatam a expectativa dos brasileiros em Alameda (PA), o João Del Rey (MG), São Borja (RS) e Barra do Garças (MS).

PÁGS. 4 a 14

### Opinião da Folha

Leia na pág. 2 as opiniões do último Colégio Eleitoral sobre a situação política do Brasil. A respeito da "Dissidência e atuação interna", mostramos a opinião dos deputados e jornalistas que votaram no Brasil e a necessidade de privilegiar o consenso e a produção de leis.

### Israel decide retirar suas tropas do Líbano

Os três mil soldados de Israel que ocupam o sul do Líbano deverão retirar-se nos próximos meses, decidiu o governo israelense, após negociações com o exército sírio. A retirada das tropas de Israel ocupa o sul do Líbano desde 1982.

### FOVEST 85

Lista de classificandos das Faculdades Objetivo

A Fovest 85, Folha de Vestibular, publicou hoje a lista de classificandos no vestibular das Faculdades Objetivo (com as de Odontologia e da área de Humanidades, no local de prova da Santa Casa de Misericórdias de São Paulo). PÁGS. 25 e 26

### Estudantes e professores ainda ocupam a Unimep

Professores, funcionários e alunos mantiveram a ocupação da maioria da Universidade Metodista de Piracicaba (Unimep) em protesto contra a rejeição de seu plano de Boleverias. Eles pretendem ficar lá até que a rejeição seja reconhecida.

### De Leon chega ao Parquet, com sirenes e foguetório

Sua chegada ao Parquet foi marcada por sirenes e foguetório. Leon Américo, 40, demonstrou irritação quando perguntado sobre os motivos que o levaram a sair do Grêmio.

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### Tempo

Previsão para São Paulo, com chance de chuva para amanhã e para o dia seguinte. Para o resto do Estado, com chance de chuva para amanhã e para o dia seguinte. Para o resto do Estado, com chance de chuva para amanhã e para o dia seguinte.



Uma bola verde-amarela diverte a platéia do Rock in Rio; hoje, o sistema de som do rockódromo transmite a votação em Brasília - Págs. 29 e 36

### Desastres de trem matam mais de 600

Dois acidentes ferroviários - um na Etiópia e outro em Bangladesh - deixaram um saldo de cerca de seiscentos mortos.

### A doença de Tchernenko adia reunião

Um trem procedente de Adis Abeba, a capital etíope, com destino à cidade de Dire Dawa, descarrilou e projetou-se no abismo, matando 200 pessoas e ferindo mais de quinhentas. Aparentemente, o maquinista não conseguiu controlar a locomotiva, que entrou em alta velocidade numa curva fechada.

### Começa hoje instalação dos abrigos

Os três primeiros abrigos em pontos de ônibus, de um total de 4.018 aprovados pelo prefeito Mário Covas, serão instalados hoje no Jardim das Oliveiras, em São Miguel Paulista, zona Leste. Os abrigos - tema da primeira reportagem da série De pra resolver - são feitos em estrutura modular de concreto com cobertura de telhas de cimento amianto e têm custo unitário de Cr\$ 1 milhão.

### Emissão de moeda supera a inflação

Pela primeira vez em quatro anos, a expansão da base monetária - emissão de moeda - superou a inflação. Os números oficiais de dezembro, divulgados pelo Banco Central, ultrapassaram as previsões mais pessimistas. Pelo cálculo das médias, usado pelo BC, a expansão do mês foi de 27,7%, e a anual de 131,4%. Porém, pelo critério das altas máximas, utilizado pelo FMI, o avanço no mês foi de 37,8%, elevando o índice anual para 247,9%. O País havia-se comprometido com a FMI a limitar a expansão da base em 64,9%.

### Frentistas querem oito ministérios

A Frente Liberal reivindica oito ministérios no governo de Tancredo Neves. A relação dos nomes que serão indicados pelos frentistas está em uma lista anexa ao senador Marco Maciel (PDS-PE), 44 anos, encabeçada na sala de imprensa do Senado após uma entrevista à televisão.

Em Washington, o porta-voz da Casa Branca, Larry Speakes, disse que os EUA não incluíram no projeto "guerra nas estradas" (armas antimísseis no espaço).

PÁGS. 29 e 30

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PÁGS. 29 e 30



Uma bola verde-amarela diverte a platéia do Rock in Rio; hoje, o sistema de som do rockódromo transmite a votação em Brasília - Págs. 29 e 36

FSP - 15/01/1985  
Photo 147

the day before in the National Congress. The last lines of this text must be highlighted, in it was present a synthesis of the atmosphere in which the dictatorship was coming to an end, «Sem alegria, sem tristeza, sem guerra, sem festa, sem nenhuma grandeza: foi assim que terminou o regime de 64».<sup>1011</sup> In our interpretation this few lines presented a clear notion of how the slow and negotiate transition into the democracy had generated a lethargic sensation.

The main picture (*photo 148*) in that page was a panoramic image in a clear deepening angle. The photo exposed the empty hall of the National Plenary, ready for the next day's events. In the rectangular and totally sharp photo is possible to see on the lower floor the National Congress Presidency's table, as well as the chairs reserved for the parliamentarians, through the architectural details the identification of the place is easier. However, the symbolic value of the presence of such an image in the newspaper stands out, since the Congress has been closed in different occasions during the dictatorship, and there were stronger limitations in the access and reproduction of internal images. The image's caption has been responsible of generating a connection between the verbal and visual elements of that page, «O plenário da Câmara, onde os integrantes do Colégio Eleitoral votarão a partir das 09hs, sessão presidida por Moacyr Dalla».<sup>1012</sup> As final element of this page, the two smaller photos were dedicated to images of two deputies that according to the text in the bottom of the page were the center of the attention in the previous day, in brief, these images concluded a narrative circle in the page.

The attention in half of page number six was dedicated to new political arrangements that were already been made aiming what would be the political composition of a future Tancredo's term. In addition to it, the other half of the page exposed the opinions of the government candidate Paulo Maluf. Albeit the main page's headline was «Tancredo compromises with governors of the Front». The main text of the page, in the left-hand column, was dedicated to the meeting of the candidate Tancredo with governors of the Northeast region. According to the text, on that occasion he committed himself to dedicate some administrative positions in his government to members of the «PFL», and at the end is described that a new meeting was scheduled for February. This report presents a good example of the way in which the political forces in the country were reorganizing with the end of the dictatorship. At the same time, the rest of the page is dedicated to the situation of Paulo Maluf (PDS) presenting his statements on the eve of the elections, in which he reinforces the fact that alongside Tancredo he was responsible for the new democratic bases of the country. In addition,

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<sup>1011</sup> «No joy, no sadness, no war, no celebration, no greatness: this is how the '64 regime ended».

<sup>1012</sup> «The plenary of the Chamber, where the members of the Electoral College will vote from 9 am, session chaired by Moacyr Dalla».



predictions of the number of votes that the governing candidate should receive were presented, as well as an analysis of his political future by the journalist Clóvis Rossi.

Nevertheless, the most prominent item on this page is precisely the largest of the three printed pictures (*photo 149*). Placed in the upper right corner of the page, the rectangular photograph that occupied approximately 1/8 of the page and depicted the candidate on his last day of campaigning as described by the caption, «Maluf pousou pela última vez no seu escritório eleitoral em Brasília».<sup>1013</sup> Constructing a metalinguistic element, the photograph shows Maluf in a suit, standing in the first plan of a horizontal american plan. At the moment of the click he had his right hand in front of his face, slightly covering his expression, although his look to the side was visible. On his left side some flags were seen, and on his right side there was a huge photograph of the candidate pasted on the wall. In it his gaze was directed to the camera, wearing what seems to be the same clothes and glasses. Moreover, he is smiling. The proposed visual enunciation constructed the notion that is the background image that speaks to the newspaper reader and also replaces the covert expression of the actual candidate in the office. Finally, is worth saying that such construction seems to suggest that Maluf leaves satisfied even if potentially defeated and that the satisfaction notion could be expanded into the readers reinforcing the consensual element that was being built around the transition process along the years.

Arriving in page number nine, the subject went from the probably new president to what was doing and thinking the last military president, in so the main headline of the page was «Tomorrow, in the Planalto, Figueiredo receives the elected». Is worth noting that almost the entire bottom half of the page was occupied by advertisements. The text in the left column of the page describes the fact that the last military president, after being dismissed from hospital, would receive the victorious candidate the next day at the «Planalto Palace», and would also give a phone call that very day to whoever would win the election. At the bottom of the same text, has been highlighted the fact that his appearance on that day was the first since the January 4<sup>th</sup> of that year when he was hospitalized. In the center of the page, after the subtitle «Presidente fica irritado com reportagem»<sup>1014</sup>, the text presented the reasons for such irritation, linked to the fact that an article in «Veja» magazine was published an article about his political maneuvers that tried to extend his own mandate. Is also worth mentioning that the

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<sup>1013</sup> In this caption there is a Portuguese grammar error in the spelling of the word «posar» that was written as «pousar», which could be misunderstood as «landed» rather than «pose». «Maluf poses for the last time in his electoral office in Brasília».

<sup>1014</sup> «President gets angry with reportage».

A eleição do presidente civil

# Tancredo compromete-se com governadores da Frente

Do Suroccidental de Brasília  
Reunido ontem durante uma hora com os governadores do Nordeste, o candidato indireto da Aliança Democrática à Presidência da República, Tancredo Neves, comprometeu-se a aceitar a indicação que fará para o preenchimento de cargos na administração federal.

"Alguns cargos que pleiteamos são aqueles, como o Sudeste, o Banco do Nordeste e o DNOCs, por exemplo", disse o governador do Piauí, Hugo Napoleão, esclarecendo que seus colegas nordestinos devem voltar em favor do atual presidente com a lista das pretensões.

A reunião aconteceu na residência do governador de Pernambuco, mas encontrou resistência de parte do deputado federalista e ex-governador Tarcísio Burty (PDS-PE). Sua tendência, segundo o relato que fez, é estabelecer aliança com o PMDB. Divaldo Surany disse então que será da maior conveniência trazer Wilson Braga para a Frente Liberal, "a fim de fortalecer".

Palando em nome dos governadores, Roberto Magalhães disse que a reunião tinha quatro propósitos: compromisso de todos para dar apoio e sustentação política ao futuro presidente; declarar qualquer tipo de mal-entendido entre eles e o PMDB; manifestar interesse de apresentar sugestões sobre as prioridades do Nordeste; e discutir a participação dos governadores no preenchimento dos cargos federais.

O governador da Ceará, Luís Gonzaga Mota, foi convidado mas não apareceu. Seu nome está cotado para um ministério no futuro governo, provavelmente o do Interior. O governador da Bahia, João Durval, que não aderiu à Frente Liberal, evitou a reunião mas avisou-se antes com Tancredo Neves, na residência do candidato, junto com o ex-governador Antônio Carlos Magalhães e toda a bancada parlamentar aliada que segue a orientação de ambos.

Tancredo combinou com os governadores uma nova reunião em fevereiro, quando retornar de viagem à Europa, dando tempo para que se reúnem e discutam interesses da região, bem como os nomes para preencher.

## Dante explica por que vai ao Colégio

Do Suroccidental de Brasília  
"Se o presidente Tancredo Neves não fizer mudanças, não governará o País", afirmou, ontem, o PMDB matrossense Dante de Oliveira, 32, autor da emenda constitucional que mobilizou o País pelas eleições diretas e que, em últimos meses, engajou-se na campanha em nome da candidatura indireta do ex-governador de Minas.

Dante de Oliveira não vê contradição no seu comportamento: "Vou ao Colégio Eleitoral de cabeça erguida, tranqüilo, consistente de que estarei votando em nome dos 130 milhões de brasileiros que ocuparam as ruas nas praças do País no movimento 'Diretas Já'", afirmou.

O representante de Mato Grosso acredita que, com a vitória de Tancredo Neves no Colégio Eleitoral, "o povo brasileiro lavará a alma" pela derrota que a sua emenda sofreu em abril. Mais do que isso, ele faz da "convicção de que o povo vê nessa vitória a consolidação das condições para a normalidade das eleições e para o restabelecimento das eleições diretas em todos os níveis".

Essa convicção foi, no entanto, um pouco abalada quando lembrado a heterogeneidade das forças e da aliança que sustenta a candidatura Tancredo Neves. Mudou um pouco e tom e admitiu que "forças conservadoras", cuja neutralização, a seu ver, somente será possível "se as forças democráticas decidirem todas as suas energias à luta pelas mudanças econômico-sociais, que são urgentes e necessárias".

Foi em meio às observações sobre o potencial conservador da Aliança que o deputado advertiu a respeito da inviabilidade de o País ser governado caso sejam mantidas as estruturas montadas pelo movimento de 64 nos últimos 20 anos.

O parlamentar neoconservador insistiu na importância de mobilizar o "elemento livre e soberano", precedida do fim da legislação autoritária que ainda persiste, e da necessidade de um "tratamento energético para o problema da dívida externa", "sem o qual não poderá haver adoção eficaz para outros graves problemas que o País enfrenta".

No tratamento da dívida, Dante de Oliveira entendeu que o futuro governo não deve excluir a hipótese da monetarista — que a Aliança Democrática não assumiu —, "caso persista a intolerância dos banqueiros internacionais".



Agripino Maia e Jair Soares reuniram-se com Tancredo Neves em Brasília



Maluf pousou pela última vez no seu escritório eleitoral em Brasília



Apesar da derrota, um correígrafista pintou no asfalto do Eixo Monumental de Brasília a vitória que esperava

## Maluf diz que agora não adianta mais chorar

Do Suroccidental de Brasília  
No seu penúltimo entrevista como candidato (hoje pela manhã ele volta a falar à imprensa), o deputado Paulo Maluf, 53 anos, candidato indireto do PDS à Presidência da República, declarou: "Não adianta chorar o leite derramado". Falava, sem mostrar muito constrangimento, definitivamente sua derrota no Colégio Eleitoral. Mas voltou a dizer: "Eu repetiria tudo, igualmente o que fiz neste agora".

Foi certamente a mais conciliatória das suas entrevistas. Poucos malufistas, mas uma presença marcante da imprensa, num clima marcado por alguns descontentamentos entre fotógrafos e redatores. Maluf correu pedindo uma "salva de palmas" para os jornalistas, garantindo que não mais votos do que dizem, críticos os

que pretendem voar em branco; apresente-se como um dos pilares (o outro seria Tancredo Neves) que sustentam o edifício democrático; e assegurou que, daqui para frente, apoiará qualquer proposta de eleição direta. Para ele, os culpados pela derrota da emenda Dante de Oliveira foram o senador José Sarney, "que não a desejava" e o presidente Figueiredo, "que não a recomendou".

Evitou, como de costume, prever o número de votos que terá hoje. Entre seus assessores, ninguém arriscou número superior a 182. O termo "vitória" foi utilizado uma única vez por Maluf, mas não se referindo a si mesmo: "Uma grande vitória já está assegurada. Vença o Brasil porque, dentro dos candidatos civis à Presidência, dois candidatos que são como dois pilares a sustentar o edifício democrático. Eu sustento a candidatura Tancredo Neves e ele sustentou a minha".

A humildade passou a fazer parte do seu vocabulário. Garantindo que sua derrota foi palmilhada por ele "tanto no maior partido do País" — observou — quanto em qualquer proposta de eleição direta. Para ele, os culpados pela derrota da emenda Dante de Oliveira foram o senador José Sarney, "que não a desejava" e o presidente Figueiredo, "que não a recomendou".

Apesar da derrota, um correígrafista pintou no asfalto do Eixo Monumental de Brasília a vitória que esperava

## Malufistas acreditam que terão 174 votos

Do Suroccidental de Brasília  
Os derradeiros cálculos feitos pela assessoria do candidato Paulo Maluf indicam que ele terá 174 votos na eleição de hoje. Mas quanto deso que ele terá hoje permanece o seu lado? Quantos são realmente adeptos da doutrina malufista, ao ponto de continuarem fiéis ao candidato depois da derrota humilhante?

Nem os próprios malufistas estão em condições de responder a estas perguntas, hoje. Porque sua permanência com Maluf vai depender, fundamentalmente, das questões da política regional. Vejamos dois exemplos opostos: o deputado baiano Prisco Vianna, além de amigo de Maluf, sustenta politicamente se não ficasse no grupo malufista. Já o deputado alagoano Fernando Collor, outro aliado de Maluf, tem numerosas dúvidas quanto ao futuro político. "Depois do Colégio Eleitoral, cada deputado terá que decidir se quer permanecer apenas numa cidade, ou se quer se interessar pelo pensamento da maioria dos parlamentares quando digo que estou ficando com Maluf tanto quanto ele está comigo".

O grupo sumista. Num avaliação feita, menos

com a realização da eleição. Acaba com o fim da candidatura dele. Quanto ao futuro político de Maluf, isso depende exclusivamente de ele, que não podemos fazer pelo futuro do deputado, já foi feito.

Exagero reconhecido pelo próprio deputado. No entanto, ele é bem objetivo: "Depois do Colégio Eleitoral, cada deputado terá que decidir se quer permanecer apenas numa cidade, ou se quer se interessar pelo pensamento da maioria dos parlamentares quando digo que estou ficando com Maluf tanto quanto ele está comigo".

Numa avaliação feita, menos

## Futuro político do malufismo é uma incógnita

Há, entretanto, algumas pistas a seguir e a principal delas é a virtual desistência dos malufistas da tentativa de derrubar o deputado Nelson Marchezan da liderança do partido. Por o dia 15 de fevereiro, estava marcada uma reunião para discutir juntamente a questão da liderança, como item único da pauta. Entretanto, os próprios malufistas estão propondo ampliar a discussão, de modo a que esse abarque todo o quadro político.

Se não está em condições de tornar a liderança partidária, parece improvável que o malufismo consiga executar uma tarefa ainda mais ambiciosa: a de ficar do lado do partido como um todo, plataforma especial para o futuro político do grupo.

apoiadora do que a do deputado Amaral Neto, pode apresentar alguns nomes à lista dos "Doze Apóstolos" — sempre com a ressalva de que daqui a um ou dois meses tudo poderá ser diferente. Por exemplo: Antônio Goim (PE), Antônio Gomes (PB), Gerardo Kenau (MG), Prisco Vianna (BA), Afrânio Vieira Lima (BA), Ari Kfuri (PR), Bonifácio de Andrada (MG), Wlady Viana (AC), Jorge Kalume (AC), Sebastião Curto (PA), Lorneo Boltem (CE), Francisco Perrelli (RS), Adail Vitorazzo (SP), Armando Pinheiro (SP), Francisco Hollenberg (SE), Lomanto Júnior (BA), Amara Furlan (SP), Marcelo Linsenes (CE) e Macaço Tisdano (MT).

A lista chega, assim, aos trinta parlamentares. Este seria o núcleo a partir do qual o deputado Paulo Maluf, daqui a seis ou oito meses, poderia tentar sua recuperação política.

Há, ainda, uma terceira lista de integrantes do grupo malufista, incluindo mais uns quarenta nomes. Não se trata de aliados incondicionais e estarão mais voltados para sua sobrevivência política, porém poderão ser trabalhados pelo candidato derrotado. São nomes: Antônio de Queiroz (AC), Nasser Almeida (AC),

José Fernandes (AM), José de Souza (AM), Ledizides Rachid (RO), Edison Lobato (MA), Emerico Ribeiro (MA), José Burnett (MA), José Ribamar Machado (MA), Magno Barchar (MA), Nagib Hachid (MA), Vieira da Silva (MA), José Luis Maia Jardim (PE), Adão de Bessa (PE), Virgílio (CE), Cláudio Philomeno (CE), Haroldo Sander (CE), Sérgio Philomeno (CE), João Faustino (RN), Wanderlei Mariz (RN), Ernani Salão (PB), Antônio Farias (PE), Josias Leite (PE), Fernando Collor (AL), João Alves (BA), Juracy Jório (BA), Leir Lomanto (BA), Nei Ferreira (BA), Emílio Hadad (MG), Cunha Bueno (SP), Ferreira Martins (SP), Salvador Julianelli (SP), Bento Porto (MT), Cristina Torres (MT), Jonas Pinheiro (MT), Albino Coimbra (MS), Ubaldino Barém (MS), Osório Castro (PE), Nelson Morro (SC), Emídio Perrelli (RS), Cláudio Fialon (AP), Geovani Borges (AP), Paulo Guerra (AP) e Júlio Martins (RO).

A relação podem ser acrescentados os senadores Roberto Campos (MT), Raimundo Parente (AM), Lenor Vargas (SC), Amara Furlan (SP), Moacir Dália (ES), Alexandre Costa (MA), Virgílio Távora (CE), Juracy Magalhães (BA), Luiz Viana Filho (BA) e Otávio Cardoso (RS).

Apelo. Ao lado dele, figuram dois senadores, Esperidião Amin (SC) e Jair Soares (RS), embora o primeiro do malufismo, como o senador baiano Luiz Viana Filho, que, no domínio de permanecer no partido, desde que é óbvio, ele seja "desmalufado".

Outros seis ficaram até aqui no que se trata de alianças, porém poderão ser trabalhados pelo candidato derrotado. São nomes: Antônio de Queiroz (AC), Nasser Almeida (AC),

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Maluf pousou pela última vez no seu escritório eleitoral em Brasília

Tadaaki Sakaguchi

beginning of the «FSP» text highlighted the fact that Figueiredo had let himself be photographed in that first day after the hospitalization. It is important to underscore that this balance and reflection about the president's reactions to other press productions were not common to be published in the period as was seen so far.

Regarding the image (*photo 150*) that has been chosen to be published in that page, the unique photograph on the page, has been taken from a long distance, through the use of a telephoto lens, presented a general horizontal plan of the president, placed in the center of the scene, he was standing wearing a striped dressing gown, accompanied by doctors and advisors, as described in the caption, «Figueiredo, ao lado de médicos e assessores, antes de realizar exercício no pátio da Casa da Saúde».<sup>1015</sup> In the image that occupied approximately 1/6 of the page, he was surrounded by ten other men, all of them wearing suits and in what appears to be a light conversation with the president. In addition, Figueiredo seems to be slightly smiling, in opposition to what was presented in the text below about his bad mood. The sharp and equilibrated photo also proposed a conciliatory tone to the visual representation of the last military president in power.

Finally, the last internal page that will be analyzed in this issue of the «FSP» is page number thirteen, in it right after the main headline «Tancredo, the slow and sure rise of a conciliator», the focus has been in providing to the reader a profile of both candidates in so, half of the page was dedicated to Tancredo and Maluf. In the text dedicated to the «PMDB» candidate, was detailed his long political career that started during the «Era Vargas» period, went through the terms of Jânio Quadros, João Goulart and the whole dictatorship. In the case of Maluf, his profile was placed under the two photos and the secondary title «Político ousado, Maluf fez sua carreira dentro do autoritarismo».<sup>1016</sup> Some aspects must be underscored. The first one is that Tancredo's profile has the double of the length of Maluf's one, occupying approximately ¼ of the page. In second place, the main page's headline regarded Tancredo's profile, giving more prominence to it; and finally, in the case of the title dedicated to Maluf has been chose the word «authoritarianism» rather than «dictatorship».

The second half of the page proposed a shorter profile version of both vice-president candidates, José Sarney and Flávio Marcílio, as well as two mini-passaport photos of the two. Finally, the last textual section of the page presents an article in which has been described the fact that the last civilian president, Jânio Quadros, had resigned presenting a small commentary

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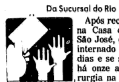
<sup>1015</sup> « Figueiredo, alongside doctors and advisors, before exercising in the courtyard of the Casa da Saúde».

<sup>1016</sup> «Daring politician, Maluf made his career within authoritarianism».



A eleição do presidente civil

Amanhã, no Planalto, Figueiredo recebe o eleito



Após receber a na Casa de São São José, onde e internado há três dias e se submetê há onze a uma urgência na coluna vertebral, Figueiredo, amanhã de manhã para Brasília e tarde recebe o eleito pelo Cole Eleitoral no Palácio do Planalto. Ele, acompanhado pela esposa, irá ao hospital, às 11h, para a eleição de seu sucessor, e em seguida à proclamação dos resultados para o candidato vencedor, Figueiredo também comemora hoje a sua aniversário, na companhia apenas família e dos amigos mais íntimos próximo hospital.



Figueiredo, ao lado de médicos e assessores, antes de realizar exercícios no pátio da Casa de Saúde.

Presidente fica irritado com reportagem

Da Suroeste do Rio  
Em sua primeira aparição pública desde que foi operado da coluna, há dois dias, o presidente Figueiredo deixou-se fotografar ontem, quando se preparava para fazer uma ginástica que lhe ajudará a recuperar a musculatura da perna e do abdômen no jardim interno da Casa de Saúde São José. Ficou evidente o mal-humor do presidente, mais tarde confirmado por seu médico, o neurocirurgião Paulo Niemeyer: "Ele está meio queimado, por causa de algumas notícias que lê".  
Ante a pergunta de uma repórter, que queria saber se o motivo do mau humor era uma reportagem da revista "Veja", que atribuiu ao presidente mandatos para a prorrogação de seu próprio mandato, Niemeyer respondeu, não escondendo uma risadinha:

Cruz assume a vice-chefia do DGP e tira 30 dias de férias

Da Suroeste do Rio  
Bastaram quinze minutos para que se efetivasse, ontem, a transferência do general-de-divisione Newton Cruz, 60, do Comando Militar do Planalto (CMP) à burocrática vice-chefia do Departamento Geral de Pessoal (DGP) da Esdréala. A cerimônia ocorreu no 3º andar do Quartel Geral, presidida pelo chefe do Estado-Maior do Exército, general José Magalhães da Silveira, 66 anos. O novo comandante do Planalto, general Mirim Orlando Ribeiro Sampaio, 60 anos, também participou da solenidade.  
Após o coquetel em que os companheiros de farda cumprimentaram ao pela nova função, o general Cruz anunciou à imprensa que passará trinta dias de férias no Rio de Janeiro. É permitida uma breves ida ao "Não estarei no Rock in Rio", segundo informação de Carlos Atala.  
Quando a conversa enveredou para a

Oposição afasta idéia de manter Pires no ministério

HERMAMO ALVES  
Repórter do Suroeste do Rio  
Foi abandonada, até mesmo por alguns membros da "entourage" de Tancredino Neves, a idéia de se manter o general Walter Pires no cargo de ministro do Exército depois de 15 de março, por prazo indeterminado ou até vagar a Embaixada do Brasil em Lisboa com a apresentação do embaixador Augusto da Silveira em meados deste ano. Na semana passada, ficou claro que não havia clima favorável a isso entre os opositores e dissidentes que apoiam Tancredino. O candidato passou já a pensar na questão militar em termos de problemas globais que exigem uma série de reformas profundas e metódicas.

As relações especiais entre o ministro do Exército e o candidato da Aliança Democrática provocaram vivas manifestações. PMDB acusou o general de "traição". Inconveniente, entre as dificuldades dadas em Brasília, o general Pires passou a ser acusado de aderir ao inimigo em troca de uma sinecura no Exterior. A presença bizarra do general na intimidade tancredinista provocava comentários desfavoráveis.  
Os candidatos ao cargo de ministro do Exército, até agora encabeçados pelo general Leônidas Gonçalves, que viveu o 3º Exército, sediado no Rio Grande do Sul, numa posição anti-guerra e anticomunista, recusaram-se da presença de Pires. O mesmo ocorreu com os diversos grupos de oficiais da ativa e da reserva remunerada que trabalharam em favor de Tancredino — um deles chefiado pelo ex-presidente Ernesto Geisel — entre pelo general Andréa Serpa e finalmente um grupo de oficiais do Exército Democrático e Nacionalista de Militares, que reúne casados até hoje não beneficiados pela anistia.  
O argumento de que Pires devia ficar no ministério até vagar a Embaixada em Paris causou reações contrárias no Senado Federal, onde foi encarado como uma forma sutil de coação por parte do ministro. A renúncia de Pires não se fez esperar. Dado-se hoje que Pires tenha mais de 60 anos, não é impossível que ele se retire para o Brasil, onde vive com sua esposa e três filhos. Admite-se, quando muito, que Tancredino termine por enviar a mensagem Pires no Senado já sabendo que não passará, por simples desencargo de consciência.  
Pesam, também, em todo esse caso, implicações de ordem externa. Em Portugal, ninguém negaria algum promessa de ministério e/ou participação de Pires mas esta perspectiva crítica também na Frente Nacional, onde o vice-presidente Aureliano Chaves, por exemplo, não podia esquecer o grande episódio do "descozimento" para a festa do Dia do Soldado.

Dirigentes do PMDB não esqueceram o número de vezes em que, direta ou indiretamente, foram classificações pelo general Pires e homens da sua confiança como subversivos ou comunistas. Os da Frente Liberal tinham ainda frescas na memória as

Da Suroeste do Rio  
O ministro-extraordinário para Assuntos Fundiários, general Danilo Venturini, disse ontem que não existe nenhuma preocupação com a vitória do candidato opositor Tancredino Neves no Colégio Eleitoral, pois o processo de abertura envolve a sociedade dos resultados eleitorais, independentes de quem seja o vencedor.  
"Quando se resolve praticar a democracia, é preciso aceitar todas as nuances e todas as variáveis que envolvem o processo", afirmou o ministro.  
Afirmando que o governo vê "com absoluta tranquilidade" a vitória de Tancredino Neves, afirmou: "Vamos deixar que os delegados se manifestem livremente e aceitar o resultado do Colégio Eleitoral".

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Figueiredo, ao lado de médicos e assessores, antes de realizar exercícios no pátio da Casa de Saúde

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about Jango deposition in the final paragraph. In this case the intentional use of the word «coup» allows some important considerations on the narrative proposed by the «FSP»

Com a renúncia de Jânio Quadros, instaurou-se a instabilidade, pois os militares apoiados pelas forças políticas conservadoras, especialmente a UDN, tentaram por dias impedir a posse de Jango. Através da saída honrosa do parlamentarismo – e se estão certos os sociólogos e historiadores – o golpe militar foi adiado para o 31 de março de 1964.<sup>1017</sup>

The last section of it, in which accuracy of sociologist and historians was placed in doubt has also been built a dubious notion regarding it, that is to say, in what aspect they might not were correct, in the postponing of the coup or in calling it a coup. Besides this, in enouncing «if the sociologists and historians are right» the «FSP» disclaims any responsibility for possible mistakes in the analysis.

As a last section of the page analysis, the passport-size pictures of the two candidates (*photos 151 and 152*) have the same format, both of them slightly sideways to the camera, not looking at it and standing in front of a wall. However, their expressions were very different, while Tancredo laughs without fear and in a friendly way, Maluf was presented with an expression of irritation while speaking and seems to have a pointing finger in air, as if conveying tension and authority, perhaps in a visual attempt to tie the «PDS» candidate to the military and the Tancredo to a breath in the national politics. The caption of both images adds a further layer in this interpretation of a opposite sense construction regarding the two candidates, while Tancredo's photo had the caption «Tancredo começou como advogado no interior»<sup>1018</sup>, once again reinforcing how long-lived was his political career, Maluf's caption presented the stating «A trajetória meteórica de Maluf chega ao fim»<sup>1019</sup>, as if the newspaper was capable of predicting the future, indicating an irreversible path.<sup>1020</sup>

*Jornal do Brasil – 15/01/1985*

Regarding the «JB» coverage dedicated to the voting day in January 1985, a little bit more than half of the front cover was dedicated to the agenda. The entire right-hand column was

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<sup>1017</sup> «With the resignation of Jânio Quadros, instability was instated, as the military, supported by conservative political forces, especially the UDN, tried for days to prevent Jango from taking office. Through the honorable outcome of parliamentarianism - and if the sociologists and historians are right - the military coup was postponed until 31st March 1964».

<sup>1018</sup> «Tancredo started out as a lawyer in the interior».

<sup>1019</sup> «Maluf's meteoric rise comes to an end».

<sup>1020</sup> As an indication that this kind of prediction was risky is the fact that after 1985, Paulo Maluf has been elected São Paulo city's mayor in 1992, and Congressman for São Paulo State in 2006, 2010 and 2014.

A eleição do presidente civil

# Tancredo, a lenta e segura ascensão de um conciliador

JOÃO BATISTA NATALI

Os salões do Palácio do Catete permaneceram discretamente iluminados na madrugada de 24 para 25 de agosto de 1984. Getúlio Vargas estava reunido com seu ministério. Tancredo de Almeida Neves, ministro da Justiça, 41 anos, estimava o presidente da República a permanecer em seu posto, resistindo à "deposição branca" que oficiais das Forças Armadas lhe propunham, encaminhando um pedido de licença sob um pretexto qualquer.

Getúlio apreciava o espírito de intrínseca paradoxalmente expresso por um ministro conciliador: Ferminada a reunião, deus-lhe presente a caneta de ouro com que assinara "um documento importante". Subiu a seus aposentos e suicidou-se. A caneta, reliquia do varguitimo, servira para redigir "a carta testamento".

Filho do comerciante Francisco de Paula Neves, ele nasceu a 4 de março de 1910 em São João Del Rei. De pai muito católico, ingressou num ginásio dirigido pelos franciscanos, o Santo Antônio. Transferiu-se para Belo Horizonte em 1929 para cursar a Faculdade de Direito. No Centro Acadêmico, foi um dos que apoiaram a Revolução de 1930.

Fornado, retornou a sua cidade e e nomeado promotor público. Inscrito no Partido Republicano Mineiro, pôde qual em 1935 chegou a ser eleito. Seu mandato o interrompeu pelo golpe com o qual, em 1937, Getúlio instituiu o Estado Novo. Recusando-se a integrar a máquina petulista nomeada pelo governo, foi obrigado a Valadarens, volta a sua advocacia de interior, nela se acomodando até o fim da ditadura.

Elegido para a Constituinte Estadual em 1947 pelo PSD, partido no qual permaneceu até que em 1966, quando ingressou no MDB. Na Assembleia, foi escolhido relator da Comissão estadual e depois líder da oposição ao governador udenista Milton Campos. Elege-se em 1970 à Câmara dos Deputados, e passa a funcionar no Rio também como representante pessoal do deputado Juscelino Kublitschek, considerado por Tancredo um misto de líder político e irmão mais velho.

Passa a trabalhar com assiduidade nas comissões da Câmara. Negativa a Lima, ministro da Justiça, deixa seu posto em 1973. O presidente proclama para substituí-lo, um ministro Juscelino Kublitschek, considerado por Tancredo um misto de líder político e irmão mais velho.

A atitude do senador maranhense contribuiu, e muito, para a frustração da Nação, mas não conseguiu evitar o enfraquecimento do PSD-partido que ajudou a fundar e ao qual se aliou depois de sua expulsão da política — renúncia em favor do PMDB e de sua candidatura ao cargo de vice-presidente, imposto pela Frente-Liberal.

A candidatura Sarney sofreu resistências, tanto nas bases como na cúpula petemebista, especialmente em São Paulo. Mesmo assim, os argumentos de que Sarney conhecia todos os mecanismos do Congresso e que era dono de um valioso arquivo

primeiro no Banco do Brasil e depois no Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico. Entre 1958 e 1960, é o secretário da Fazenda do governador Bias Fortes, de Minas.

O PSD e o PTB lançam sua candidatura a sucessão mineira. A UDN lança Magalhães Pinto. Na manhã de 24 de agosto de 1964, Magalhães o derrotou por 50 mil votos. Aos 50 anos, Tancredo teria chegado, para os pessimistas mais jovens, a um inflexível fim de carreira.

Não é o que ocorre. Em agosto de 1964, Janio Quadros renuncia. Goulart, em visita à China, tem seu nome vetado pelo colégio militar. Tancredo é encarregado de convocá-lo, em Montevideo, a aceitar o parlamentarismo. O politista Jango volta a Brasília e o Congresso escolhe o hemi-sucido eminarista como primeiro-ministro. Tancredo permanece na chita do governo de setembro de 1964 a junho de 1965. Nesse mês, são relatadas relações diplomáticas com a União Soviética, é condenada a expulsão de Cuba da Organização das Nações Unidas e aprovada a lei da remessa de lucros das multinacionais.

Reeleito em 1965 deputado federal, Tancredo de Almeida Neves tem uma mudança de nível apenas modesta na fogueira parlamentar que precedeu o Movimento de 1964. Seu único trabalho foi o projeto instituído o salário-família.

Deputado Goulart, ele não acompanha os pessimistas moderados que finalmente aderem ao novo governo. Mesmo considerado "amigo pessoal" do general Castello Branco, reverendo no ano seguinte ao voto contra seu nome no senado do Congresso e o eleger para a chita do Estado. É então partiu para o que chamava de "oposição responsável" no Senado, onde, desde o início da abertura, os "moderados" do MDB que se opunham aos orientamentos "autênticos".

De qualquer modo, está para embicar na reta ao Planalto um líder político, um homem que disse certa vez não haver ministro radical. "No vivemos onde termina a floresta do Sul e começa a pobreza do Norte", num Estado onde as condições econômicas são precárias para conhecer o mar.

Tancredo nasceu em 1910, em 74, é casado desde 1937 com dona Rissolita Guimarães Telles. Tem três filhos e três irmãs: Aquino, Rio, Brasília, Belo Horizonte e São João del-Rei. Há alguns meses de renda, há poucos bens herdados mas não algo consistente como uma fortuna.

formado com os moderados do MDB e os liberais do PSD. Lançou o Partido Popular, que passou a atuar em bancada própria no Congresso e a se implantar em alguns Estados. Inabilitado o PP por casamentos do Planalto, Tancredo se incorpora ao PMDB, onde começa a trabalhar para conquistá-lo, dois anos após a derrota para Magalhães Pinto, o governo mineiro. É o que ocorre em 1962, vencendo o petestaista Eliassu Henriques.

A recusa para a transição volta a ordem do dia. Tanto quanto Ulysses Guimarães e outros dirigentes petemebistas, Tancredo teme que a vitória de Paulo Maluf desembocasse num "autoritarismo populista" capaz de bloquear por mais uma década o livre jogo de pressões da sociedade civil. É lançada a campanha pelas diretas, da qual o governador mineiro participou, mesmo dividindo que no Senado o apoio a aprovação da emenda Dante de Oliveira.

Horas antes que ela fosse votada, ele lança em direção ao governo um apelo à "resistência". Julgou-se traidor por poder desmobilizar que o apoio realmente ocorreu. Derrotada a emenda, começou a tramitar a emenda Leão. Deixando eletricamente de responder à emenda, o Planalto secretaria por meio de sucessos indiretos, e sobretudo impedir que as diretas, com valor plebiscitário, desmontem o porões do regime a golpes de "revanche".

Com a Frente Liberal, o PMDB oficializa a Aliança Democrática, revertendo a emenda de maioria até votar favorável à Maluf. Caracterizada a derrota antecipada de concorrência do PSD oficial, desalinhada nos últimos três meses a aliança de adesões a Tancredo.

Esses fatos, ainda pouco conhecidos, em lugar de uma discussão minuciosa sobre quem substituiria o brigadeiro Faria Lima na Prefeitura de São Paulo, contaram-se em comentários. Um acordo possível para que o regime autoritário ganhasse seu esperado ponto final, não simples acordo de não interferência a apuração dos pedidos de autoritarismo. Há um leque de respostas, segundo a predisposição ideológica de quem responde.

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Tancredo começou como advogado do interior

## Político ousado, Maluf fez sua carreira dentro do autoritarismo

Quase meia-noite daquele 12 de março de 1969, o jatinho taxista em Congonhas e dele desembarcou o governador Abruco Sodré quase em estado de choque. Jantura em Brasília com o presidente Costa e Silva, que em lugar de uma discussão minuciosa sobre quem substituiria o brigadeiro Faria Lima na Prefeitura de São Paulo, contaram-se em comentários. Um acordo possível para que o regime autoritário ganhasse seu esperado ponto final, não simples acordo de não interferência a apuração dos pedidos de autoritarismo. Há um leque de respostas, segundo a predisposição ideológica de quem responde.

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Banco de Dados 34

Banco de Dados

Tancredo começou como advogado do interior

A trajetória meteórica de Maluf chega ao fim

## O "imortal" Sarney muda para ser vice

CARLOS DE OLIVEIRA

O partido não se suicidará imediatamente, como Jim Jones, aproveitando a volta das eleições diretas. O fracasso do estilo presidente nacional do PSD e hoje candidato indireto à vice-presidência da República pela Aliança Democrática, José Sarney, 54, foi lançada do formulário de candidatura em fevereiro de 84, como uma espécie de apelo para que o partido governista barrasse a vontade nacional em favor das diretas-lí e não aprovasse a emenda Dante de Oliveira.

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A candidatura Sarney sofreu resistências, tanto nas bases como na cúpula petemebista, especialmente em São Paulo. Mesmo assim, os argumentos de que Sarney conhecia todos os mecanismos do Congresso e que era dono de um valioso arquivo



Sarney deu sua guinada política

## Realista, Marcílio previu a derrota

Realista, Marcílio previu a derrota

Não foram necessários mais do que cinco meses para que o deputado federal Flávio Marcílio, 67, três vezes presidente da Câmara Federal e candidato indireto à vice-presidência da República pelo PSD, abandonasse o discurso entusiástico dos malufistas e assumisse uma postura bem mais realista, admitindo a derrota de sua chapa para a Aliança Democrática.

E duas datas mostram bem essa transformação: 15 de junho e 19 de novembro de 1984. A primeira marca o lançamento de Marcílio à vice-presidência, em campanha memorável promovida em Fortaleza pelo deputado Paulo Maluf. Protegido das saravadas de ovos e tomates despejadas à porta do Nêctico Alcides Coarense, onde se realizava a festa, o deputado do PSD do Ceará, talvez seu companheiro Maluf, garantiu que, eleito, a dupla pedesista promoveria "uma reforma geral da Constituição e até mesmo pela convocação de uma Assembleia Nacional Constituinte".

A segunda data coincide com o declínio da candidatura malufista e o naufrágio do PSD enquanto partido político. Questionado por um jornalista sobre as perspectivas da eleição



Marcílio entrou em acordo com Maluf

presidencial indireta para a Presidência da República, Marcílio respondeu com uma indignação: "Como deputado de um partido esfacelado pode ser pior do que de um partido forte". Na realidade, os desmentimentos com Maluf viram já de algum tempo. Em setembro de 84 Marcílio

## Janio, o último civil eleito, renunciou

TATIANA PETIT

Do nosso arquivo de reportagem

Há quase 24 anos (31 de janeiro de 1961), tomava posse, em Brasília, o último presidente da República eleito com o voto popular. Janio da Silva Quadros, hoje com 62 anos, foi o primeiro presidente a ocupar o Palácio do Planalto com o respaldo de 5.036.623 sufrágios, após uma campanha marcada por altíssima mobilização popular.

Mas a alegria durou pouco: antes de completar sete meses de governo, a 23 de agosto daquele mesmo ano, Janio apresentou à Nação uma carta-rendição alegando estar contrariado em seus atos por "forças poderosas". Deixou vaga a Presidência da República e a Nação ficou à mercê de uma crise político-institucional. Não são poucos os historiadores e sociólogos que o acusam de ter tramado, com esse gesto, um golpe que propiciasse seu retorno ao cargo máximo do País com limitados poderes.

Apesar de eleito pelo voto popular, Janio Quadros desprezava os partidos políticos e o Congresso Nacional. Com frequência ignorava os governadores de Estado e seus deputados para resolver questões regionais, preferindo cercar-se de militares durante sua administração. Outra

característica de seu governo foi a falta de distribuição de "bubúns" — ou seja, dos quais fazia suas determinações e se fazia onipotente.

Este, aliás, foi um traço marcante em sua carreira política e em outros cargos que ocupou no poder público. Ainda hoje, quando está bem-humorado, Janio conta divertido a visita incerta que fez a uma delegacia de São Paulo quando era governador do Estado. Sem que os policiais se dessem conta de sua presença, visitou todas as dependências da prédio e, ao final da "incerta", abriu displicentemente a porta da sala do delegado. Passou o tempo por seus funcionários que descançavam com os pés sobre as mesas e se retirou.

Naquela madrugada, além de constatar a ineficiência do serviço público, ele pôde ouvir um dos funcionários perguntar, em um pouco educado tom compassivo: "Não é o... do governador?". Janio voltou, confundiu sua identidade; observou que, se quisesse, teria liberado todos os presos e, em seguida, comissionou aos funcionários que seriam desligados de suas funções.

A passagem da UDN no poder durou pouco. Ficaram as lembranças não sempre boas. Afinal, de quase nada se salienta sua época à Janio e coligação com o PTN, PDC, PL e PR

CONFIRA SE VOCÊ FATUROU ESTA JORNADA NOS MILHÕES.

**BRADESCO CAPITALIZAÇÃO**

Então não foi mesmo! Premiação pela Capitalização Bradesco no sorteio do dia 12.01.85, pela Loteria Federal. O primeiro correspondente a um prêmio de 1.200 vezes o valor da última mensalidade em 1985. Ou seja, podiam escolher o candidato a presidente de um partido e o vice de outro legenda. Circunstâncias políticas da época — entre as quais a omissão do então presidente Juscelino Kublitschek, que não se empenhou na candidatura de Lott — pensando em sua reeleição quando exprime o mandato de seu sucessor — permitiram a vitória de João Goulart, candidato a vice na chapa com 4.947.410 votos.

Com a renúncia de Janio Quadros, instaurou-se a instabilidade, pois os militares apoiados pelas forças políticas conservadoras, especialmente a UDN, tentaram por dias impedir a posse de Jango. Através de salidas do parlamentarismo — e se está certo os sociólogos e historiadores — o golpe militar foi adiado para 31 de março de 1964.

10 PRÊMIO: 88.431  
20 PRÊMIO: 97.229

REGULAMENTO DE SORTEIO AUTORIZADO PELA CEF.

dedicated to details of the upcoming events on that day. The first third of the text presents elements about the last military president, Figueiredo, who was installed, together with his advisors, in Rio de Janeiro where he had been hospitalized in the recent weeks. In the same part of the text were presented some aspects and debates about the ministerial composition of Tancredo's future government, which would include representatives of the military and the «PFL», which had presented fifteen names to occupy eight ministries. In the middle third of the side text, has been informed the fact that Figueiredo and Tancredo would meet the next day, throughout the narrative of the first page Tancredo's victory was assured, being textually expressed several times. The last part of the text deals mainly with «Itamaray's»<sup>1021</sup> preparations for the international trip that Tancredo would make following the elections. Finally, there were five other secondary titles at the bottom of the page, which were divided between international newscast and domestic economic agendas.

Just below the main headline of that first page which stated, «A country in celebration today gains a new President», two photographs (*photos 153 and 154*) were published and together they occupied almost 1/3 of the page. In the first of these, placed at the center and top of the page, Figueiredo was portrayed seated, alongside ten other men (doctors, ministers, and advisors) who were posing for the photo while the president was doing physiotherapeutic exercises. In the medium-distance horizontal rectangular image, Figueiredo appears in a bathrobe, with his head lowered in a clear position of fragility, reinforced above by the fact that all the other subjects in the photo were standing next to him. In the second photograph, inserted right below the first, a close-up portrait of Tancredo Neves was presented. In the image, with perfect sharpness and great contrast between his bright face and the dark background, the candidate was portrayed in a backdrop smiling and with the gaze forward. These elements created an obvious and even clichéd narrative of exaltation of the «PMDB» politician in confrontation with Figueiredo's image. The two subtitles only reinforce such narrative construction. In the first one detailing the president's condition «No jardim da clínica, Figueiredo faz exercício sob a vista de médicos, ministros e seguranças»<sup>1022</sup>; and in the second case reinforcing the new chapter in the country's history that was about to begin, «No rosto de Tancredo espelha-se a alegria que o Brasil acompanha hoje na sua eleição».<sup>1023</sup>

Moving into the internal pages of that day's edition, page number three proposes some interesting elements regarding the relations between the institutional politics and the mass

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<sup>1021</sup> Itamaraty is the name of the palace in which the Foreign Affairs Ministry is installed in Brasília.

<sup>1022</sup> «In the clinic's garden, Figueiredo exercises under the eyes of doctors, ministers and security guards».

<sup>1023</sup> «Tancredo's face mirrors the joy that Brazil follows his election today»

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

## País em festa ganha hoje novo Presidente

### TEMPO

SEMI-LUMINOSIDADE  
 O tempo será de  
 céu parcialmente  
 nublado. Temperatura  
 máxima de 24°C e mínima  
 de 16°C. Ventos de  
 sudoeste a sudeste, de  
 10 a 20 km/h. Umidade  
 relativa de 60% a 70%.  
 Nota: as previsões são  
 válidas para o Brasil  
 inteiro. (Página 14)

### POLÍTICA

OS CANDIDATOS  
 O presidente eleito  
 Tancredino de Aguiar  
 Figueiredo, o primeiro  
 civil a ocupar o cargo  
 após 21 anos de  
 ditadura militar, foi  
 eleito com 51,5% dos  
 votos válidos. (Página 1)

MINISTROS  
 O presidente eleito  
 Tancredino de Aguiar  
 Figueiredo anunciou  
 sua equipe ministerial  
 em uma cerimônia  
 realizada no Palácio  
 do Planalto. (Página 2)

AVIAÇÃO  
 O presidente eleito  
 Tancredino de Aguiar  
 Figueiredo anunciou  
 sua equipe ministerial  
 em uma cerimônia  
 realizada no Palácio  
 do Planalto. (Página 2)

### NEGÓCIOS

BANCO CENTRAL  
 O Banco Central  
 anunciou a criação  
 de uma nova  
 moeda, o cruzeiro  
 novo, para substituir  
 o cruzeiro antigo.  
 (Página 10)

COMÉRCIO  
 O comércio brasileiro  
 registrou um  
 crescimento de  
 10,5% em 1984.  
 (Página 11)

ESPORTES  
 O Brasil venceu  
 a Copa do Mundo  
 de Futebol de 1958  
 e de 1962.  
 (Página 12)

### MUNDO

FRANÇA  
 O presidente francês  
 François Mitterrand  
 anunciou sua  
 reeleição para o  
 cargo de presidente  
 da França.  
 (Página 13)

### BRASIL

BRASIL  
 O Brasil comemora  
 o aniversário de  
 150 anos de  
 independência.  
 (Página 14)

BRASIL  
 O Brasil comemora  
 o aniversário de  
 150 anos de  
 independência.  
 (Página 14)

### CIDADES

BRASIL  
 O Brasil comemora  
 o aniversário de  
 150 anos de  
 independência.  
 (Página 14)

### INTERNACIONAL

BRASIL  
 O Brasil comemora  
 o aniversário de  
 150 anos de  
 independência.  
 (Página 14)

### ESPORTES

BRASIL  
 O Brasil comemora  
 o aniversário de  
 150 anos de  
 independência.  
 (Página 14)

### PLANETA

BRASIL  
 O Brasil comemora  
 o aniversário de  
 150 anos de  
 independência.  
 (Página 14)



No jardim da clínica, Figueiredo fez exercício sob a vista de médicos, ministros e seguranças



No rosto de Tancredino espelha-se a alegria com que o Brasil acompanha hoje sua eleição

## BB paga Cr\$ 7,54 de dividendo e dá bonificação

O Banco do Brasil anunciou o pagamento de um dividendo de Cr\$ 7,54 por ação, além de uma bonificação de uma ação para cada cinco ações em posse dos acionistas. A decisão foi aprovada em uma reunião do conselho de administração realizada em Brasília. (Página 10)

## Brasil quer juro mais baixo e não faz acordo

O Brasil quer juro mais baixo e não faz acordo. O ministro da Fazenda, Antonio Carlos de Aguiar, afirmou que o Brasil não está disposto a aceitar um acordo que implique em um aumento das taxas de juros. Ele destacou que o país busca uma política monetária mais flexível para estimular o crescimento econômico. (Página 11)

## Bélgica recusa instalação de mísseis Cruise

O ministro da Defesa anunciou que a Bélgica recusa a instalação de mísseis Cruise em seu território. A decisão foi tomada após negociações com os Estados Unidos. O ministro afirmou que a Bélgica não quer ser palco de uma disputa entre as superpotências. (Página 12)

## JB dá edição extra com nome dos aprovados

A edição extra do Jornal do Brasil traz o nome dos aprovados para o cargo de presidente da República. A lista inclui Tancredino de Aguiar Figueiredo, o vencedor com 51,5% dos votos. (Página 1)

## Coro de 30 mil vozes emocionou Aline Valença

Aline Valença emocionou-se ao ouvir um coro de 30 mil vozes durante sua apresentação em uma cidade. Ela agradeceu aos fãs e prometeu continuar trabalhando para o bem da música brasileira. (Página 12)

## Governadores arbam pacto idílica morta

Governadores arbam pacto idílica morta. O acordo entre os governadores para a formação de um bloco político acabou se desfazendo. Os líderes políticos afirmaram que não há consenso suficiente para a criação de um novo partido. (Página 13)



No jardim da clínica, Figueiredo fez exercício sob a vista de médicos, ministros e seguranças



No rosto de Tancredino espelha-se a alegria com que o Brasil acompanha hoje sua eleição

media groups. First of all, is important to underscore that again publicity appears as the protagonist, considering that half a page was filled with advertisements. The other half of it was completely dedicated to the new political arrangements after Tancredo's election. Just below the headline «Tancredo already admits to choosing military ministers», the text in the right-upper half detailed the request of «PMDB» members for the virtual president-elect to advance as soon as possible the announcement of which would be the military ministers in his government. The describing of the meetings and the reasons for such a choice was explained in the article as a form that would reduce speculation among the militaries. The other texts on the page dealt with what the end of the electoral campaign meant for Tancredo, and with the position of the «PDT» against a six-year mandate for the new civilian president. Is important to highlight that both newspapers in their initial articles of the election coverage presented articles that were proposing a more direct and shorter approach to the topics in discussion, with extensive use of the journalistic lead tool.

The picture (*photo 155*) that has been chosen to compose that page occupied approximately 1/3 of the space available beyond the advertisements and in a diving angle, presented Tancredo in the first plan, standing, wearing a dark suit in a moment in which he seemed to be talking to someone in front of him and to the right not in the photograph range. In the second plan, is possible to identify, on the right, the leader of the «PMDB», Senator Ulysses Guimarães, and another man in the background talking, this section of the photo was composing a kind of «behind the scenes» element of Tancredo's candidacy. The emphasis, however, goes to the caption and its indirect interaction with the rest of the page, considering that is being indicated

Um dos últimos compromissos do candidato Tancredo Neves foi comparecer, ontem à noite, a um coquetel oferecido em Brasília pelo Diretor-Presidente do Jornal do Brasil M.F. do Nascimento Britto e Sra. Estiveram presentes 14 governadores, senadores, deputados e mais de 100 empresários.<sup>1024</sup>

Beyond what such an event represented from the political interests' point of view between the ruling class and the owners of press organs in that specific moment in Brazil's history, the extra-text element that the photograph was proposing stands out again. That is to say, the newspaper photo editorship in choosing that image was presenting an additional topic to the ones that had been dealt throughout the verbal elements on that page.

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<sup>1024</sup> «One of the last commitments of the candidate Tancredo Neves was to attend, last night, a cocktail party offered in Brasilia by the Managing Director of the Jornal do Brasil, M.F. do Nascimento Britto and Mrs. 14 governors, senators, deputies and more than 100 businessmen were present».



In the following internal page, number four, the whole page has been dedicated to the details, developments and curiosities connected to what that election day meant in the country's history. Right under the main headline «Victory vote should be given to Tancredo at 11:30», the first and long text presented a complete timeline of how the voting process would proceed. The rest of the page featured articles on the perspectives of the Deputies Chamber president, José Sarney, and two specific electors, the oldest (79 years old) and the youngest (26 years old) in the Electoral College, as well as details of the preparations for celebrations in different parts of the country. The headline under the biggest photograph of the page was «Cinêlandia terá 8 mil litros de chope para 50 mil pessoas»<sup>1025</sup>, calling attention to a local event with respect to the scope that «JB» was responding in that moment of the newspaper history. The entire right-hand column of the page exposed a list of celebrations in different capitals of the country, in a movement that once again was trying to portrait a national consensus.

In that page two pictures have been published, a smaller one in the bottom of the page, presenting the two members of the Electoral College that had a giant age difference among them. The present analysis attention, however, will be in the bigger picture (*photo 156*) that has been published in the top of the page, right under the main headline. The panoramic image of a panel that would be placed in the National Congress on which was present the following message «Bom dia, democracia. Nasce hoje a Nova República».<sup>1026</sup> Although, due to the huge size of the billboard, an inattentive glance at the photo might gave the impression that was a close-up of a small poster. Although, thanks to the sharpness and the open angle that the wide-angle lens provided, is possible to see that there was a man still finishing the painting of the panel in the right-bottom corner, as described in the caption, «O pintor retoca o painel que saudará os delegados ao Colégio e uma nova época».<sup>1027</sup> With this element, the reader can get a more accurate sense of the size of the panel. Is worth noting that from the contrast that was built in the image, the subject who was working seems to be a black man, in strong opposition to the political leaders portrayed so far, mostly middle-aged white men. On the other hand, in a direct or indirect form, can be seen as the newspaper placing in its pages a «people» element.

The last internal page that will be analyzed regarding this issue of the «JB» will be page number five. On it the political transition has been approached right after the page's main headline «Figueiredo and Tancredo begin the transition tomorrow». Although 1/3 of the page was again given over to advertisements, the texts on the page describe the meeting that was

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<sup>1025</sup> «Cinêlandia will have 8 thousand litres of beer for 50 thousand people».

<sup>1026</sup> «Good morning, democracy. Today the new republic is born».

<sup>1027</sup> «The painter retouches the panel that will greet the delegates to the College and a new era».



# Voto da vitória deve ser dado a Tancredo às 11h30min

**Brasília** — O voto da vitória deve ser dado a Tancredo de Almeida Neto às 11h30min, segundo o cronograma estabelecido pelo Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE) para o primeiro turno das eleições presidenciais de 1985.

O TSE divulgou o cronograma de votação em 14 Estados e no Distrito Federal, onde o voto será aberto às 11h30min e permanecerá aberto até as 18h. O TSE também divulgou o cronograma de votação para o segundo turno, que será realizado em 21 de janeiro.

**Cronograma**

As eleições presidenciais de 1985 serão realizadas em dois turnos. O primeiro turno será realizado em 15 de janeiro, e o segundo turno em 21 de janeiro.

**1º Turno** — Voto da vitória deve ser dado a Tancredo de Almeida Neto às 11h30min.

**2º Turno** — Voto da vitória deve ser dado a Tancredo de Almeida Neto às 11h30min.



O pintor refoca a paitel que saudará os delegados no Colégio e uma nova época

## Cinelândia terá 8 mil litros de chope para 50 mil pessoas

**Brasília** — A Cinelândia terá 8 mil litros de chope para 50 mil pessoas, segundo o cronograma estabelecido pelo Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE) para o primeiro turno das eleições presidenciais de 1985.

O TSE divulgou o cronograma de votação em 14 Estados e no Distrito Federal, onde o voto será aberto às 11h30min e permanecerá aberto até as 18h. O TSE também divulgou o cronograma de votação para o segundo turno, que será realizado em 21 de janeiro.

## "Graças a Deus chegou ao fim"

**Brasília** — "Graças a Deus chegou ao fim", afirmou o presidente da Associação Brasileira de Imprensa (ABI) ao comentar a vitória de Tancredo de Almeida Neto nas eleições presidenciais de 1985.

O presidente da ABI, João de Deus, afirmou que a vitória de Tancredo de Almeida Neto representa o fim de uma era de ditadura e o início de uma nova era de democracia.

## Sarney saúda os maranhenses

**Brasília** — O presidente da República, Collor de Melo, saudou os maranhenses por terem escolhido Tancredo de Almeida Neto como presidente da República em 1985.

Collor afirmou que a vitória de Tancredo de Almeida Neto representa o fim de uma era de ditadura e o início de uma nova era de democracia.

## Jovens matrugam na Praça da Liberdade

**Brasília** — Jovens matrugam na Praça da Liberdade, segundo o cronograma estabelecido pelo Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE) para o primeiro turno das eleições presidenciais de 1985.

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## Velho eleito encontra jovem colega

**Brasília** — O velho eleito encontra jovem colega, segundo o cronograma estabelecido pelo Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE) para o primeiro turno das eleições presidenciais de 1985.

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Jarbas, 28 anos, e o novo eleito eleito a Brasília, 78, e o novo eleito

## Pais pára à espera da festa

**Brasília** — Pais pára à espera da festa, segundo o cronograma estabelecido pelo Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE) para o primeiro turno das eleições presidenciais de 1985.

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**INSTITUTO DE INDÚSTRIA E DO COMÉRCIO**  
**INSTITUTO BRASILEIRO DO CAFÉ**  
RESOLUÇÃO Nº 01 DE 14 DE JANEIRO DE 1985

**BANCO DO BRASIL S.A.**  
Carteira de Comércio Exterior  
**AVISO**

**ASSOCIAÇÃO BRASILEIRA DOS ERADICADORES DO CAFFÉ DO CAMPESINATO ASSOCIAÇÃO GARCÊS ESTRADONABIA CONVOCACÃO**

scheduled to take place in the following day in Rio de Janeiro, that is, an encounter between Tancredo and Figueiredo aiming to start the transition process. Again, the fact that Tancredo's victory was being taken for granted by the newspaper and the other political actors must be underscored, revealing the strength and relevance of the institutionalization process of the indirect elections at that moment. That is to say, the voting process that was receiving so much attention on that day, represented only the formalization of an institutional negotiated process that was already decided. Moreover, the other four different secondary texts present on the page informed, in one of them that Figueiredo would call the winning candidate later that day; being the only verbal element so far in that day's edition in which Tancredo's victory was not taken for granted. It is also noteworthy that other two were dedicated to the fact that the «Itamaraty», was already preparing an official visit to the USA, as well as a Tancredo's mission to the Vatican, described throughout the right column.

Regarding the picture (*photo 157*) that has been published in that page, the image that composes the top of the page alongside the main headline and once again stands as one of the richest narrative elements of it. The photo seems to be a continuation of the one that was placed on the front cover, albeit, revealing an even more fragile figure of President Figueiredo, one more time surrounded by ministers, medical staff, and security guards. In the image is possible to see the president sitting on the ground, shirtless, with his gaze down while those around him are standing around him. Some tree leaves create an interesting shadow effect in the photograph, adding this visual aspect to the picture caption which reads, «Figueiredo se exercitou nos jardins da casa de saúde com a assistência de Nimeyer»<sup>1028</sup>, can be created the idea that there was always something or an interference between the military president and the reading public, besides of course, the evident exposure of his health fragility, something that could be interpreted as problematic since he still occupied one of the most important political positions in the country.

*Folha de S. Paulo – 16/01/1985*

The cover of «FSP» the day after Tancredo Neves indirect election was entirely dedicated to the historical fact and presented a three-line headline which read: «The authoritarian cycle is over; Tancredo is the 1st civilian and opposition president since 1964». In addition to it, all the verbal elements present dealt with the subject in different approaches. In the left column occupying the top half of the page, an excerpt of the editorial has been

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<sup>1028</sup> «Figueiredo exercised in the gardens of the health house with the assistance of Nimeyer».

**POLÍTICA**

# Figueiredo e Tancredo dão início amanhã à transição

...afirmam se surpreenderem com visita

**Presidente telefonará ao vitorioso**

**Itamarati assume preparativos da visita aos Estados Unidos**

**Délio diz que povo sonha alto mas não há milagres**

**COMUNICADO**

**CIBRAN**

**ELES ESTÃO DESAFIANDO O TEMPO.**

Com 100 anos de idade, Itamarati continua a desafiar o tempo. A cidade, fundada em 1885, mantém sua arquitetura original, com ruas largas e casas de madeira. O povo daqui vive em harmonia com a natureza, aproveitando o clima ameno e a paisagem deslumbrante. Itamarati é um destino ideal para quem busca um pouco de história e um pouco de natureza. Visite a cidade e descubra o charme de Itamarati.

**GUAVANA**  
COM CORAGEM  
RIO SUL

rio sul



published. Must be underscored the presence of expressions such as: «authoritarian period»; «military movement of 64» to refer to what has been the dictatorship and the way the military came to power. In the last paragraph « É preciso restituir o Brasil aos brasileiros, e nisso todos estão de acordo; ninguém é mais privilegiado do que os outros no seu entendimento do que é bom para o País»<sup>1029</sup>, again, reinforces the notion of national unity, although in practice, as presented so far, several political streams and sectors of civil society were sidelined in the re-democratization process.

The text published just below the large cover photo and right in the center of the page gave a complete summary of the previous day, detailing the voting process, João Cunha's (PMDB) vote for victory, Tancredo's statement calling on the people to draw up a new Constituent Assembly, Figueiredo's phone call and, finally, the «PDS» candidate Paulo Maluf's acknowledgement of the electoral defeat. In the final quarter of the page other five secondary headlines presented other details of the previous day, however, one of them stands out by comparing the election celebrations with the demonstrations for the direct elections «Pouca gente saiu às ruas para festejar ».<sup>1030</sup> In a certain way, is possible to interpret such an attitude as a way the newspaper found to reinforce its political correctness in having «sponsored» the «Diretas Já» movement. At the same time as an indirect consequence to the narrative choice of placing that auxiliary title in the first page, reveals how both events (Diretas Já and Tancredo's elections) had a lack of organicity within the country's population that in the present case were absent from the streets.

The image (*photo 158*) published on the front page of the newspaper that day, occupying approximately 1/3 of the page, depicted Tancredo Neves after the confirmation of his victory in the elections. In a close-up taken from a long distance through the use of a tele objective lens, the image exposed the «PMDB» politician standing, wearing a black suit, with both arms raised and looking subtly downwards with a discreet smile on his face. The position of his gaze, as well as that of the others present, gives the impression that he was placed on a stage slightly above the audience he was addressing. Moreover, Tancredo was surrounded by several people, in the photograph are identifiable other five white men, also wearing suits.

According to the caption, «Tancredo, ladeado por Ulysses Guimarães, comemora sua eleição, no plenário da Câmara, e é ovacionado; no quadro, João Cunha, no momento em que

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<sup>1029</sup> «Is necessary to restore Brazil to the Brazilians, and in this everyone agrees; no one is more privileged than others in their understanding of what is good for the country».

<sup>1030</sup> «Few people took to the streets to celebrate».

Acabou o ciclo autoritário; Tancredo é o 1º presidente civil e de oposição desde 64

EDITORIAL

Que seja uma democracia melhor

A eleição de Tancredo Neves para Presidência da República marca o fim de um ciclo na vida política brasileira. Se o momento é de aforização da democracia, e da esperança de implantá-la em breve, o se trata contudo de simplesmente ar uma página na história do País, recusa a encarar de frente o que o período autoritário e a avaliação da maturidade. Sua memória não de desaparecer na cômica impressão de que, hoje, os demandas e atitudes condenáveis que o caracterizam não seriam mais conhecíveis, de que não fôsse coisa do passado.

O sistema que subtraiu aos cidadãos seus mais elementares direitos, e fez das decisões sobre os destinos do País um assunto de que uns poucos podiam participar, tem gem numa prática política e numa ideologia pelas quais toda a sociedade, e não só os que desmoralizaram o movimento militar de 64, teve responsabilidade. As divergências poucas nunca tiveram, no instável fôlego de democracia vivida na ideologia republicana, o caráter de uma cordância civil, a ser tratada entre si da tal e da democracia. Sempre valeu a ideia de que esta é mas uma situação conjuntural, que interessa preservar quando está a seu favor sempre se viu na oposição a contestação radical, a seara, e nos atos do adversário um julgo secreto que só a força poderia quebrar.

Apenas um passo, e os cidadãos asilados passaram a ser considerados — as eleições pelo Colégio são uma consequência dessa concepção — como incapazes de tomar decisões lúculas, despreparados para a democracia, desastrosos quando se empenhavam em governar o País. Veio a festa militar.

Mas o autoritarismo não significa apenas as violências, as prisões políticas, a tortura, o exílio, nem mesmo os casuísticos, a ojeriza ao voto popular e às mobilizações de massa. Também se entrançou ali — nessa desigualdade básica com que divide e divide os cidadãos entre os que têm senectezes que não têm — o costumezamento à opinião pública, o desprezo à memória dos cidadãos, o comprometimento com qualquer ideia a qual não se possa tirar imediatamente vantagem pessoal, o uso sistemático de desinformação e do segredo.

Em tudo isso há um autoritarismo político que deve ser enterrado para sempre. Para tanto se faz necessária a participação de todos os cidadãos numa defesa da democracia que transcenda as injunções do momento ou o desacordo passageiro com o governo. É preciso restituir o Brasil os brasileiros, e nisso todos estão de acordo; ninguém é mais privilegiado do que os outros em seu entendimento do que é bom para o País.



Tancredo, ladeado por Ulysses Guimarães, comemora sua eleição, no plenário da Câmara, e é ovacionado; no quadro, João Cunha, no momento em que dava o voto n.º 344, que garantiu a vitória

A eleição de Tancredo de Almeida Neves, mineiro de 74 anos, que teve 480 votos no Colégio Eleitoral contra 180 dados a seu oponente Paulo Salim Maluf, paulista de 53 anos, desatou a primeira festa política que se realiza simultaneamente em todo o País, do plenário do Congresso Nacional às ruas de Brasília e de Norte a Sul do Brasil — espetáculo só visto antes em Copas do Mundo.

A festa começou, em Brasília, ao raiar do dia: já havia entusiasmos manifestantes nos jardins do Congresso e nas imediações da residência de Tancredo, na Superquadra Sul 206. E explodiu às 11h35, momento em que o deputado João Cunha (PMDB-SP), 45, deu a Tancredo o voto número 344, suficiente para garantir a vitória.

O presidente eleito acompanhou a votação no auditório Petrólio Portella, no Senado, ao lado de governadores da Aliança Democrática. Gérson Camata, do Espírito Santo, deixou o Congresso e voltou a seu Estado após ser informado de que pelo menos 68 pessoas haviam morrido ontem de madrugada na favela do morro do Tabuazeiro, em Vitória, devido a um deslizamento provocado pelas fortes chuvas (leia reportagem do acidente na pág. 27).

Proclamado o resultado (houve nove ausências e dezesseis abstenções), Tancredo fez o discurso da vitória, no qual se comprometeu a promover a "organização institucional do Estado", convocou todo o

povo brasileiro "ao grande debate constitucional" e afirmou que a Constituição "não pode ser ato de algumas elites. É responsabilidade de todo o povo".

O ex-governador mineiro reafirmou dois compromissos: "Esta foi a última eleição indireta do País; venho para realizar urgentes e corajosas mudanças políticas, sociais e econômicas, indispensáveis ao bem estar do povo." Prometeu, ainda, combater a inflação "desde o primeiro dia" e "promover a retomada do crescimento". Tancredo garantiu que toda a política econômica do futuro governo "estará subordinada a esse dever social", para acrescentar: "Enquanto houver, neste país, um só homem sem trabalho, sem pão,

sem teto e sem letras, toda a prosperidade será falsa." Antes do discurso, logo após a proclamação, Tancredo recebeu telefonemas de cumprimentos do presidente Figueiredo, do hospital em que está internado no Rio. Tancredo agradeceu e retribuiu, desejando "muitos anos de vida" ao Presidente, que completou ontem 67 anos.

Paralelamente, Figueiredo deu credens para que sejam colocados à disposição de Tancredo, como presidente eleito, os serviços de segurança e apoio logístico em suas viagens. O esquema entrará em funcionamento já na viagem que o eleito fará ao Exterior, possivelmente a partir do dia 28.

Figueiredo também reiterou a oferta da granja do Riacho Fundo,

atualmente sem utilização, para que Tancredo nela residisse até posse, no dia 15 de março. Hoje, o palácio do Planalto, o Presidente receberá a visita protocolar de seu sucessor, às 15h.

Paulo Maluf, apesar de derrotado, não deixou de sorrir e até proclamou "vitorioso", por entender que sua candidatura "garantiu o processo político", como disse o discurso com que encaminhou a Tancredo, apareceu no auditório em que o vencedor acompanhou a votação, deu-lhe um forte abraço e lhe desejou muitas felicidades.

PÁG. 4 e 5

Opinião da Folha

Leia na pág. 2 o editorial "O que esperar", sobre as expectativas geradas com a eleição de Tancredo Neves e os riscos de uma eventual frustração.

Dólar a Cr\$ 3.393 - Pág. 20

Índice

Table with 2 columns: Item and Value. Includes categories like Cotação de Câmbio, Índice Geral, Inflação, etc.

Tempo

Parlamentarismo malhado em São Paulo, com aprovações apenas para manter a ordem. A temperatura deve subir para 17 a 20 graus, então, a situação foi 19 a 20 graus. Não há, portanto, nenhuma mudança de direção.

Eleito reitera promessa da Constituinte Acordo prevê 2 ministérios para a Frente Pouca gente saiu às ruas para festejar Segurança do Congresso age com violência Os artistas reagem com bom humor

O presidente eleito Tancredo Neves prometeu, em entrevista exclusiva à Folha, a convocação de uma Constituinte para 1986, afirmando que "é compromisso nosso da primeira hora".

Apesar de a Frente Liberal estar reivindicando oito ministérios no governo Tancredo Neves (conforme a lista do senador Marco Maciel), o acordo entre o presidente eleito e o vice-presidente Aurélio Chaves, firmado na época da formação da Frente Liberal, garante aos frentistas apenas dois postos no primeiro escalão, informou o repórter Jomar Moraes.

A vitória de Tancredo Neves foi recebida com foguetório e churrasco de papel picado nas principais capitais, mas, ao contrário da campanha pelas diretas, não levou grandes multidões às ruas. Em São Paulo, quinze mil pessoas, reunidas na praça da Sé, aplaudiram e dançaram no ouvir o 344º voto a favor de Tancredo. No Rio o resultado do Colégio Eleitoral foi festejado na Candelária por cerca de dois mil manifestantes e em Belo Horizonte dez mil pessoas cantaram o Hino Nacional. Outras semelhantes ocorreram em Porto Alegre e Recife. Em São João del-Rei, cidade natal do presidente eleito, oito mil foram às ruas para

Par quatro vezes — a entrada e saída de Maluf e Tancredo do plenário da Câmara — a segurança do Congresso agiu com violência, empurrando e dando cotoveladas em jornalistas e convidados que eventualmente se encontrassem perto da passagem. Por isso, tomaram também pontapés e joelhadas dos agressivos. Esse comportamento contribuiu para o clima tenso que marcou os encontros dos candidatos com a imprensa durante a sessão. No primeiro empurrão-empurrão, quando Maluf chegou ao plenário, por pouco não houve incidente mais grave: um dos empurrados foi o deputado Ulysses Guimarães, que falava a um grupo

Convidados pela Folha, artistas intelectuais reuniram-se diante uma tevê para assistir à votação do Colégio Eleitoral. Lygia Fagundes Telles, Júlio Medaglia, Maria I. Nomi, João Batista de André, Roberto Santos, Glauco Pinto Moraes e Carlos Guimarães não reagiram com ironia a algumas passagens da sessão. "Não é nada, mas o fato é melhor que homens", disse Bossoni, que recebeu críticas nos muros do Colégio. O cineasta Roberto San afirmou que vai "cobrar com Ju os vinte anos sem liberdade". A festa pública deploinou de cinco dos autores que partam da antologia "Constituinte Democrática".

dava o voto nº344, que garantiu a vitória »<sup>1031</sup>, one of them was the leader of the «PMDB» in the Senate. It is worth saying that the image is slightly blurred, a result of the noise in the image that often the use of a telephoto lens can cause. Finally, there is a small picture frame in the lower left corner of Tancredo's photo, in which a small photo of João Cunha (PMDB) was inserted as he was casting his vote and consolidating Tancredo's victory. In general, the photograph chosen for the cover that day was quite protocolar, registering the events and presenting the subjects of the story without, however, presenting major narrative propositions. On that day, unlike other editions, especially during the «Diretas Já» campaign, the «FSP» did not register on the cover of the newspaper the participation of the «people» in the events of the previous day preferring a protocolar reference to the institutional elements.

In the internal page number four the analysis steps on how some details of the previous day were presented. Inside the rubric «Encerrando o ciclo autoritário»<sup>1032</sup>, the page presented three different texts right after the main headline «The election of Tancredo ends the military cycle». In the first of the texts, signed by Clóvis Rossi, there was a long description of what the election of Tancredo meant, the voting process, the celebrations in the streets of the country (which even though smaller than the Direct Election) was recurrently mentioned in the articles, the concepts and wishes of Tancredo in his speech after the victory. It is noteworthy that the only time the word «dictatorship» appears on that page has been when was quoted the voting declaration of the deputy João Cunha (PMDB) guaranteeing Tancredo's victory: «Tenho a honra de dizer que o meu voto enterra a ditadura funesta que infelicitou a minha Pátria».<sup>1033</sup>

The other texts of the page presented, after the secondary title ««Derrotado, Maluf declara-se vitorioso»»<sup>1034</sup>, statements of the government candidate Paulo Maluf «PDS» recognizing the defeat and placing himself as part of the democratic reconstruction. In this case, however, the quoting that was conceded to the former candidate were limited to two lines in which he felt ««vitorioso e gratificado por ter contribuído para que este País tenha uma democracia»».<sup>1035</sup> The last text, under the title «Dezessete integrantes do Colégio deixaram de votar»<sup>1036</sup> describes and informs the rites in parliament during the vote and the names of those who did not attend to the session or vote.

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<sup>1031</sup> «Tancredo, flanked by Ulysses Guimarães, celebrates his election, in the plenary of the House, and is cheered; in the picture, João Cunha, at the moment he was giving the vote nº 344, which guaranteed the victory».

<sup>1032</sup> «Ending the authoritarian cycle».

<sup>1033</sup> «I have the honour of saying that my vote buries the disastrous dictatorship that inflicted my homeland».

<sup>1034</sup> «Defeated, Maluf declares himself victorious».

<sup>1035</sup> «victorious and gratified for having contributed so that this country would have a democracy».

<sup>1036</sup> «Seventeen members of the College failed to vote».

The photograph (*photo 159*) that was published on that page took up approximately ¼ of the page, moreover, in an american plan (from the subject's waist up), it framed in a diving angle the moment in which Tancredo and Sarney were embracing each other after the voting session ended. This fact is detailed in the caption, «Ao final da votação, o abraço de Tancredo Neves e José Sarney, os dois vitoriosos».<sup>1037</sup> The image presented a strong element of contrast between the colors of the clothes of those present and their bright faces, besides, the fact of having been made at a relatively long distance, using a tele objective lens, flattened the planes of the photograph and left the second plane slightly blurred. In the present case is possible to see a group of people, most probably other parliamentarians, smiling and celebrating together with the elected ones. There is a great aspect of movement in the image, not only because of the hug in progress captured, but also because of the irregularity in the distribution of the others present in the photo, which was clearly not posed. The smiles were abundant and help to give the idea of a scene suspended in the air.

On internal page six, still under the rubric «Encerrado o ciclo autoritário»<sup>1038</sup>, the headline was «The vote for the victory of the Alliance comes out of São Paulo». Occupying the lower two thirds of the page was a long list of the votes given by the Electoral College in the previous day, offering to the reader the details of it, state by state and parliamentarian by parliamentarian the choices that were made. Between this and the headline at the top of the page there was an image and two texts; the larger of the two went into great detail, including chronological details, on the voting process and in particular the fact that the vote that sealed the victory came from a member of parliament from the «PMDB» of the state of São Paulo. This element was further reinforced in the secondary text of the page, which even referred to the «magic number», which, as quoted in the text, is used in the USA to refer to the vote that guarantees a majority. The point that stands out in relation to such texts presented by the newspaper is the insistent treatment and deepening in detail of certain information that had already been presented in the same edition. Indicating the willingness of the newspaper to publish a large amount of information and pages on the Tancredo's election agenda.

The unique image (*photo 160*) published on that page, was a rectangular, horizontal photograph that has been obtained through a wide-angle lens, presenting a panoramic image the National Congress plenary. Again, the chairs, curtains and architectural details help to confirm the information presented in the caption, «O plenário lotado acompanhou com grande

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<sup>1037</sup> «At the end of the vote, the embrace of Tancredo Neves and José Sarney, the two victorious».

<sup>1038</sup> «Closure of the authoritarian cycle».

— POLÍTICA — Quarto-feira, 16 de Janeiro de 1985

FOLHA DE S. PAULO

Encerrado o ciclo autoritário

# Eleição de Tancredo Neves encerra o ciclo militar

CLÓVIS ROSSI  
Enviado especial de Brasília

A Nova República o slogan usado por Tancredo Neves para o seu período de governo — nasce exatamente há 11 dias de ontem, horário em que foi emitido o 24º e definitivo voto em favor do ex-governador mineiro. E nasceu aos sons da primeira grande festa política da História do Brasil que se realizou simultaneamente em Norte e Sul, de plenário da Câmara às ruas de Brasília, do Chioppone em Curitiba como antes se via em Copacabana do Mundo.

A festa dispôs o restante da votação e muita gente que comemorava nos jardins do Congresso nem ficou sabendo que Tancredo chegou aos 68 votos (66 do Colégio) contra 190 (20%) para Paulo Salim Maluf. 14 Nove delegados não apareceram para votar (cinco do Partido dos Trabalhadores, dois do PMDB, senador Amaral Peixoto, do PDS, e Julio Carnio, do PDT, ausentados). E dezesseis se absteram, entre eles o líder do PDS na Câmara, Nelson Marchezan, 46, votado e acusado de trair pelo malufista.

Exatamente uma hora depois do nascimento, o Presidente eleito recebeu a homenagem de cumprimentos do Presidente em funções, general João Baptista Figueiredo, em cena que explicou a festa e o porquê da Nova República de um lado, no lado hospitalar, o chefe de um regime que agoniza em impiedade e no outro, o Poder nascente, quase impossibilitado de ouvir o que diz o interlocutor pelo ruído infernal da festa e da briga entre separação e ruptura, desagravos, remissões, cobiça da Velha República, dos 21 anos de regime militar.

A nova nasce sob o signo de dois compromissos assumidos pelo eleito, "perante Deus e perante a Nação": "Dota foi a última decisão indelével do País; venho para realizar urgentes e corajosas mudanças políticas, sociais e econômicas indispensáveis ao bem-estar do povo brasileiro".

Nasce, igualmente, com a promessa de fazer uma nova Constituição, que não seja "assunto restrito aos juristas, aos sábios e aos políticos", que "não pode ser ato de algumas elites", e sim, "responsabilidade de todos". Peram promessa de Tancredo, no discurso de dezesseis páginas e 21 minutos que pronunciou em um plenário enfeitado e já devidamente ensaiado de malufistas.

Como se previa, foi um pronunciamento reafirmado de conceitos ("a primeira tarefa do meu governo é o restabelecimento da organização institucional do Estado") em "vento em nome da Obediência", assim mesmo, com malufistas no lado original e malufistas no lado contrário a manifestações mais claras de descontentamento econômico nacional. Trechos enfraquecidos e o primeiro ato do "vamos promover a retomada do crescimento").

Promessas que chegaram a desenhos ambiciosos: "Retomar o crescimento é criar empregos. Toda a política econômica de meu governo estará subordinada a esse objetivo social. Esquante burocracia, não fale, não se tome, não se faça, não se prometa, não se faça, não se prometa, não se faça".

Discursos que transitam também pela convocação "ao grande trabalho nacional", não a curta observação de que "a cidadania não é privilégio de quem não age promovendo o favor da comunidade".

O grande metrô, aliás, parecia desenhado, ainda que parlamentar, na própria mesa do "voto especial do Congresso na qual o eleito fez o discurso" a ele foram chamados não só os dois eleitos mas também o atual vice-presidente da República, Aurélio Chaves, o presidente do PDT, Darcy Ribeiro dos Santos, de fora, portanto, apenas o PT (assim mesmo mencionado no discurso) e os malufistas.

Pelo tom dos discursos, até parece que a Nova República nasce de parte natural: Tancredo, em seu pronunciamento, listou todos os que participaram para o processo de transição e não deixou praticamente ninguém de fora, nem mesmo as Forças Armadas e o presidente da República, Maluf, não citado.



## Derrotado, Maluf declara-se vitorioso

HENRIQUE GONZAGA JR.  
Repórter de Brasília

Impassível e de sorriso armado, o deputado Paulo Maluf, 53, enfrentou na segunda fila do plenário do Colégio Eleitoral. Declarou, após o 24º voto que consagrou sua derrota, que se sentia "vitorioso e gratificado por ter contribuído para que este País tenha uma democracia".

Seu lugar, logo atrás dos líderes Nelson Marchezan e Aurélio Chaves, foi garantido desde os 68 votos pelo deputado Sebastião Ceará (PDS-PA), o primeiro parlamentar a entrar no plenário — que reservou também outra cadeira ao lado para o candidato a vice-presidente na chapa derrotada, deputado Flávio Marinho (PDS-CE), o presidente do partido explica que a ida ao Colégio fora "uma dura decisão política imposta pelas circunstâncias e plebiscitada pelos eleitores" (ver íntegro na página 8).

Sou a mera retórica, mas as tolices que foram aramadas em vários pontos do Congresso mostram que, de fato, não se acerta a Colégio: nas praças das Capitais de todo o País, está em andamento a festa da vitória. E Ulysses não lamenta: "no grande, não autônomo vencedor; o povo brasileiro".

O discurso dura os vinte minutos regulamentares e, depois, é a vez de Maluf, que fala como opositor, não como o vencedor da contenda ao arbitrio — é propício e plebiscitado pelo "flego de quem", (ver íntegro na página 9).

Em um momento de ordem, Maluf agradece ao primeiro voto de Maluf (para Maluf) e primeiro voto de Darcy Ribeiro dos Santos, mais gente vai chegando. E os lábios mostram que o mesmo ocorre nos Estados. E quando, às 12h30, dá a palavra ao eleito, o povo, que dura início à tarde, com a campanha das diretas, que estivera absolutamente suseste nas vésperas da eleição, já retomara o seu lugar nas praças e referendava, em festa nacional, a escolha de quem fora merecedor. E eleitores e espectadores, separados ou juntos, vívidos do Congresso ou por milhares de quilômetros de distância, cantaram juntos o Hino Nacional.

Ouviu, com pouca atenção, o discurso de Tancredo Neves, quando Moacyr Dalla citou os dois candidatos, foram bem mais prolongadas. Desta vez, porém, não havia assistentes nas galerias.

Quando Maluf foi votado porque, depois dos discursos de Ulysses e Maluf, haviam questões de ordem, persistindo em que a votação deveria ser feita em separado para presidente e vice-presidente da República. Em seguida, antecipou que o PDS iria à Justiça para impugnar a eleição de José Sarney. O líder do PMDB, Freitas Vitor, contestou a questão de ordem do parlamentar malufista, mas não conseguiu impedir o presidente dos trabalhos, Moacyr Dalla, citado a Lei Complementar nº 15, sobre o Colégio Eleitoral, rejeitar a impugnação de decisão que ele não deveria atuar no ato.

Agindo Timóteo, do PDT, levou muitas vezes por votar em Paulo Maluf, o contrário do outro candidato, a ex-cavaleiro Mário Juruna, 41, que ganhou a maioria dos votos. Maluf não declarou seu voto. A confissão de abster-se do voto foi dada em entrevista ao jornal "O Estado de São Paulo".

Palmas como antes não pertubaram os trabalhos do Colégio Eleitoral. Não aconteceram contumelias escarregadas entre alianças e malufistas. Não houve nem mesmo uma declaração de guerra. A declaração de guerra foi feita pelo partido não foi consultado sobre

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curso de Ulysses Guimarães, mas ao anunciar os nomes dos candidatos inscritos, as palmas para o chefe Tancredo-Sarney e o silêncio para Maluf-Marcelino pronunciaram o resultado final em nome da Obediência. Ulysses Guimarães é chamado para encaminhar a votação. Com o mesmo tom de ordem, o presidente do partido promissora o histórico discurso da véspera da eleição de emenda Dante de Oliveira, o presidente do partido explica que a ida ao Colégio fora "uma dura decisão política imposta pelas circunstâncias e plebiscitada pelos eleitores" (ver íntegro na página 8).

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Após a vitória, o abraço de Tancredo Neves e José Sarney, os dois vitoriosos na conquista da maioria no Colégio Eleitoral que impôs a derrota a Maluf

comandará o Senado e a Câmara. Será ministro independente, crítica e não homologadora, pelo de decisões e de persuasão dos problemas e reivindicações da nacionalidade".

Por fim, referenciado a Frente Liberal, aos dissidentes do PDS que não aderiram a Frente, e aos políticos do PDT, do PTB e do PT, assegurou que o governo democrático será "um governo de não aliados". Ulysses falou durante vinte minutos.

O deputado Paulo Maluf pediu em seguida a tribuna. Foi a primeira vez, em sua raras passagens pelo plenário, que ele não recebeu vaias da ordem comportada oposição. E houve outras expressões de respeito do candidato porque o habitual tumulto e as interrupções não ocorreram. Ulysses reconheceu, por antecipação, seu discurso. Foi quando se declarou feliz por ter garantido, com a maioria dos votos, "a primeira vez em nossa História — afirmou o dirigente socialista — tivemos uma Constituição escrita, cumprida e funcionando pelo vontade direta do povo".

Agindo Timóteo, do PDT, levou muitas vezes por votar em Paulo Maluf, o contrário do outro candidato, a ex-cavaleiro Mário Juruna, 41, que ganhou a maioria dos votos. Maluf não declarou seu voto. A confissão de abster-se do voto foi dada em entrevista ao jornal "O Estado de São Paulo".

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Encerrado o ciclo autoritário

Sai de São Paulo o voto para a vitória da Aliança

De São Paulo saiu o voto da vitória de Tancredo Neves. O voto foi para a Aliança Democrática.

De São Paulo saiu o voto da vitória de Tancredo Neves. O voto foi para a Aliança Democrática. O resultado da votação dos delegados estaduais foi o seguinte: Aliança Democrática, 213 votos; Frente Democrática, 107 votos; Frente Democrática, 107 votos.



João Cunha, o autor do chamado "número mágico"

Os norte-americanos chamam este voto, o que define irremediavelmente uma eleição, de número mágico. Sem dúvida, há algo de mágico no momento em que é emitido, com a liberdade de expressão de ideias entre os votantes e a consequente demonstração de unidade dos partidos.

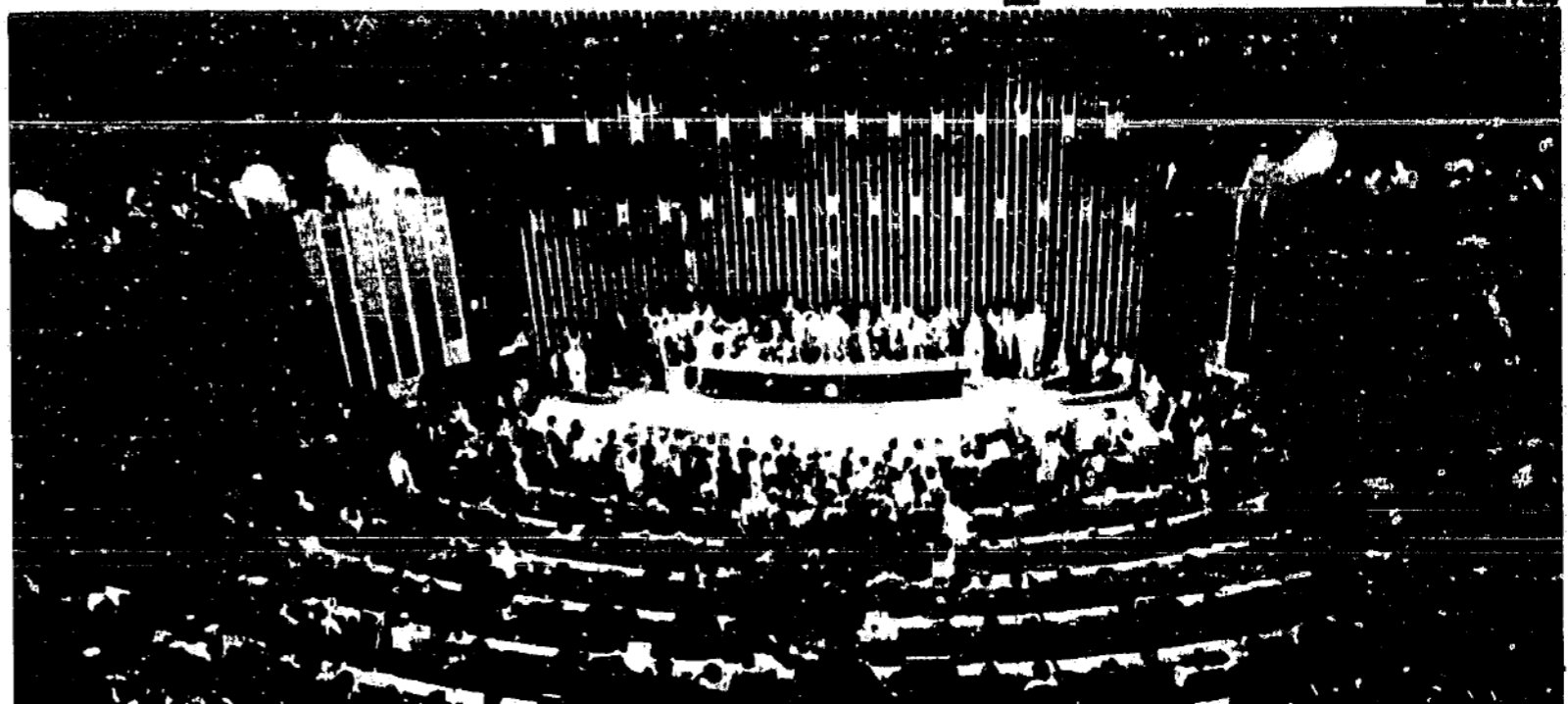
Maia havia sido reeleito senador, mas não pôde ser reconhecido devido a uma decisão do STF. O resultado da votação dos delegados estaduais foi o seguinte: Aliança Democrática, 213 votos; Frente Democrática, 107 votos; Frente Democrática, 107 votos.

Com uma hora de votação, já temos a pronúncia da representação da Frente Aliada. Tancredo Neves já estava com 138 votos e a Aliança Democrática com 107. O resultado da votação dos delegados estaduais foi o seguinte: Aliança Democrática, 213 votos; Frente Democrática, 107 votos; Frente Democrática, 107 votos.

João Cunha também ganhou voto em função de seu discurso nacionalista e sua postura de defensor da operação. O resultado da votação dos delegados estaduais foi o seguinte: Aliança Democrática, 213 votos; Frente Democrática, 107 votos; Frente Democrática, 107 votos.

Estado por Estado, o registro da chegada de Tancredo à Presidência

Table with columns for state names (e.g., ALAGOAS, RIO GRANDE DO NORTE, MARANHÃO, SERGIPE, SÃO PAULO, MATO GROSSO, MATO GROSSO DO SUL, PIAUÍ, RONDÔNIA, PERNAMBUCO, CEARÁ, PARA, AMAPÁ, BAHIA, GOIÁS) and lists of names and party affiliations (e.g., PM, PSD, PFL, etc.) for each state's delegation.



O plenário lotado acompanhou com grande expectativa todo o processo de votação no Colégio Eleitoral

expectativa todo o processo de votação no Colégio Eleitoral». <sup>1039</sup> The element that stands out in this case is precisely the notion of continuity between the photo presented the day before with the empty plenary and it now full, celebrating the election result. From the visual point of view, is possible to interpret such narrative construction in a key in which, while the country was still immersed in the authoritarian military regime (as called by the newspaper), the plenary was empty, as soon as the election of a civilian president was confirmed, it has been filled up.

In the main text of the internal page number eight, under the main headline, «For Ulysses, democracy is already rooted in the country», a large quotation space has been given to Ulysses Guimarães, who throughout six paragraphs (almost all filled with quotes from the «PMDB's» leader), expressed and synthesized the meaning of having opposed the military for decades, the electoral process, as well as his emotion at the conclusion of the election. In the final half of the page, his entire speech to the Electoral College the previous day was published.

The other texts on that page, were presented the future directions of both sides of the political dispute which had ended the day before. On the one hand, elements of Tancredo's trip to the USA were presented, such as the fact that the president elected would not meet with any of the north American country's bankers. On the other, the fact that Maluf would go to Europe with his family, without a precise date to return indicated. In addition to it, were presented Maluf's reactions, opinions, and a general tone of satisfaction at having contributed to the democratic process were described during breakfast with the press the day after the elections. A small text in the center of the page highlighted that Tancredo was the 29<sup>th</sup> President of the country, nevertheless is interesting to note that no mention has been made in the text to those who held the office of resident during the military regime, without knowing whether they were included in the counting or no.

In the upper right corner of the page, two photographs (*photos 161 and 162*) were published and together occupied almost 1/5 of the page. Each of them presented the two protagonists of the page's texts, Ulysses Guimarães and Paulo Maluf. Again, the captions helped to set the tone of the image's reading and interpretation that was expected, both were photographed standing during their respective speeches in the Electoral College the day before. While Ulysses (on the left) was presented in a serious but serene way, looking down while speaking, Maluf, on the other hand, was presented once again with his finger cocked, holding a sheet of paper, with a wan and tense expression while giving his speech. The joint construction seems to propose a counter position between a serene and lucid «PMDB» leader,

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<sup>1039</sup> «The packed plenary followed with great anticipation the whole process of voting in the Electoral College».

Encerrado o ciclo autoritário

Para Ulysses, democracia já está enraizada no País

Do Suroeste de Brasília  
Esperando o presidente eleito, Tancredino Neves, era carregado por soldados de segurança, administradores e jornalistas se aglomeraram diante dele não tiveram acesso ao interior do Colégio Nacional de Brasília. Ulysses Guimarães, 68, albeito emocionado, levou o senador eleito a um camarão da mulher dona Maria. Ulysses disse ao jornalista da Folha: "Minha grande emoção — é a vitória para o povo. Estou com a certeza de que a democracia está profundamente enraizada no Brasil".



Ulysses: "A grande emoção não ocorreu agora. Eu vivi nas praças com o povo." Mesmo derrotado, Paulo Maluf diz que o Brasil e a democracia ganharam

Agenda nos EUA exciui bancos

Do Suroeste de Brasília  
O presidente eleito Tancredino Neves não conversará nem oficialmente com nenhum representante estrangeiro em sua primeira visita ao Estado Unidos, o que é improvável, ao participar da Banca do Departamento de Estado.

Maluf viaja no fim-de-semana e permanece um mês na Europa

Do Suroeste de Brasília  
Derrotado, o deputado Paulo Maluf, em sua primeira entrevista à imprensa após a votação do Colégio Eleitoral, anunciou que viajará à Europa no próximo fim-de-semana. Ele pretende ficar no Exterior durante um mês, junto com a mulher, Silvia, e a filha mais nova. Mas isto que diz ao voltar a tempo de influenciar a escolha dos novos líderes do PSD no Congresso.

A escolha foi a do 29º presidente

Do Suroeste de Brasília  
Tancredino de Almeida Neves, 68, eleito presidente brasileiro e o primeiro presidente eleito pelo sufrágio universal, chegou à chancelaria do Colégio Eleitoral, no Palácio do Congresso Nacional, em Brasília, acompanhado de sua esposa, Maria, e de sua filha mais velha, Cláudia.

Compromissos do PMDB são populares

Do Suroeste de Brasília  
"Esta é a história do discurso do deputado Ulysses Guimarães no Colégio Eleitoral, ontem, no Colégio Eleitoral".

Montoro espera luta contra fome

Do Suroeste de Brasília  
O governador de Pernambuco, Roberto Magalhães, espera a Aliança Democrática, a ser constituída pelo presidente Tancredino Neves e a Aliança Democrática, a ser constituída pelo governador Tancredino Neves e a Aliança Democrática.

Montoro espera luta contra fome

Do Suroeste de Brasília  
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Ulysses: "A grande emoção não ocorreu agora. Eu vivi nas praças com o povo." Mesmo derrotado, Paulo Maluf diz que o Brasil e a democracia ganharam

while on the other side, the representative of the «PDS» and the militaries, still carried a strong authoritarian aspect and expression. A closer look to subtitles helped to highlight such notions «Ulysses: “A grande emoção não ocorreu agora. Eu vivi nas praças com o povo”»<sup>1040</sup> and «Mesmo derrotado, Paulo Maluf diz que o Brasil e a democracia ganharam».<sup>1041</sup>

In the case of page twelve, the lead story occupied the two columns in the top right half of the page, just below the main headline, «With Carnival and honking horns, Brasília celebrates». In the text, the atmosphere and mood of the crowd outside the National Congress (approximately 5,000 people) was detailed as the voting progressed the day before. It is worth mentioning that the word «dictatorship» was putted in the public's mouth as has been quoted the main chant of that day «Acabou, acabou a ditadura».<sup>1042</sup> The last part of the article highlights that two newspaper companies from Rio de Janeiro were in charge of the reception to Tancredo on the eve of the elections «JB» and on the day of them «Organizações Globo».

In the text published just below the main photograph of the page and under the headline «Acordo garante só dois ministérios à Frente»<sup>1043</sup>, are presented the details of the agreement made within the «Democratic Alliance» that gave to the «PFL» only two ministries in the new civilian government, it is worth noting that this report was a great example of the slow and safe way that the political transition desired by the militaries took place, remembering that the «PFL» was composed of a dissident wing of the «PDS», the military party in the National Congress, that is, has been openly talked and debated the composition of a mixed government. Beside this, in a brief four-paragraph text, the opinion of the then Minister of Justice Ibrahim Abi Ackel was presented, revealing that according to him the clandestine parties, among them the «PCB», should return to legality.

Another text placed in the bottom of the page and signed by Tarso de Castro brings a perspective in first person and with a certain dose of irony of what had been the coverage made by him in Brasília the day before. Along the narrative that took up a quarter of the page, were slowly presented the participation of various artists and intellectuals in the election's day. The photograph placed just below showed the singer Fafá de Belém crying after the elections. Once again also on this page, and even in this last ironic text, the word «dictatorship» was not used in the newspaper text, but only when quoting someone's words.

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<sup>1040</sup> «Ulysses: "The great emotion did not occur now. I lived in the squares with the people"».

<sup>1041</sup> «Even defeated, Paulo Maluf says Brazil and democracy won».

<sup>1042</sup> «It is over, it is over the Dictatorship».

<sup>1043</sup> «Agreement guarantees only two ministries to the Front».

The photograph (*photo 163*) chosen to compose that page presented in a panoramic plan the lawn in front of the National Congress in Brasilia. In the image that occupied a little bit more than a quarter of the page is possible to identify the city's building that houses the two chambers, the Senate and the Deputies (with their two respective shells), as well as the two towers of the same building that characterize it architecturally. In addition, the image taken at a slight dipping angle allows the crowd to be viewed in greater amplitude. It is also possible to see that many of those present have their arms raised, others were carrying flags and, moreover, some were even on the top of the building's slab. The present interpretation understands that, although the crowds were much smaller than during the campaign for the direct elections occurred less than a year before; it was discursively interesting and necessary to present the «popular» element of the electoral process as a legitimizing aspect of the same process. One more time, the image's caption proposes a verbo-visual interaction that reinforces this narrative sense towards the popular legitimization element «Em frente ao Congresso, a festa brasiliense».

In the last internal page that will be analyzed in the present edition of the «FSP», right after the main headline of page number thirteen, «At the Sé Cathedral, the crowd celebrates Tancredo's victory» different verbo-visual elements interacted around the argument of Tancredo's election and his celebrations. In this specific case in the city of São Paulo. Before focusing on the photograph published or the texts printed, is necessary to point out that approximately 2/3 of the page was occupied by a huge advertisement of «CODIMEC - Comitê de Divulgação do Mercado de Capitais»<sup>1044</sup>, which basically presented the name of the group right below a quotation in capital letters of a Tancredo's sentence: «No meu governo vou desenvolver um grande trabalho de estímulo à abertura do capital das empresas. É um caminho certo que as empresas brasileiras começam a trilhar com segurança» (Tancredo Neves 30/12/84)<sup>1045</sup>. At the end of the announcement there is a short text in favor of the capital opening up of Brazilian companies. And the slogan «Um tempo de abertura. Um tempo de ação».<sup>1046</sup> The advertising plays with words between the democratic opening and the capital opening, relating both possibilities to the political figure of Tancredo, as well as to a new path in the history of Brazil. Thus, democracy, free capital and Tancredo act in discursive retroalimination and as synthesizers of a liberalizing consensus; economic, political and in the press, including in its relationship with the advertising that has been indicated by Taschner (1992)

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<sup>1044</sup> «CODIMEC - Capital Markets Disclosure Committee».

<sup>1045</sup> «In my government I will develop a great work to stimulate the opening of companies' capital. It is a sure path that Brazilian companies are beginning to follow (Tancredo Neves 30/12/84)».

<sup>1046</sup> «A time for openness. A time for action».



and that was being consolidated with the election of Tancredo. This same advertising piece was published in that day's edition of the «JB» on inside page number four and represents the explicit will of an important share of the Brazilian society (the economic liberal one) that were the main supporters of how the returning to a bourgeois democracy was being consolidated.

The main article text, placed in the upper half of the page next to the photograph, gave details of the celebration that the crowd held in «Sé Square» in São Paulo, with fireworks, music, bands, chants, and also the problems linked to the transmission of the voting session on the big screen during the day. The second part of the reportage dealt with the issue of other political parties' legalization, especially those that were left out of the returning to the democracy process. On the left side of the image, a brief text detailed the celebrations on «Avenida Paulista», another city's area that usually hosts political demonstrations.

It has been published only one image (*photo 164*) on that page which had as caption the following description «Por volta das 13hs, havia dez mil pessoas participando da comemoração na praça da Sé». <sup>1047</sup> In the panoramic image of the square, taken from a diving angle (probably from the top of a small stage or palanquin) part of the crowd was portrayed, but from a medium distance, since is possible to see the expression on the faces of those in the foreground. The atmosphere that the image conveys is quite calm. There are also banners and flags which can be read as «A força dirigente faz Tancredo presidente» <sup>1048</sup> and «PMDB: Grande placar da vitória» <sup>1049</sup> When the shot was made, the election was finished, and four hundred and eighty votes had been counted for Tancredo. Again, in this image the architectural and urban elements help to identify and demarcate where the scene took place, consolidating its historical element.

*Jornal do Brasil – 16/01/1985*

The cover of the «JB» in the day after Tancredo's election was published with two huge photographs each of it occupying 1/3 of the page and featuring clippings of the previous day from inside and outside the National Congress. Just below the first image, the headline was short and presented a direct quote from a statement made by the elected candidate, «Tancredo: there is only homeland with democracy». Although it is similar to the «FSP» headline, which also did not use the word dictatorship, here there is a difference in relation to the São Paulo newspaper's three-lines headline, the «JB» one had only six words.

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<sup>1047</sup> «Around 1pm, there were ten thousand people participating in the celebration at Praça da Sé».

<sup>1048</sup> «Driving force makes Tancredo president».

<sup>1049</sup> «PMDB: Great victory scoreboard».

Encerrado o ciclo autoritário

# Na Sé, multidão comemora a vitória de Tancredo

Ao 344º voto, papel e serpentina na av. Paulista

**Reportagem Local**  
A avenida Paulista não parou quando as emissoras anunciaram o voto do deputado João Cunha que assegurou a vitória de Tancredo. De alguns edifícios desceram enxotes de serpentinas e papel picado, mas as multidões de carros e pedestres prosseguiram indo e vindo, como em outra qualquer manhã de dia útil naquele páramo comercial e financeiro da cidade de São Paulo. As comemorações pela ascensão ao poder da oposição, planejadas com antecedência, concentraram-se na praça da Sé e em alguns pontos do centro. Na Paulista, o cartavali da vitória só deveria chegar pela fim da tarde.



Por volta das 13h, havia dez mil pessoas participando da comemoração na praça da Sé.

Debruçado no balcão de um pequeno bar, próximo à esquina da avenida Brigadeiro Luís Antônio, o nissei Jorge Okamura acompanhava atentamente a votação no Colégio Eleitoral, transmitida pela rádio. Jorge tem 22 anos — apenas um a mais do que o regime encerrado ontem — e é paulistano. Tinha um interesse especial em saber os números finais de votação porque apercebera uma casa de cerveja com um colega malufista, em que Maluf não receberia mais de 100 votos. Perdeu por pouco. "Mas não estou chateado", declarou. "Vou vamos beber juntos."

"Maluf sim"

Aos três quilômetros dali, na esquina das ruas Conselheiro Crispiniano e 24 de Maio, uma pequena multidão se concentrava em frente às vitrines da Ultramar, onde nada menos de oito aparelhos de TV transmitiam a eleição no Congresso. Apoiado numa tabuleta anunciando "ouro compra-se", o plaqueteiro Benedito Gomes, acompanhado o placar eleitoral, de olho na tela e cuidado colado a um rufado de pilão. Voltam deputados do Rio Grande do Norte. Placar: Tancredo, 108; Maluf, 58. "Zita ferrol!" brava Benedito comemorando o 109º voto do candidato aliançado.

Onze horas e 32 minutos. Em frente à loja G. Arosson, na Conselheiro Crispiniano, cerca de trinta pessoas se comprimiram para assistir ao voto decisivo. Tancredo Neves e dona Risoleta aparecem no vídeo. Placar: 344 votos contra 124 de Paulo Maluf. "Mas um, mas um!" gritam em coro alguns office-boy. O deputado João Cunha vota. Tancredo está eleito. Bojes pipocam na praça Itambé de Tancredo. Botinas de calculadoras e jornal picado caem do prédio da G. Arosson. Um grupo de rapazes engravataados dança e um deles grita: "Vamos trabalhar, minha gente!" São vaiados e zingados de "malufistas" pelos espectadores.

**Estrangeiros revelam satisfação pelo resultado do Colégio**

Após desembarcar ontem na ala internacional do aeroporto de Congonhas, a argentina Cristina Pecarrovi, 40, deu gritos de felicidades pela vitória de Tancredo Neves. Depois explicou: "Sou argentina mas morei no Brasil há sete anos, e estava torcendo por Tancredo. Que lindo que tenha se confirmado todas as previsões de sua vitória." Cristina havia viajado para a Argentina onde viu seus parentes e estava há trinta dias fora do País.

O padre italiano Benacci, 83, membro da Ordem Católica Servos de Maria, da cidade de Bolonha, Itália, se mostrou informado sobre a política brasileira, mas preferiu não dizer se sua opção seria por Maluf ou Tancredo. Segundo ele, o importante é que o presidente eleito ontem faça um bom governo. "Sei que o Brasil viveu vinte anos de autoritarismo e hoje é o primeiro passo para uma plena democracia." O padre Benacci esteve visitando a ordem Servos de Maria, na Argentina, e ficará no Brasil uma semana.

**Preocupado**

Após embarcar ontem de manhã para Buenos Aires, o egípcio naturalizado brasileiro, Issam Mikailian, 44, diretor de cinema, estava apreensivo com o resultado da reunião do Colégio Eleitoral. Ao deixar a alfândega, em Congonhas, e tomar o caminho da vitória de Tancredo Neves, respirou aliviado. "Ainda ontem que dei Tancredo, só assim, na próxima eleição, votaremos para presidente. Não concordo com o Colégio Eleitoral, mas foi a única opção depois que o projeto da ditadura foi derrubado no Congresso."

Demonstrando por uma pessoa muito bem informada sobre a política brasileira, o uruguaio Jorge D'Avila, 42, que veio ao Brasil a trabalho, disse que apesar de o novo presidente ter sido eleito através do Colégio, este é o primeiro passo para a plena liberdade. "É a democracia que vem surgindo depois de vinte anos, e para passar um período negro como este qualquer caminho é bom." D'Avila lembrou ainda que seu povo também viveu sob o regime militar durante dez anos. "Em março, quando no dia 1º o presidente Uruguai tomou posse, e no dia 15 quando Tancredo assumiu em Brasília, o caminho da democracia estará aberto em nossas nações", afirmou.

**Reportagem Local**  
No momento do 344º voto do Colégio Eleitoral as pessoas que estavam na praça da Sé explodiram gritando o nome de Tancredo Neves, girando bandeiras e soltando fogos em todos os cantos. A banda da Orquestra Municipal, composta de integrantes da subterránea, tocou "Vai Passar", de Chico Buarque, o hino Nacional e até "Eu le amo meu Brasil", de Tom e Jerry, hino da época Médici. Os organizadores da festa não esperaram encerrar a votação do Colégio e a concentração se transformou num Carnaval. O telão programado anteriormente pelo PMDB não funcionou por problemas de conexão. Segundo o deputado Valdemar Chubbaci, vice-presidente do partido, se "os técnicos passarem a noite toda trabalhando mas, as peças para a repetição tem que ser importadas. A solução encontrada foi transmitir através das antenas satélites o som de uma emissora de rádio. No início as manifestações eram tímidas. Palmas para o discurso de Wilson Guimarães e vaias para o de Maluf. Poucas pessoas, aproximadamente quatro mil, permaneceram na praça, outras, como o presidente da OAB-SP, Márcio Tomás Bastos, preferiram arrumar uma televisão e assistir à reunião do Colégio Eleitoral em seus escritórios. O maior movimento — dez mil pessoas — se deu por volta das 13h. Apesar da decoração com cartazes escritos "Moda Brasil, Tancredo Presidente", de cor e da queima de fogos, a praça da Sé viveu um dia normal com o comércio funcionando. Legalização Representantes do Partido Comunista do Brasil, do Partido Comunista Brasileiro e do MR-8 só chegaram à praça da Sé por volta das 11h, portando bandeiras vermelhas. O PC do B levou uma bateria, cujos integrantes vestiam camisas vermelhas escrito "pela legalização do PC do B". O Carnaval na Sé só foi interrompido uma vez, para a transmissão do discurso de Tancredo Neves. Todos ouviram em silêncio e houve, nesse momento, poucas manifestações de aplausos. As pessoas gritavam palavras de ordem sacadas em quase todas as manifestações políticas, como "um, dois, três Maluf, no xaxim". Focos políticos participaram da festa na praça. Além do deputado Chubbaci estavam presentes o 1º secretário do PMDB, José Maria Monteiro, o vereador Vilmar Feldman, o deputado Fernando Moraes e os secretários Arnaldo Madeira, da Habitação, e Nelson Pabiano, do Governo. As 14 horas entraram as escolas de samba na praça da Sé. A primeira a se apresentar foi a União Independente de Vila Trindade com sua bateria e algumas mulatas, que animaram os presentes. Bastante emocionado, o engenheiro Ricardo Zanetti, que esteve exilado durante os anos mais duros da Revolução, disse que era necessário comemorar "a queda do regime".

# "NO MEU GOVERNO VOU DESENVOLVER UM GRANDE TRABALHO DE ESTÍMULO À ABERTURA DO CAPITAL DAS EMPRESAS. É UM CAMINHO CERTO QUE AS EMPRESAS BRASILEIRAS COMEÇAM A TRILHAR COM SEGURANÇA."

Tancredo Neves (30/12/84)

# AÇÃO

*Todos os caminhos apontam para o fortalecimento da livre iniciativa através da democratização do capital e dos lucros das empresas.*  
*A abertura de capitais promove a capitalização da empresa, reduz o endividamento, aumenta os investimentos, cria novos empregos e democratiza a propriedade.*  
*As instituições do mercado de capitais estão aptas para ajudar nesta empreitada de financiar a retomada e a manutenção do desenvolvimento.*

**CODIMEC**  
Comitê de Divulgação do Mercado de Capitais  
*Este anúncio é um apoio do jornal Folha de São Paulo à livre iniciativa e à capitalização das empresas.*

**UM TEMPO DE ABERTURA. UM TEMPO DE AÇÃO.**

- ANB: Associação Brasileira de Análise de Negócios de Capital
- ANBSP: Associação Brasileira de Análise de Negócios de Investimento
- ANBPA: Associação Nacional de Bancos de Investimento
- ANBPR: Associação Nacional de Bancos de Investimento
- ANBPR: Associação Nacional de Bancos de Investimento
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Plávio Canalunga

Por volta das 13h, havia dez mil pessoas participando da comemoração na praça da Sé



Just below the main headline, in the central third of the page, a chart was printed in the left-hand corner with the final score of the Electoral College vote indicating the amount of votes each candidate received in the different states. In addition, the brief text summarized the results of the voting, Figueiredo's and Maluf's reactions, but was mainly focused on Tancredo's statements in favor of organizing a new Constituent process that would listen to different parts of the population. The numerical information that, during his thirty-five-minute speech after his election, Tancredo was interrupted forty times by applause was highlighted in the text. Finally, the fifteen internal pages of the newspaper that would deal with the election agenda were indicated in the end of the text, as well as the publication of a special supplement called «Tancredo, a restauração»<sup>1050</sup> containing forty-four pages with a complete profile of the new president. At this point is worth highlighting an excerpt from its description: «O suplemento assinala as condições históricas e mostra as perspectivas abertas com a escolha de Tancredo para condutor do processo de transição do autoritarismo para a democracia».<sup>1051</sup>

The first picture (*photo 165*) placed high up on the page presented through a tele objective lens a detailed plan of the facade and ramp of the National Congress building in Brasilia. In the image is possible to see a large number of people occupying the lawn, the ramp, the upper floor as well as the ceiling of the dome of one of the two chambers. There is an interesting contrast effect between the upper third of the photograph, in which the white elements of the building and the sky, contrast with the lower two thirds filled with the crowd and the glass parts of the building. Is interesting to note that the caption, «Fora do Colégio Eleitoral, mesmo assim o povo não se absteve e participou como pôde na indicação do Presidente da República»<sup>1052</sup>, seeks to construct in a very direct way through interaction with the image and other verbal elements of the page, the idea that the popular participation on the day of the vote was active in the result of what the newspaper called «nomination» of the president instead of election.

The second image of that cover (*photo 166*), on the other hand, proposed the register from inside the National Congress, in this case after the legal confirmation that Tancredo would be the new President of the Republic. The photograph then captured from left to right, Mrs. Risoleta (Tancredo's wife), the winning candidate, and Ulysses Guimarães, the three of them appearing in the first plan of an american plan that was shot with a wide angle at a counter-

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<sup>1050</sup> «Tancredo, the restoration».

<sup>1051</sup> «The supplement points out the historical conditions and shows the perspectives opened up with the choice of Tancredo as the conductor of the process of transition from authoritarianism to democracy».

<sup>1052</sup> «Outside the Electoral College, even so the people did not abstain and participated as they could in the nomination of the President of the Republic».

# JORNAL DO BRASIL

TEMPO

16/01/1985  
 Quarta-feira, 16 de janeiro de 1985  
 Ano 8079 - Nº 281  
 Preço: 2,00

## Pelra vela e mata 23 em Vitória

Um acidente de trânsito envolvendo um ônibus em Vitória, no Espírito Santo, resultou na morte de 23 pessoas e na ferimento de outras 100. O acidente ocorreu na manhã de ontem, quando o veículo colidiu com um muro de arrimo.

## Desacorda a volta de Pastore

O deputado Tancredo Neves, líder da oposição no Congresso, anunciou ontem que não se candidataria à presidência da República em 1985. Ele afirmou que sua missão é lutar pela democracia e não se envolver em disputas partidárias.



## Tancredo: só há pátria com democracia

Estado	Deputados	Senadores	Total
Alagoas	12	2	14
Amapá	1	0	1
Amazonas	12	2	14
Bahia	12	2	14
Brasília	12	2	14
Ceará	12	2	14
Distrito Federal	12	2	14
Espírito Santo	12	2	14
Goiás	12	2	14
Maranhão	12	2	14
Mat. G. do Sul	12	2	14
Minas Gerais	12	2	14
Mato Grosso	12	2	14
Mato Grosso do Sul	12	2	14
Paraná	12	2	14
Pernambuco	12	2	14
Piauí	12	2	14
Rio de Janeiro	12	2	14
Rio Grande	12	2	14
Rio Grande do Norte	12	2	14
Roraima	1	0	1
Sergipe	12	2	14
São Paulo	12	2	14
Santa Catarina	12	2	14
São Paulo do Sul	12	2	14
Tocantins	12	2	14
Total	120	20	140

Em seu primeiro discurso como Presidente eleito, Tancredo Neves convocou o povo a participar nos próximos meses da "grande tarefa" de sua Comissão de Constituição e Justiça, "em todos os aspectos, na estrutura e no funcionamento, em todas as instâncias, que salvaguardem a soberania e a integridade da República".

Pela última vez, o Colégio Eleitoral escolheu o Presidente da República numa sessão pública e empossou-o, que tomou posse com o plebiscito realizado no Rio Nacional. Tancredo teve 491 votos, contra 180 de Mariz, o que representa 79% dos eleitores, quase o mesmo número obtido no candidato da Oposição por uma pesquisa de opinião feita pelo Instituto Gallup em 28 Estados. Há apenas quatro senadores e 17 votos em branco.

Mariz, que ficou sem a vitória, pediu para a sua candidatura o pedido de seu genitor, "o primeiro político civil, livre e democrático". Deverão, no fim de seu mandato, abraçar Tancredo. O candidato a vice em seu chapa, Deputado Flávio Marinho, foi eleito senador no Congresso, com o nome de suplente nacional. Ele declarou: "Não há pátria onde falta a democracia".

## Faculdades têm ainda 2 mil vagas

De acordo com o Ministério da Educação, há ainda 2 mil vagas em faculdades de ensino superior no Brasil. O governo planeja criar mais vagas para atender a demanda crescente de estudantes.

## Árabes não liberam 100 para Seleção

Os jogadores árabes não foram liberados para a seleção brasileira de futebol. O governo árabe alega preocupações com a segurança dos atletas durante a viagem.



Proclamada sua vitória, Tancredo Neves, de mãos dadas com D. Risoleta e Ulysses Guimarães, comemora, ao som do Hino Nacional



Proclamada sua vitória, Tancredo Neves, de mãos dadas com D. Risoleta e Ulysses Guimarães, comemora, ao som do Hino Nacional

dive angle, helping to build the classic notion of greatness of those focused on in the image. In the second plan of the image, is possible to see that behind the three mentioned there were other people, but is not possible to identify who. The caption, «Proclamada sua vitória, Tancredo Neves, de mãos dadas com D. Risoleta e Ulysses Guimarães, comemora, ao som do Hino Nacional»<sup>1053</sup> is a fundamental element for the reader's understanding of what had been the exact moment photographed. The architectural elements of the Chamber's interior are also highlighted. Finally, is important to emphasize that in the photographs and headlines no reference was made to the candidate of the «PDS», Paulo Maluf, moreover, in the text of the cover, only in a brief final stretch he was mentioned. This can be interpreted as one of the most explicit ways of indicating the final stage of the political transition.

On the first inside page of the newspaper, number two, the numbers of the indirect electoral process that formalized Tancredo Neves as the new president were soon detailed. In addition, issues such as abstentions, the request of a deputy at the beginning of the session to vote separately for president and vice-president, as well as details of the explanations of vote were quickly dealt with. Is important to point out that the text, the photograph, as well as the main headline «Tancredo surpasses two thirds» present on that page were squeezed between Carlos Castello Branco's column «Como libertar Tancredo Neves»<sup>1054</sup>, which occupied the entire left-hand column and more than half a page of advertising. The column discussed issues that would be on the agenda in the coming weeks such as the ministries definition and the start of the organization of a constituent process.

The image (*photo 167*) published on that page in a clear dispute with the advertising present in it, portrayed in an image full of movement and slightly blurred the moment in which the couples, presidential and vice presidential, were celebrating the result of the election. Is worth saying that this is already an important new element that appears in this analysis, that is, the candidates wives had received little visual space until then, the cover photo brought the figure of the new first lady in the foreground. A possible interpretation is that this choice was a way of bringing the new maximum representatives of the Brazilians closer to the everyday notion of family, something that was often far from the Armed Forces Generals. In the photo is possible to see the four standing, framed in an american plan, holding hands and with smiles on their faces as they seem to be slowly walking. In the second plan of the squared photo, which occupied 1/8 of the page other subjects were framed, but the highlight was precisely in

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<sup>1053</sup> «Proclaimed his victory, Tancredo Neves, hand in hand with D. Risoleta and Ulysses Guimarães, celebrates, to the sound of the National Anthem».

<sup>1054</sup> «How to free Tancredo Neves».

**POLÍTICA**

**COLUNA DO CASTELLO**

### Como libertar Tancredo Neves

O Presidente Tancredo Neves não tem de abandonar para "libertar" Tancredo o mandato. O seu direito, segundo a Constituição, é de ser eleito para o cargo de Presidente da República. O seu direito de ser eleito para o cargo de Presidente da República é o mesmo que o de qualquer cidadão brasileiro. O seu direito de ser eleito para o cargo de Presidente da República é o mesmo que o de qualquer cidadão brasileiro.

**EXCURSÕES URBI ET ORBI**

**EXCURSÕES CARNAVAL 85**

DESTINO	PERÍODO	VALOR
BRASIL	15/02 a 22/02	1.200,00
PARAGUAI	15/02 a 22/02	1.500,00
URUGUAI	15/02 a 22/02	1.800,00
ARGENTINA	15/02 a 22/02	2.000,00
CHILE	15/02 a 22/02	2.500,00
PERU	15/02 a 22/02	3.000,00
VENEZUELA	15/02 a 22/02	3.500,00
COLOMBIA	15/02 a 22/02	4.000,00
ECUADOR	15/02 a 22/02	4.500,00
PANAMA	15/02 a 22/02	5.000,00
CUBA	15/02 a 22/02	5.500,00
MEXICO	15/02 a 22/02	6.000,00
EUROPA	15/02 a 22/02	7.000,00
AFRICA	15/02 a 22/02	8.000,00
ASIA	15/02 a 22/02	9.000,00
OCEANIA	15/02 a 22/02	10.000,00

**AGORA! Disneyworld Epcot Center**

**VÔO - DIRETO RIO-ORLANDO SEM ESCALAS**

**550,00 US\$** (antes 490,00)

**CIRCUITO ANDINO**

**GLASCOB**



D. Risoleta, Tancredo, D. Marli e Sarney comemoram a vitória

the banner in the background with the phrase «Muda Brasil»<sup>1055</sup> again reinforcing the element of change that was being consolidated as homogeneous within the historical period in question. On other words, the constant necessity of creating a narrative construction around the verbo-visual change that was happening, allows us to interpret that, as detailed throughout this work, the change that occurred at the end of the dictatorship was smaller than what was being narrated, for this reason the constant work of the producers of statements to reinforce an idea of broader change. In this case, the subtitle is presented fulfilling a rather protocol task, «D. Risoleta, Tancredo, D. Marly e Sarney comemoram a vitória».<sup>1056</sup> Finally, the clothes of the politicians' wives seem to indicate the idea of simplicity and tradition.

In turn, internal page five, under the headline «Figueiredo greets Tancredo and wishes him success», presented the full version of the telephone conversation between Figueiredo and Tancredo, soon after the end of the voting. According to the text, the call lasted no more than three minutes due to the noise in the Senate chamber where Tancredo was the two quickly exchanged greetings and wishes that the transition, as well as the new mandate, would go well. In the central part of the page, after the secondary title «"Se o Brasil está feliz, eu estou feliz"»<sup>1057</sup> several quotes, opinions, and information about how the day of the then president, the last military one Figueiredo, had been in the course of the voting. Details were given about him do not having followed the election on TV, the visits he received, statements of pride about the transition process and finally information about his return to Brasília in the next day. A final section of the page in the lower left-hand corner presented the impressions of Leitão de Abreu, Minister of the Casa Civil, as well as a small photograph of him watching the voting at the Electoral College. These two elements of the page, however, are almost hidden in the midst of the enormous quantity of advertisements placed in the last two thirds of the page, generating some confusion between what are the newspaper's reports and what are pieces of propaganda. Moreover, throughout the edition there are many ads that make some reference to Tancredo's election, building and reinforcing the intrinsic notion presented above.

The image (*photo 168*) published on that page, was inserted in the top right corner of the page. The square image made in horizontal plan in medium distance, focused the president without shirt and white shorts, under the sun while doing physiotherapy exercises in Rio de Janeiro. Figueiredo appeared standing next to his advisors, ministers, and doctors, in this case

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<sup>1055</sup> «Changes Brazil».

<sup>1056</sup> «D. Risoleta, Tancredo, D. Marly and Sarney celebrate the victory».

<sup>1057</sup> «If Brazil is happy, I am happy».

POLÍTICA

# Figueiredo cumprimenta Tancredo e lhe deseja êxito

Se o Brasil está feliz, estou feliz

**CRUZEIROS FUNCHAL**  
 UMA EMOÇÃO EM CADA PORTO.  
**obteve PRATA FERIAS**

**obretur**

**FAMERJ**  
**CONVOCA MUTUÁRIOS — ENH**  
**AOS MUTUÁRIOS BRASILEIROS**

**Disneyworld com Carinho**

**Presidente bem bolado.**  
 Gelli®  
 Uma homenagem ao Presidente Tancredo Neves, de quem vem sendo idólas bem boladas há 55 anos.



unlike the previous day, the president was photographed standing while waving to the photographer, a very different condition from what had been presented the day before. The caption presents what may be a reason for such a different posture, «A caminho da ginástica, Figueiredo agradece os cumprimentos pelo 67º aniversário».<sup>1058</sup> In general, such image framed Figueiredo in a lighter way, without carrying with so much intensity other elements of the historical context.

On page number eight was presented the complete voting score, indicating name by name how the members of the Electoral College had voted. On page sixteen, also with a large space dedicated to advertising, approximately 1/3; after the headline «Research shows that 70% of the population supports Tancredo», two graphs were published in the center of the page. The first indicating the transformation in the voting preference of the voters, that is, how since the rejection of the Dante de Oliveira Amendment in April 1984 the Brazilian electorate had given preference to the candidate of the «PMDB», Tancredo Neves, in detriment of Paulo Maluf. Such a tendency, according to the graph and to the data of the survey made by the «Gallup Institute» and presented on the opposite page, showed that this preference also existed among members of the «PT» which composed a left-wing opposition. The second graph was a map of Brazil with the percentage indications by region the people's preferences among candidates. The rest of the texts in the page were dedicated to the celebrations in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, in the first case right after the headline «Festa e emoção tomam conta da Cinelândia durante a votação»<sup>1059</sup> which reflected the events in the city center, the text placed in the lower half of the page was dedicated to the events in the neighborhood of Ipanema. Is noteworthy, however, the fact that the main focus, as in «FSP» was on the facts occurred in the city where the newspaper is headquartered.

The small rectangular image (*photo 169*) that occupied 1/8 of the page and was placed in the upper right corner of the page was accompanied by the caption, «Na Visconde de Pirajá, dois foliões elegem a nova "Musa do Verão"»<sup>1060</sup>, this verbal element of the newspaper page was explained only through the interaction with another enunciative element that was present in the photograph printed on that page. The horizontal medium shot of an avenue in the center of the city of Rio de Janeiro had registered people called «revellers» carrying a poster with the name «D. Risoleta» as the new summer muse. The carnivalesque aspect of the party, plus the element of name continuity and again the presence of the presidential first lady in the

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<sup>1058</sup> «On his way to the gym, Figueiredo thanks the 67th birthday greetings».

<sup>1059</sup> «Party and emotion take hold of Cinelândia during voting».

<sup>1060</sup> «In Visconde de Pirajá, two revellers elect the new "Muse of Summer"».

16 de Janeiro de 1985 - quarta-feira - 1985

ESLEIÇÃO

### Pesquisa mostra que 70% da população apóiam Tancredo

Um levantamento realizado por uma das principais instituições de pesquisa de opinião pública do Brasil, o Ibope, revela que 70% da população brasileira apoia a candidatura de Tancredo Neves para a presidência da República em 1985. O levantamento foi realizado em 14 de janeiro, com uma amostra de 1.000 pessoas em todo o país.

Os dados mostram que Tancredo Neves lidera a preferência da população, com 70% dos entrevistados afirmando apoiar sua candidatura. A segunda colocada é a candidatura de Paulo Maluf, com 20% de apoio. Outros candidatos, como José Sarney e Collor, recebem menos de 10% de apoio cada um.

Além disso, o levantamento também mostrou que 60% da população acredita que Tancredo Neves é a melhor opção para o Brasil. Isso reflete o desejo de uma mudança de rumo no país após o fim da ditadura militar.



**Contador das preferências eleitorais por votos para Tancredo de Neves**

Na Visconde de Pirajá, dois foliões elegem a nova "Musa do Verão"

### Festa e emoção tomam conta da Cinelândia durante a votação

A festa e a emoção tomam conta da Cinelândia durante a votação. O povo brasileiro se reúne em grandes manifestações para apoiar ou rejeitar os candidatos à presidência. A cidade é tomada por uma atmosfera de euforia e expectativa.

Em várias partes do país, as ruas são tomadas por milhares de pessoas que carregam bandeiras e cartazes. Em São Paulo, a Avenida Paulista é palco de grandes manifestações. Em Brasília, a Esplanada dos Ministérios é tomada por milhares de brasileiros.

A festa e a emoção tomam conta da Cinelândia durante a votação. O povo brasileiro se reúne em grandes manifestações para apoiar ou rejeitar os candidatos à presidência. A cidade é tomada por uma atmosfera de euforia e expectativa.

### A Dívida Pública no Contexto das Finanças de Minas Gerais

Este artigo discute o impacto da dívida pública nas finanças estaduais de Minas Gerais. Analisa as causas da dívida, os efeitos sobre o orçamento e as possibilidades de solução.

A dívida pública tem se tornado um problema cada vez mais sério para o Brasil e para os estados. Em Minas Gerais, isso se reflete em dificuldades para manter os serviços públicos e em um aumento da pressão fiscal sobre a população.

Para enfrentar esse desafio, é necessário implementar reformas estruturais e melhorar a gestão financeira do estado. Isso inclui a redução dos gastos desnecessários e a busca por fontes alternativas de receita.

**Ipameri vai às ruas com a Bando**

O município de Ipameri vai às ruas com a Bando. A comunidade se mobiliza para apoiar a candidatura local e promover a cultura da região.

A Bando é uma tradição cultural importante de Ipameri. Durante a festa, os participantes usam roupas tradicionais e realizam danças típicas. A comunidade se reúne em grandes manifestações para celebrar a cultura local e apoiar a candidatura.

Este ano, a Bando será realizada em grande escala, com milhares de pessoas participando. Isso reflete o orgulho e a união da comunidade de Ipameri.

**Novo Endereço**

**MUDANÇA DE ENDEREÇO**

NOVO ENDEREÇO  
 Rua do Rosário, 103 - 12º andar  
 Tel. 224-7411 • 257-5141 Ramais 319 e 320





newspaper, once more reinforced the notion of unity and change present in Tancredo's election. Is also important to note that in this case the photograph was presented in a simple and direct way, picturing a scene that quickly passed in front of the photographer in the city center. Almost as if he were saying, «the national hegemony and unity are consolidated that we stumble on it in the streets».

On the inside page number twenty, the last of the regular edition of the «JB» on that day dedicated to the election of Tancredo Neves has its main headline indicated in the upper left corner: «Encounter of hope with democracy makes the big party». The rest of the page, excluding the lower left quarter filled with an advertisement, was occupied by photographs from the previous day, the two that complete the lower half of the page are in very poor condition, so the analysis focus will remain on the three images printed in the first half of the page. Is noteworthy the fact that no text other than the headline and captions was published on the page, dedicated almost entirely to images. This aspect reinforces the notion that already have been presented that the newspapers analyzed here made a more intense use of photographs in the so-called «historical days» of their coverages.

In general, the central focus of the images published was the popular participation in the elections and their celebration of the result. The return of the figure of the «people» also evokes the return of the discourse proposed by the newspapers treated here to the movement for the «Diretas Já». Scrolling from left to right, the picture (*photo 170*) that first appears is a vertical close-up image of a scene in which a small child is leaning slightly forward toward a poster held by an adult hand at the top of the image. The poster presents some of Tancredo's campaign slogans such as «Muda Brasil»<sup>1061</sup> and an image of the candidate with his hand stretched upwards, which generated a fantasy effect narrated in the caption of the image, «Enlevada por sua fantasia, a criança da sua mão a Tancredo»<sup>1062</sup> and captured at that moment. Is crucial to highlight the notion that was established between the word hope in the main headline and the child present in that photo, the interaction between both elements takes place insofar as the feeling or the possibility of building a different country departs from hope, from what is to come and will be enjoyed by other generations. Moreover, the child in the image, consequently in the streets, helps to consolidate the idea of consensus and tranquility to the rhetorician of the agenda and the event. The second image (*photo 171*), this time placed at the top of the page and just below the headline, is a horizontal-rectangular image of a panoramic

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<sup>1061</sup> «Change Brazil».

<sup>1062</sup> «Enraptured by his fantasy, the child gives his hand to Tancredo».

Encontro da esperança com a democracia faz a grande festa



**SE VOCÊ NÃO É CURIOSO O BASTANTE PARA SABER O QUE É A RIPASA, SEJA PELO MENOS ESPERTO.**

**RIPASA**



### Encontro da esperança com a democracia faz a grande festa

São Paulo — Isaias Ferreira




**BRASIL AFOR**

MUDA BR

Tancredo  
PRESIDENTE

P

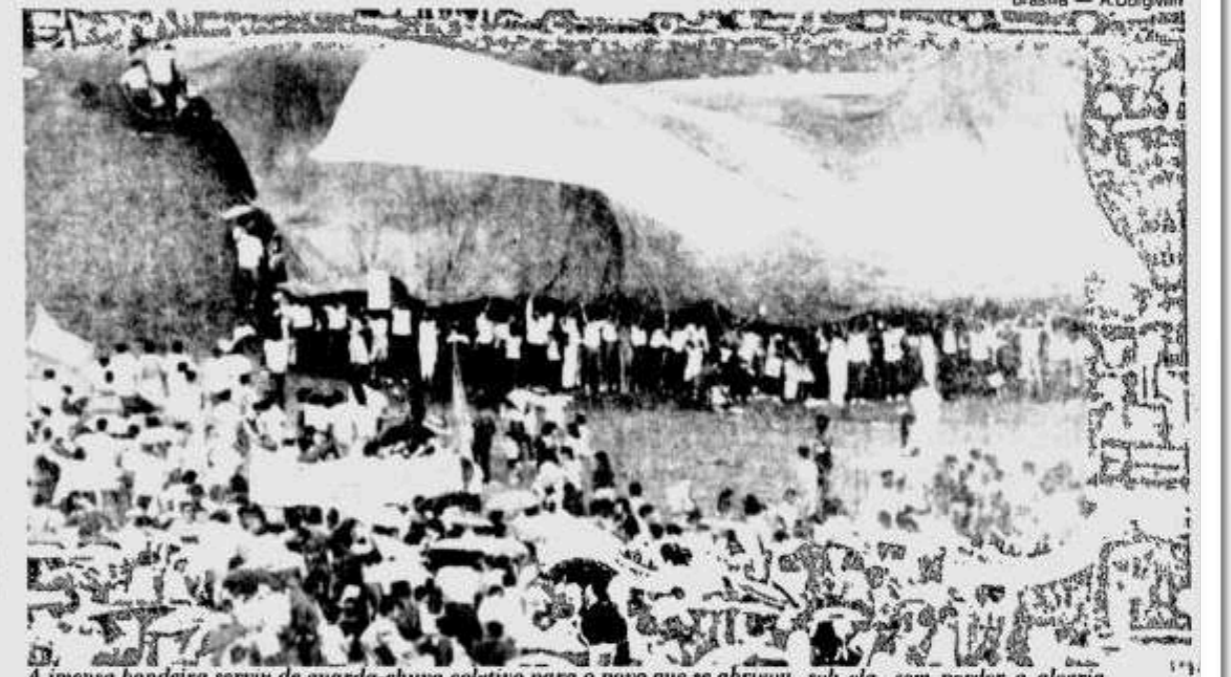
Enlevada por sua fantasia, a criança dá sua mão a Tancredo



Marco Antônio Cavalcanti

No Rio, uma multidão lotou a Cinelândia, para saudar o despertar da Nova República

Brasília — A. Dorigivan



A imensa bandeira serviu de guarda-chuva coletivo para o povo que se abrigou sob ela, sem perder a alegria

plan of the city center, the «Cinelândia», an area famous for hosting several political demonstrations in the city. The image taken from above towards the audience below captured a large crowd in front of the «Candelária Church», in the middle of the crowd, several flags of the parties that until then were part of the opposition, «PMDB», «PTB» were seen. Again, the caption reinforces the narrative construction around the unity of the new «No Rio, uma multidão lotou a Cinelândia, para a saudar o despertar da Nova República».<sup>1063</sup>

Finally, the third photograph (*photo 172*) was also a rectangular horizontal plane, in this case was not a panoramic image, but a detailed plan in strong dive (perhaps made from the top of one of the buildings downtown) of a huge Brazilian flag that had been extended in the middle of the avenue. The caption explains the moment of the photograph itself and why there is an empty space around it «A imensa bandeira serviu de guarda-chuva coletivo para o povo que se abrigou sob ela, sem perder a alegria».<sup>1064</sup> From the interaction caption-image, can be seen again the reinforcement of certain elements of the homogeneous narrative around Tancredo's election based on the need to evoke the people in the streets as a legitimizing element of the process. Moreover, the people who demonstrated without rest their joy for participating in that moment, gathered around and in this case literally protected by the national flag. Thus, the photograph in this case was used as a driving element of the symbols, notions and interactions that composed the national unity at that moment.

Before concluding the analysis of this edition of the «JB» is necessary to make a broader comment regarding the coverage in the other inside pages of the newspaper. Along the first twenty pages of the newspaper the amount of advertisements present is indeed large, pages six and seven were almost entirely filled with advertisements, and is worth pointing out some examples in which deeper layers of the interaction between the political context, a re-liberalization of the press and a growing economic dependence between advertising and press media organs created an effect of a multidirectional narrative inside the newspaper pages. Nevertheless, a deeper analysis on the advertisement topic can be the argument of an entire other research.

*Folha de S. Paulo – 21/04/1985*

The front page of «FSP» on «Tiradentes» holiday in 1985 had three headlines, the first and biggest of them, «Son admits Tancredo may go to the United States», was related to the

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<sup>1063</sup> «In Rio, a crowd filled Cinelândia, to greet the awakening of the New Republic».

<sup>1064</sup> «The huge flag served as a collective umbrella for the people who took shelter under it, without losing joy».

health condition of the elected president, Tancredo Neves, who at that moment had been hospitalized for over a month. The other headlines dealt with other issues in the national newscast, such as new forms of income tax collection, as well as the consequences of a major flooding of the São Francisco River in the state of Alagoas. On that day, about 1/3 of the front page of the newspaper was occupied by two photographs. The one at the top of the page was about Tancredo's health, the details of it will be further indicated. The second image, in the lower half of the page, showed a panoramic plan of the city of Penedo, in the interior of the state of Alagoas, strongly affected by the flood mentioned above.

Regarding the texts printed on that front page, each of the three headlines carried a short text of approximately three or four paragraphs. The text related to the headline and photo referring to Tancredo's health was the longest of them and occupied half of the whole column on the right of the page. In it has been presented and detailed information regarding the visit of a specialist from the USA to the medical team that was responsible for Tancredo Neves' treatment at «InCor» Hospital in São Paulo. The text summarizes some technical issues of what were Warren Zapol's suggestions and the effects that such actions could have on the health of the Brazilian politician. Is noteworthy the fact that the first paragraph stated that Tancredo's family was considering taking him to the USA, while in the following paragraphs the medic praised the resources and hospital actions that had been taken so far.

The image (*photo 173*) printed in the upper half of the cover of that edition of «FSP» occupied approximately 1/6 of the page and was a rectangular, horizontal photograph taken at long distance using a tele objective lens, something that can be inferred from the plans flattened and the slight blur in the background of the photograph. Moreover, the image was accompanied by the following caption, «Às 17h40, o médico norte-americano Warren Zapol (à direita de Pinotti), chamado para examinar Tancredo, deixou-se fotografar no balcão do 4º andar do InCor»<sup>1065</sup>, this has a key role in explaining to the reader who the two subjects portrayed were. Framed by part of the hospital balcony in the lower horizontal third of the image and also by part of the wall in the background, the two doctors, Pinotti and Zapol, were captured in an American plan (from the waist up) in a slight counter-dive, probably made from a lower balcony in some building next to the hospital, wearing dark suits and expressing slight smiles as if they were in fact posing for the photographs. The aspect that appears in the caption «let themselves be photographed», as well as the attitude and expression of the two portrayed when

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<sup>1065</sup> «At 5:40 p.m., the American doctor Warren Zapol (to Pinotti's right), called to examine Tancredo, let himself be photographed on the balcony of the 4th floor of InCor».



they posed for the cameras, reveals the intention to give the press visual elements precisely so that the trip of the foreign medic to Brazil would gain more space in the coverage, as well as a narrative that still proposed some the existence of some hope about the case, considering the apparently inevitable approach of a moment of anticlimax of the whole Tancredo's trajectory.

The inside pages of that edition of «FSP», on the other hand, did not present photographs related to this agenda, and in general to almost none of the others. In the first ten pages of the newspaper, only two images were published. In the inside pages four and five, two headlines stand out and present the thread of the narrative that was being proposed. «Sarney não espera mais por Tancredo»<sup>1066</sup> and on the next page, number five, was the article deepening what has been exposed on the front page of the newspaper, «Son admits taking Tancredo to the United States».

In the texts printed on page five is clear the enunciative proposal of the newspaper, while the headline expressed a possible trip of the president to the USA for treatment, the paragraphs of the report explained that this would only happen if Zapol, proposed such action to the Brazilian medical team and Tancredo's family, however, nothing was taken for granted, as the cover and page headlines may imply. Moreover, except for the column by Jânio de Freitas published on the left side of the page and dedicated to new political arrangements and government schedule in view of Tancredo's health problems, all the articles published on that page (three in all) dealt with technical aspects and details of Tancredo's treatment that were being visited and praised by Zapol, as well as biographical aspects of north American doctor.

Regarding the presence of photographs on the inside pages of this edition, a brief comment is worth. As indicated, over ten pages only two images were published, one linked to the 25th anniversary of Brasília on page number six. A second image published was related to the fact that almost a year ago the Dante de Oliveira amendment calling for direct elections for president was rejected. In both cases, the pictures were placed in the upper half of the page, just below the headline, with small size (1/8 of the page) and a generic approach to the topics. On the other hand, along the same ten first pages of the newspaper, the space dedicated to advertising was almost 50% of the whole newspaper.

*Jornal do Brasil – 21/04/1985*

In the case of the «JB» edition on that day, its front cover gave greater relevance to Tancredo's health condition, highlighting in its main headline, «American claims Tancredo has

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<sup>1066</sup> «Sarney no longer waits for Tancredo».

# Filho admite levar Tancredo aos Estados Unidos

Janio de Freitas

Como vão eles

As respostas são as mesmas, variando apenas e pouco, e só às vezes, o recheio que separa as duas sentenças principais: "É preciso cumprir a Constituição. O País está demonstrando que alcançou a maturidade política". Mesmo resposta, mas sentidos diferentes segundo o ministro militar que a emprega.

O general Leônidas Pires Gonçalves, do Exército, até agora é o que confere mais rigidez sentido à frase. Cumprir-se a prazo do Exército, pois. O respeito à Constituição, nos termos do general Leônidas, consistiria em dar cumprimento ao mandato estabelecido para a atual Presidência, seja ela exercida pelo titular ou pelo vice posto em exercício. Caso a Constituição decida, em 81, menor duração do mandato, o respeito à Constituição, embora outra, continuará sendo a regra. Nesta modalidade de respeito à Constituição não é lembrado, portanto, o preceito constitucional que autoriza o Congresso, desde que pela aprovação de dois terços dos seus membros, a alterar quaisquer determinações da Constituição.

O ministro do Exército aplica a Sarney o cronograma que Tancredo fixara para si e em razão disso seu próprio plano de governo, E, enquanto guarda o cuidado e a gentileza de não utilizar a palavra "segurança", com suas idiossincrasias já conhecidas, que fundamenta a visão do general, preocupa-o a mobilização social, com seu confronto de emoções iguais mas contrárias, motivada pela eleição direta para presidente, e, por certo ainda mais, inquieto-a a ideia de que Leonel Brizola estaria entre os candidatos, e, como qualquer outro, até prova em contrário seria um vencedor em potencial.

De outra forma, e com o mesmo Brizola, o ministro do Exército deu uma de duas provas da imitação de seu apego às tradições da "segurança": o governador andou recebendo recomendações para equidistar, de qualquer jeito, os seus ânimos e os ríscos no apoio a Sarney, que qualquer ressalva seria mal recebida.

A outra prova, deu-a o general Pires (o novo) também na linha do general Pires (o antigo) em relação a greves. Embora a Justiça não houvesse sentenciado a ilegalidade da greve de metalúrgicos da ABC, o ministro do Exército teve o impulso, diante do pai, de honrar algumas prováveis decisões políticas de militares, não se sabendo quais fossem.

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Paralelo-ibe que "este não é o momento para isso" — uma expressão indefinida para a qual continuam convergir, com frequência, os adeptos da "segurança" e seus aliados convencionalistas, os comunistas.

Já aos ministros da Aeronáutica, do Estado-Maior das Forças Armadas e do STN é atribuído sentido mais amplo ao afirmarem respeito à Constituição. O brigadeiro Moura Lima, o almirante José Maria de Amaral e o general Ivan de Souza Mendes estariam menos apegados a fórmulas já definidas, ainda que um ou outro tenha lá suas preferências em maior ou menor grau. Estão, assim, mais abertos, tanto a propostas, como a decisões dos congressistas. Sem, apesar disso, relajar de todos os pontos Brizola.

Preocupados com as sombras que o impedimento de Tancredo Neves lançou sobre o futuro, isto está todo, sobretudo com o sentimento de frustração ali contido. E este sentimento, para quem já notou os calos que encovaram a sensibilidade da classe dominante brasileira, é do procaruar mesmo. Pelo que se está vendo, se depender do empresário, em particular dos industriais, para que o governo realize as medidas anti-inflacionárias que os atingem, eles, como sempre, interessam-se pouco pelos riscos implicados para presidente. Afinal ganharam todas, até hoje. Nos casos mais simples, pela ajuda dos tecnocratas. Nos mais complicados, pelo medo dos militares.

Entre as muitas coisas que faltam à presente República para que se saiba se é nova, está descobrir-se a posição dos chefes militares diante das ideias de transformação social que parte do empresariado industrial já está adotando, contra a política anti-inflacionária. Se, ao invés de responsabilizar o assalariado, deixar a solução a cargo da área econômica do governo — e o ministro Dornelles tem um arsenal de instrumentos para tratar o problema — será possível dizer que eles vão bem, obrigado.

## Médicos não se acomodam e tentam todos os recursos

JULIO ABRAMCZYK

As recentes medidas adotadas pela equipe médica do presidente eleito Tancredo Neves indicam que os médicos não estão se acomodando ao quadro extremamente grave que o paciente vem apresentando nos últimos dias. Continuam, com ânimo e esperança, empregando todos os esforços e recursos disponíveis para a recuperação de Tancredo.

A sobrevivência de Tancredo Neves baseia-se, no momento, no tripé de medidas constituídas pela assistência respiratória, pela hipertensão e na manutenção de uma atividade cardíaca adequada. Estas medidas visam dar suporte à agressão proporcionada pelo quadro infeccioso bastante sério e que tem se mostrado de difícil controle até o momento, segundo um dos últimos boletins médicos.

Ventilação assistida

O médico Warren M. Zapol, dos Estados Unidos, nos últimos anos vem estudando a forma de controlar problemas pulmonares em situações de severa e aguda deficiência respiratória, que é um dos graves problemas de Tancredo. O especialista, que se juntou ontem à equipe médica do presidente eleito, afirma em um dos seus trabalhos que os avanços da assistência respiratória, incluindo a ventilação mecânica em pressão positiva expiratória final ("peep"), que melhora a ventilação pulmonar, tem revertido a hipoxemia (insuficiência de oxigenação nos tecidos, decorrente de queda do conteúdo deste gás no sangue) e vem permitindo aumentar o tempo de sobrevivência de pacientes com insuficiência respiratória aguda. Dessa forma, é muito raro, com esse suporte, pacientes falecerem em decorrência da hipoxemia, situação que pode levar a graves e irreversíveis danos em órgãos nobres como o cérebro e o coração.

O dr. Zapol considerou conveniente também aumentar um pouco mais o nível de hipotermia, isto é, baixar ainda mais a temperatura corporal do paciente. Iniciada com a temperatura de 35,5 graus centígrados (a temperatura média normal é de cerca de 36), baixou-se seguidamente para 33 graus, depois 34 e segundo as últimas informações para 31. O emprego da hipotermia em medicina não é novo. Há mais de trinta anos já era usada em cirurgia cardíaca, antes do avanço proporcionado pelo coração-pulmão artificial; em algumas situações especiais de cirurgia cardíaca eventualmente ainda hoje é empregada, particularmente em crianças de baixo peso corporal.

O problema da hipotermia é o seu limite de trinta graus centígrados. Abaixo dessa faixa pode surgir o risco de uma fibrilação ventricular, um batimento anormal do coração, que em um paciente em hipotermia pode tornar-se irreversível.

Necessidade de oxigênio

Na realidade, a grande ajuda prestada pela hipotermia é a redução das necessidades de oxigênio do organismo, não o combate à infecção. Juntamente com a ajuda na melhoria da ventilação pulmonar proporcionada pelo emprego da pressão positiva expiratória final do respirador artificial, a grave situação do momento eventualmente poderá ser contornada.

Os médicos estão reservando como derradeiro recurso o emprego de um espécie de pulmão artificial, denominado oxigenador de membrana. Esta máquina em seu interior interpele uma membrana entre o meio gasoso e o sangue, da mesma forma que a membrana pulmonar, permitindo a saída de gás carbônico e a entrada de oxigênio no sangue circulante.

O filho do presidente eleito, Tancredo Augusto, disse ontem que o médico Warren Zapol foi chamado por Pinotti e sua equipe "para saber se as ideias que estão utilizando são as mais avançadas, que pode ajudar, pode salvar".

O filho do presidente eleito informou também que tem visto seu pai na UTI e que "é conversa que ele perdeu muito peso, isso só aconteceu logo no começo, quando ele veio para São Paulo". Disse que o aspecto do pai não mudou "é normal" e que ele está "doado" e portanto "não está sentindo".

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## Temperatura de Tancredo a 30°, por indicação de Zapol

Reportagem Local

O especialista norte-americano em Unidade de Terapia Intensiva, Warren Miron Zapol, que chegou ontem de Los Angeles, Estados Unidos, para auxiliar na tentativa de salvar o presidente eleito Tancredo Neves, reconheceu ontem o nível de hipotermia e elevou o nível do "peep" (pressão positiva respiratória). Ele chegou a essa conclusão depois de receber informações sobre os procedimentos adotados em relação ao quadro clínico do presidente, bem como verificar os resultados dos exames e radiografias, e realizar um exame clínico de meio hora no presidente. Segundo um assessor da Presidência, o médico norte-americano concluiu que não há muito o que fazer além das providências já adotadas.

Zapol chegou ao Instituto do Coração às 10h15, permaneceu no andar com os médicos até às 12h40, quando então dirigiu-se à UTI para examinar Tancredo. Realizou outra reunião com os médicos, decidindo então reduzir a temperatura do presidente do 33 para 30 graus (hipotermia), o que permite a diminuição do metabolismo e das necessidades de oxigênio. O "peep", que é utilizado para aumentar a pressão arterial e a circulação nos alvéolos, para permitir a difusão pelo sangue arterial para os centímetros cúbicos, quando, usualmente, a situação coordenada das organizações governamentais, instituições particulares e a participação da comunidade.

Com grande esforço, já alcançamos resultados concretos nesta batalha: a merenda escolar municipalizada está beneficiando diariamente a 4 milhões e 500 mil crianças com alimentação sadia e, agora, produzida ou comprada no próprio local;

foram criadas ou reformadas cerca de 600 escolas, com um total de 4 mil novas salas de aula, que permitirão a abertura de mais 500 mil vagas no sistema escolar ("abrir escolas e fechar portas");

instituímos o Ciclo Básico do 1º Grau, abrangendo as 1ª e 2ª séries, para evitar a repetência e o abandono escolar, onde a criança carente permanece mais tempo e recebe maior atenção;

apoiamos programas alimentares — hortas comunitárias, piscicultura, apicultura e criação de pequenos animais — que mobilizam comunidades locais para produção e distribuição de alimentos, especialmente aos menores;

aprovamos a concessão de licença especial à funcionária pública que adotou criança de até 7 anos de idade;

estamos apoiando a implantação de creches nos bairros e nos locais de trabalho;

## PRESTANDO CONTAS

Há 12 milhões de menores até 18 anos no Estado de São Paulo. Cerca de 5 milhões pertencem a famílias de baixa renda, os sem nenhum rendimento. Mais de um milhão são menores abandonados. E o primeiro fator que afeta a segurança é o abandono do menor.

O problema do menor está ligado a quase todas as áreas da administração: alimentação, saúde, educação, segurança e esportes. Em todas, o Governo de São Paulo vem desenvolvendo programas para enfrentar esta batalha. Instituições e Programa do Menor para promover e apoiar soluções mediante a atuação coordenada das organizações governamentais, instituições particulares e a participação da comunidade.

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estamos apoiando a implantação de creches nos bairros e nos locais de trabalho;

apoiamos centros de atendimento ao menor e Casas da Juventude, através do Fundo de Solidariedade, das Secretarias da Promoção Social, do Trabalho e da Educação, da Pastoral do Menor e de outras entidades, visando ao preparo profissional;

concedemos auxílios, subvenções, apoio financeiro e técnico a entidades sociais de menores no montante de 21,5 bilhões de cruzeiros, em 1984;

estamos apoiando a produção e consumo do leite natural, distribuído diariamente a milhares de pré-escolares.

Estamos fazendo um grande esforço. Em 1984 aplicamos mais de 500 bilhões de cruzeiros no Programa do Menor. Mas isto não basta. Todos precisam participar. Só o governo e a comunidade juntos podem vencer esta batalha.

FRANCO MONTORO

SETE BILHÕES PARA SANTAS CASAS DO INTERIOR

Por decreto do governador Franco Montoro, foram concedidas subvenções em valor superior a 7 bilhões de cruzeiros a diversas Santas Casas do Interior. A de Santos recebeu 700 milhões e a da Capital 415 milhões. Foram beneficiadas ainda as de Diadema, Guararema, Mauá, Mogi das Cruzes, Suzano, Iguape, São Vicente, Aparecida, Corumbá, Guaratinguá, Jacaré, Jaborão, Paraitinga, São Bento do Sapucaí, São José dos Campos, São Luiz do Paraitinga, São Sebastião, Tremembé, Ubatuba, Aguiás, Águas de Lindóia, Americana, Atibaia, Bragança Paulista, Caconde, Capivari, Casa Branca, Espírito Santo do Pinhal, Itapira, Itatiba, Jandópolis, Leme, Limeira, Mococa, Mogi Guaçu, Mogi Mirim, Piracicaba, Piratunha, Pirassununga.

Coordenação: Associação de Imprensa - Caixa Postal 66.271 - São Paulo

16/85

# Dê o xeque-mate na hora de escolher o melhor emprego.

# Consulte hoje o Classifolha

## Empregos

no cure», placed at the top of the page and followed below by a photograph linked to the theme, as well as a small text in the right column. Still on the first page, there were another five secondary headlines, four of them approached domestic political issues, a fifth one was dedicated to the case of a fire that had occurred in Rio de Janeiro the day before, this last agenda was also the theme addressed in the photograph printed on the lower half of the cover.

As indicated, the text of the column to the right of the photograph detailed the information contained in the headline. Here there is a novelty and significant difference in relation to the approach chosen by the «FSP», while the first newspaper highlighted the possibility of the President going to the USA so that the fact was stated almost as certain, the «JB» in its headline and also in the front cover text, presented the information that there is no hope of recovery for the elected President, reporting the actions, conclusions and opinions of the north American medic who had arrived in São Paulo the day before to help in Tancredo's treatment. In general, is possible to state that the two first pages presented different narratives proposals, while «FSP» focuses on the still existing hope, the «JB» was already forwarding the next steps without believing in Tancredo's return.

The two photographs printed in the newspaper page that day occupy together about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the page, being  $\frac{1}{8}$  for each. In the case of the image linked to Tancredo's health agenda (*photo 174*), is very similar to the one printed in «FSP», showing the two doctors Pinotti and Zapol on the hospital balcony and accompanied by the following caption, «Pinotti levou Warren Zapol à sacada para ser fotografado».<sup>1067</sup> One difference, however, lied in the fact that the present image, also made through a tele objective lens, presented a more horizontal perspective and also in close-up, which indicates that was most likely taken from another building in front of the hospital and from a very close or identical height. Besides, Pinotti has his right arm raised pointing forward while talking, while Zapol sketches a slight smile. The two photos presented more similarities than differences, including the way they were described in the respective captions.

Internally, the «JB» returned to the subject on page eight of that edition. The other pages until then were dedicated to the political reorganization that the country was going through, both due to the return to civil bourgeoisie democracy and to the fact that the elected president had been hospitalized for over a month. Thus, throughout the first ten pages, the national political agenda was scrutinized, and three photographs were published. In the present analysis the focus will be on page eight, which presented the headline «Tancredo disillusioned by

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<sup>1067</sup> «Pinotti took Warren Zapol to the balcony to be photographed».



# JORNAL DO BRASIL

## Americano afirma que Tancredo não tem cura

### Sarney busca apoio amplo da área civil



Pinotti levou Warren Zapol à sacada para ser fotografado

"Não há mais remédio", afirmou o médico norte-americano Warren Zapol, ao ser perguntado se Tancredo Neves tem chance de sobreviver. O médico, chefe do serviço de cardiologia do Hospital de Cardiologia da Universidade de Washington, chegou de Seattle à São Paulo, há alguns dias, para se reunir ao médico do governo brasileiro, Carlos de Sá.

**Tempo**  
Sarney busca apoio amplo da área civil. O presidente em exercício José Sarney, em meio a negociações para a realização de eleições presidenciais em 1985, busca apoio amplo da área civil. Para isso, Sarney tem se esforçado para estabelecer uma imagem de homem aberto e acessível. Ele tem se apresentado em diversos locais, incluindo igrejas e eventos culturais, para se aproximar do povo brasileiro.

**Legislação**  
Congresso fixa linhas básicas para novas leis. O Congresso Nacional aprovou, nesta terça-feira, o projeto de lei que estabelece as linhas básicas para a elaboração de novas leis. O projeto prevê que as novas leis devem ser elaboradas de acordo com os princípios da clareza, da objetividade e da eficiência.

**Incêndio destrói telas de Chagall, Mabe e Mondrian**  
Um incêndio destruiu, nesta terça-feira, um acervo de obras de arte, incluindo telas de Chagall, Mabe e Mondrian. O fogo ocorreu em um depósito de uma galeria de arte em São Paulo. As obras foram destruídas por completo.

**Brasil abandona equipamento já pago no exterior**  
O Brasil decidiu abandonar o uso de um equipamento que já havia sido pago no exterior. A decisão foi tomada pelo governo brasileiro, que considera o equipamento obsoleto e de baixo custo-benefício.

**Doméstico**  
Aumento de preços de alimentos básicos. O preço de alimentos básicos, como arroz e feijão, aumentou nesta semana. O aumento é atribuído à alta dos custos de produção e ao aumento da demanda.



Incêndio destrói telas de Chagall, Mabe e Mondrian

### Dornelles espera dividir ônus da impopularidade

O governador de Pernambuco, Paulo Dornelles, espera dividir o ônus da impopularidade com o presidente da República. Dornelles afirma que a situação econômica do país é grave e que ele não pode ser responsabilizado sozinho por ela. Ele espera que o presidente assuma a responsabilidade por parte das decisões tomadas.

**DOMINGO**  
Na TV, a obra maior de Erico. O programa de domingo na TV apresentará a obra maior de Erico, um filme que retrata a vida e o trabalho do artista. O filme é considerado uma obra-prima da cinematografia brasileira.

**ESPECIAL**  
Nova República procura forma. A nova República está procurando a melhor forma de organização. Há discussões sobre a possibilidade de uma constituinte ou de uma reforma constitucional. O objetivo é estabelecer uma base sólida para a nova ordem democrática.

**caderno B**  
Milhares correm para o festival. Milhares de pessoas estão correndo para o festival que será realizado em São Paulo. O festival promete ser um sucesso e atrair turistas de todo o Brasil e do exterior.

**Programa**  
Lista de programas para o fim de semana. A seguir, a lista dos programas que serão transmitidos durante o fim de semana. Há uma variedade de opções, incluindo filmes, programas de variedades e notícias.

São Paulo — Foto de José Carlos Brasil



Pinotti levou Warren Zapol à sacada para ser fotografado

American diagnosis». The main text of the report presented on that page occupied the two columns of the entire upper left half of the page and, using a very direct lead model reported the fact that for the foreign medic, Zapol, the president-elect of Brazil, Tancredo Neves, there was no longer any possibility of survival. The text, however, went on to explain the fact that even so, the doctors were applying the recommendations of the colleague who had arrived from the USA and the medical procedures putted into practice were then detailed.

Still in the upper half of the page, just below and to the right of the printed photograph the texts reported the state of alert that all the advisors to the presidency, medical staff and other officials linked to the case would be on alert in the coming days due to the gravity of the situation and possible new emergencies. On the right side of the page, the complete last two medical bulletins were published, giving the reader more materiality about the gravity of the case and its development in the last few hours. Finally, the lower right half of the page presented four smaller texts dealing respectively with: the non-interference of the family in medical decisions; Zapol's impossibility to grant interviews due to the US medical code of ethics, in this case, information regarding the negotiation that existed for him to have his photograph taken on the balcony of the building. The last two texts presented the cancellation of a solemnity of Itamaraty that expected Tancredo's presence and a statement of a neighbor of Tancredo in his hometown.

The picture (*photo 175*) published on that page had in its caption an absolutely necessary interaction, «Antônio Brito, abatido: a rotina dos boletins»<sup>1068</sup>, without it the reading and interpretation of the image becomes almost meaningless, because the vertical image that occupied approximately 1/6 of the page presented in close-up, performed through a tele objective lens and identifiable due to the second plan and its subjects in strong blur and flattened, an american plan of the Press Secretary of the Presidency of the Republic, Antonio Brito. He was wearing a dark suit, with his head tilted forward and a downcast look on his face as he read a sheet of paper in his left hand. The expression of despondency on his face, plus the downward glance of the two subjects in the background of the image corroborates to build a more complex visual construction of despondency and hopelessness. Such elements when combined with the caption, the medical bulletins on the right side of the image and also the other information in the main text of the article, in which there seemed to be no hope for Tancredo, consolidate the enunciation of the near end, of disillusionment. Is also worth mentioning that only through the reading of the report the reader has access to information

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<sup>1068</sup> «Antônio Brito, downcast, the routine of the bulletins».

Diagnóstico de americano desengana Tancredo

Política

Os boletins da dia

Antônio Brito, abatido: a rotina dos boletins

representar é um ato de amor  
representar as mães é dever dos filhos

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about what was Brito's position and what function he exercised, creating a relationship of dependent interaction between the various verbo-visual elements present on that page, in a growing spiral of reference to themselves and increasing anguish and hopelessness.

*Folha de S. Paulo – 22/04/1985*

On April 21<sup>st</sup> of 1985 the first civilian that has been elected President of the Republic since 1964, Tancredo Neves, died after thirty-eight days in hospital. The «FSP» dedicated not only the entire first page of the following day newspaper edition to it, presenting the headline «Tancredo Neves is dead; body is mourned at the Planalto; Sarney reaffirms changes», the triple subject headline indicated that the coverage on that agenda would be large and detailed on that day. Not for less, under the rubric «A morte do presidente eleito»<sup>1069</sup> the first sixteen pages (including editorials and opinions pages) of that issue were dedicated to the event of Tancredo's death. Is important to underscore the fact that on that day the «FSP» had published six-two photographs along its pages, reinforcing the importance of the images to the enunciative discourse that was being built. Is mandatory to say, that the choices made in photographs selection that would be analyzed in this section attempt to cover the bigger quantity of perspectives and events related to the president's death that had been published.

Under the headline there were four different elements on the front cover: a large photograph, a seven-paragraph text, a secondary title «Dia-a-dia, todo o drama da doença»<sup>1070</sup>, followed by a detailed resume of how Tancredo health condition has worsened day by day. Is interesting to note that in this synthesis that in diverse points underline that some information on the clinical condition of the President were omitted, the information regarding the April's 20<sup>th</sup> was «Tancredo está desenganado, conclui Zapol após exames»<sup>1071</sup>, although in the April's 21<sup>st</sup> «FSP» edition this data has not been published in the newspaper articles. The main page's text, published along the entire right-column of the page presented a «lead» with the main information about the moment and reasons of his death, the official reactions of the vice-president José Sarney (PFL) and the President of the Deputies Chamber, Ulysses Guimarães (PMDB), and some details about his funeral cortege and burial.

Concerning the images that were published on that first page, the main element that must be quickly highlighted is the fact that the space dedicated to them was approximately 1/3 of the entire page. Indicating, that to the «FSP» the photographs can assume a central narrative

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<sup>1069</sup> «The death of the president-elect».

<sup>1070</sup> «Day to day, all the drama of the disease».

<sup>1071</sup> «Tancredo is disillusioned, concludes Zapol after exams».

role, especially in especial editions or historical one's. The main picture (*photo 176*) in that front cover was a vertical photo of the press conference room in the «Centro de Convenções Rebouças», close to the hospital where Tancredo Neves was being treated. The shot made from a long distance in a slightly deeping angle, presents a in a panoramic doubled plan photo, the moment in which the Press Secretary of the Presidency of the Republic reveals to the press that Tancredo was dead, the caption has been responsible for creating the needed interaction between verbal and visual elements on the page, «O porta-voz da Presidência, Antônio Britto, anunciou, seis minutos depois, que o presidente eleito morreu às 22h23 de ontem»<sup>1072</sup>. At this point, is also mandatory to indicate that the photograph that is present in the newspaper archives does not preserve the best possible quality, nevertheless, the visible elements present important aspects to the meaning and use of this shot in the newspaper's narrative.

In so, the photograph from a top to down perspective, a characteristic of the room in which the stated has been made, presented in the first plan some journalists and other press members in the moment they were listening carefully to declarations of the Press Secretary Antonio Brito. All the members of the press that appeared in the picture were framed standing and had their back to the cameras and were facing Brito. Some of them are wearing suits and other just regular white-shirts. There was only one in the lower left corner of the image that seems to be seated. In the central left half of the image, Brito was portrayed, seated in a small stage, in front of a table while speaking, even if the shot was made from approximately ten meters, a serious but serene expression can be identified in his face. Above him, can be seen the symbol of the hospital which was attached to the ceiling of the room. The entire right section of the image is extremely dark, not allowing any further interpretation, is also not possible to say if there was already a problem with the image in the moment of its publication which led the editors to insert a passport photo of Tancredo Neves in the upper right corner of the main photo. In this second image, the president elected appeared in a light suit, with the gaze to the side and an expression of preoccupation and sobriety, right under it has been printed his full name «Tancredo de Almeida Neves» alongside his birth and death dates «1910-1985» as a detailed that had the intention of marking the historical moment.

The first internal page to which our attention will be dedicated is page number five, the main headline was «Tancredo dies in São Paulo at 10:23 p.m.» and in an attempt to summarize and organize the narrative a few perspectives were presented on the page. The main page's text

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<sup>1072</sup> «Presidency spokesman Antonio Britto announced six minutes later that the president-elect died at 10.23pm yesterday».

TANCREDO NEVES ESTÁ MORTO; CORPO É VELADO NO PLANALTO; SARNEY REAFIRMA MUDANÇAS



O porta-voz da Presidência, Antônio Brito, anunciou, seis minutos depois, que o presidente eleito morreria às 22h23 de ontem



Tancredo de Almeida Neves (1910 - 1985)

O presidente eleito Tancredo Neves morreu ontem, dia de Tiradentes, às 22h23, no Instituto do Coração, em São Paulo. O comunicado oficial foi feito pelo porta-voz da Presidência, Antônio Brito, às 22h29. A morte de Tancredo ocorreu 38 dias após sua internação no Hospital de Base de Brasília, na véspera da posse. Nesse período, Tancredo foi submetido a sete intervenções cirúrgicas, as cinco últimas em São Paulo, para onde havia sido transferido no dia 26 de março. Tancredo Neves tinha 75 anos.

O presidente José Sarney chorou ao receber a notícia, às 22h25, no Palácio Jaburu, em Brasília. Em seguida, foi para o Palácio do Planalto, de onde falou ao País em rede nacional de rádio e televisão, à 0h35. Em seu pronunciamento de seis minutos, Sarney afirmou que as mudanças reclamadas pela Nação serão feitas. "Nosso programa é o de Tancredo Neves." Prometeu um governo de concórdia, trabalho e austeridade e que o objetivo maior do programa será atingido com a Assembleia Nacional Constituinte. Disse que o legado de Tancredo permanece vivo e pediu a ajuda de todos. O Presidente decretou luto oficial de oito dias. Hoje é feriado nacional.

O presidente do Congresso Nacional, senador José Fragelli, convocou sessão extraordinária para as 10h de hoje, quando será declarada a vacância do cargo de presidente e confirmado José Sarney na Presidência da República. Assim, o primeiro na linha sucessória presidencial passa a ser o presidente da Câmara dos Deputados, Ulysses Guimarães. Ulysses falou à Nação do plenário da Câmara às 22h20 e garantiu que "a homenagem sincera e consequente dos que choram Tancredo será impedir qualquer recuo na caminhada pelas instituições livres que se consolidarão através da Assembleia Nacional Constituinte". Líderes de todos os partidos políticos reafirmaram apoio à investidura de José Sarney na Presidência. O Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de São Paulo suspendeu sua greve, que começaria amanhã. Os do ABC devem tomar idêntica medida hoje.

O primeiro chefe de Estado a enviar mensagem de pésames ao governo brasileiro foi o presidente Raúl Alfonsín, da Argentina. O presidente dos Estados Unidos, Ronald Reagan, foi notificado da morte em Washington.

A última crise de Tancredo começou à tarde. O principal sintoma foi uma brusca queda da pressão arterial. Os problemas cardiovasculares eram decorrência do processo infeccioso abdominal, nunca debelado, que motivou seis cirurgias, e do edema intersticial pulmonar constatado após a quarta operação.

Tancredo Neves estava inconsciente havia dez dias. Desde a sétima cirurgia, o presidente eleito fora mantido em coma induzido através de medicamentos. Suas últimas palavras, dirigidas ao neto Aécio, antes de ser anestesiado no dia 11 de abril, foram: "Eu não merecia isto."

O corpo embalsamado será transferido para Brasília hoje, por volta das 9h30, após missa celebrada entre 4h e 5h no Instituto do Coração. O cortejo seguirá pela avenida Reboças, tomando a avenida Brasil e a avenida Pedro Álvares Cabral na direção do parque do Ibirapuera. No monumento ao soldado constitucionalista, haverá uma salva de 21 tiros de canhão, com as autoridades perfiladas junto ao obelisco. Dali, continuará até o aeroporto de Congonhas. O embarque está previsto para as 11h30. O velório solene ocorrerá no segundo andar do Palácio do Planalto, onde o corpo ficará exposto à visitação pública por 24 horas. O enterro será na cidade natal, São João del Rey, Minas Gerais. PÁGS. 4 a 16

Dia-a-dia, todo o drama da doença

13 de março - O médico Renault de Mattos Ribeiro diagnosticou uma faringite. Omite as dores que Tancredo sente no abdômen.  
14 de março - As 22h Tancredo é internado no Hospital de Base de Brasília e operado. Retira-se um tumor benigno do intestino.  
15 de março - O boletim revela que houve extração do divertículo de Meckel. Omite o tumor.  
16 de março - Nega-se ocorrência de hemorragia gástrica.  
17 de março - Surgem problemas respiratórios.  
18 de março - As informações oficiais não citam atividade normal de órgãos vitais. Falam em "progressiva melhora".  
19 de março - Chega a Brasília a junta médica integrada por especialistas de Minas, Rio e São Paulo.  
20 de março - As 15h, ocorre a segunda cirurgia, provavelmente devido a uma trombose mesentérica.  
21 de março - O médico Henrique Waller Pinotti afirma: "Podem marcar a posse para dentro de duas ou três semanas".  
22 de março - Pinotti diz que a alta poderá ser dada em oito dias.  
23 de março - Tancredo dita uma nota para o presidente José Sarney elucidando sua condição.  
24 de março - Faz exercícios respiratórios e fisioterápicos. Os médicos avisam a data da alta: até o final do mês.

detectada uma hemorragia intestinal. De manhã, havia posado para fotos com da. Risoleta e os médicos.  
26 de março - Transferido em caráter de urgência para o Instituto do Coração, em São Paulo, nas primeiras horas da manhã. À tarde, é operado pela terceira vez para retirada de um segmento de alça intestinal.  
5 de abril - Os boletins falam em regressão da infecção.  
8 de abril - A infecção da parte superior do pulmão direito atinge também a parte inferior, o que caracteriza um quadro de edema intersticial pulmonar. Conclusão da tomografia realizada no Hospital das Clínicas, para onde foi levado de maca.  
7 de abril - A capacidade respiratória está reduzida a 60%.  
8 de abril - Fica sentado durante 2 horas e 40 minutos na UTI do Instituto do Coração.  
9 de abril - É feita uma traqueostomia para substituição do tubo orotraqueal. Após esta intervenção, a senta - entra em estado crítico: os batimentos cardíacos chegam a 160 por minuto; a temperatura cai para 35,3 graus. Sobem as taxas de uréia e de creatinina no sangue, indicadores de início de insuficiência renal aguda.  
10 de abril - Os batimentos cardíacos apresentam oscilações. Os pulmões ficam com capacidade reduzida. Ocorre bacteremia, sinal de presença de bactérias no sangue.  
11 de abril - Novo foco infeccioso é identificado. É decidida a sétima

operação - uma laparotomia exploratória - que começa às 22h05 e termina às 0h do dia seguinte.  
12 de abril - Durante a cirurgia são detectados três focos infecciosos. O corte - no mesmo local das três primeiras operações - não avalia mais pontos cirúrgicos e é colocada uma tela de plástico no abdômen. As 18h, submetido a uma hemodiálise. O estado é gravíssimo.  
13 de abril - Nova ultratratagem do sangue: desde o dia anterior foi retirado 1,5 litro de líquido do organismo.  
14 de abril - Sofre duas crises de bacteremia. As funções renal e pulmonar pioram.  
15 de abril - Começa a ser submetido ao processo de hipotermia: a temperatura é reduzida para 33,5 graus.  
16 de abril - Recebe gammaglobulina hiperimune para reforçar as defesas do organismo.  
17 de abril - Pinotti diz que "existem perspectivas de cura". O boletim afirma que o estado é grave.  
18 de abril - A temperatura é reduzida para 35 graus. O estado é extremamente grave.  
19 de abril - A temperatura é reduzida para 33 graus. Pinotti chama o especialista norte-americano Warren Myrdal Zepol.  
20 de abril - Tancredo está descompensado, cochila Zepol após exames.  
21 de abril - As 22h23, morre o presidente eleito Tancredo Neves.

Opinião da Folha

Lida no pág. 2 de editorial "O País sem Tancredo Neves" entre seis momentos de tristeza, que são lembrados por os brasileiros: a chegada ao Brasil; a internação no Hospital de Base de Brasília; a primeira cirurgia; a chegada a São Paulo; a quinta cirurgia; e a morte de Tancredo Neves no Instituto do Coração.

Índice

Table with 2 columns: Page number and Page title. Includes sections like 'Opinião da Folha', 'Índice', and 'Tempo'.

was signed by the journalist Clóvis Rossi and was dedicated to the details about Tancredo's last hours, the medical decisions, the two clinical bulletins of that day and the presence of important names of the «PMDB» in the hospital at that critical moment, the State Governor Franco Montoro, São Paulo's mayor Mário Covas, as well as, the State Secretary of Planning, José Serra. A following text that has been published in the center of the page in its turn presented how the Tancredo's family received the news of his death and describes two distinct cases, the firmness of Tancredo's wife, Mrs Risoleta and the uncontrollable crying of his granddaughter, Andrea. The other textual elements of the page presented, in the right column of the page details about the funeral procession and the journey to Tancredo's birthplace, São João del Rey in the interior of Minas Gerais state. Continuing the coverage, the other texts detailed: the worsening of Tancredo's health; the arrival of other politicians; the desperate reaction of those who kept vigil for Tancredo at the hospital gates; details of the embalming technique that would be applied to Tancredo's body.

The main image of that page (*photo 177*) has been published right under the headline and in the upper half of the page occupying approximately ¼ of the entire page. Is important to indicated that at the bottom of the page two smaller images were also printed framing the moment in which Franco Montoro (São Paulo governor arrived in the hospital) and also the reactions of those who kept a vigil outside the hospital. Regarding the main page's photograph, the image was made using a wide-angle lens in a close distance from the object, framing the moment in which Tancredo's granddaughter, Andrea, was inside a car returning to the hospital as was stated in the caption, «Às 21h50, pouco antes do anúncio da morte, a neta Andrea, chorando bastante, retorna ao Incor para se juntar aos seus familiares».<sup>1073</sup> The shot framed in a very sharp way Andrea's face and expression visibly sad, with her right hand in the face in a movement that in interaction with the caption is presented as a weeping tears attitude. The light and shadow disbalance that the night shot carries in the page adds more dramaticism into the contrast between the lighter and darker parts of the photo, in addition to it, the car elements of the image direct the reader's attention to the face expression of Andrea. Finally, this material aspects of the photo construction indicate that the photographers that were on duty in that occasion did not have so many opportunities to visually capture the drama of the event, as well as the important and relevant human and institutional presences that day. The outside image's and mostly related to car scenes are the clear indication of the access limits that existed.

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<sup>1073</sup> «At 9.50 p.m., shortly before the announcement of his death, his granddaughter Andrea, in tears, returned to Incor to join his relatives».

A morte do presidente eleito

# Tancredo morre em São Paulo às 22h23

CLÓVIS ROSSI

O corpo aparentemente inanimado de Tancredo de Almeida Neves, rendeu-se às 22h23 de uma noite de domingo. Seu dia de calvário que começara em Brasília poucas horas antes de sua posse como presidente da República, mas esperada que fosse a notícia o paciente da UTI do Instituto Coração estava desenganado pelo médico pouco antes do domingo a sua divagação, na voz embargada do porta-voz, Antônio Brito, exatamente às 22h23, comunicou a Novotrouse Ligeiros aos olhos de reporteres acostumados à frieza mesdiantes das catástrofes, levou algumas das poucas pessoas postas diante do Hospital à história provocou a primeira manifestação política da era pós-Tancredo, forma de gritar "Diretas-Já", entoado por uma dúzia de gargantas, bem-lado do Centro de Convenções de Brasília, quartel-general da imprensa.

A agonia final converteu na vida de uma nova queda de pressão arterial, que baixou de quatorze por nove por quatro, nível incompatível com o prolongamento da vida muito tempo, ante a impossibilidade de irrigação das extremidades mesmo dos órgãos vitais. Era, provavelmente, o cerco ao coração última fortaleza do combate ao infarto do miocárdio, a resistir assediado das bactérias, ao colapso rins e dos pulmões.

Até meia noite de ontem, a "causa" não havia sido divulgada oficialmente mas era desmentida por evidências: falência de múltiplos órgãos. Instalava-se, inevitavelmente, a asfixia: na falta de oxigênio para queimar os metabólitos, o organismo produzindo ácidos progressivamente, sufocam todo o metabolismo celular, até que o corpo perece.

O primeiro aviso de que a morte era iminente foi dado ao governador Franco Montoro, quando ele chefiava a Incor, junto com o secretário de Planejamento, José Serra, por volta de 18h30. O médico Henrique Walter Flautoz definiu para o governador quadro terminal. E deixou claro o desfecho seria comunicado em duas etapas: um primeiro boletim médico falaria na irreversibilidade do quadro clínico, antes de que o porta-voz, Antônio Brito, voltasse ao Centro Rebobas para a notícia tomada. E foi assim: o Boletim Médico nº 41, lido às 21h15 por Brito, anunciava que, "neste momento, o quadro clínico é bastante crítico, atingindo características de irreversibilidade".

Restava, apenas, aguardar o desfecho. E não estava estagnado no rosto do mesmo Brito quando desceu, agredido, ao estado do Centro Rebobas para ler o último comunicado oficial da longa batalha contra a morte. Ao ler o texto com a palavra "inimável", já não precisava dizer mais nada.

O governador Montoro, mais o prefeito Mário Craviz, o diretor do hospital cinco minutos antes da morte e acompanhados a mesa de corpo presente celebrada no próprio hospital, na primeira etapa das cerimônias fúnebres que continuam depois de ser submetido a um processo de preservação. O Tancredo será colocado em um veículo militar (o "Urutu"), para um cortejo de aproximadamente seis horas em direção ao aeroporto de Congonhas. De lá, segue para Brasília, local das exéquias fofas, e para o seu destino final na terra (São João Del Rey), onde a história desse coraçao quase indomável começou, faz 75 anos.

**No fim da tarde, o quadro clínico era desesperador**

**JOÃO BATISTA NATALI**  
**ROBINSON SASAKI**  
 De nossa equipe de reportagem

O quadro clínico de Tancredo já estava assumindo contornos definitivos por volta das 18h, quando o único comunicado médico do dia mencionava como letal novo o esforço de se tratar do "sistema vascular periférico". Em verdade, como os médicos revelariam a seguir, a pressão arterial caíra para o baixíssimo nível de nove por quatro, demonstrando que o organismo não mais reagia aos medicamentos destinados a evitar a hipotensão. Com isso, as extremidades do corpo estavam sendo mal ou em nada irrigadas, dando origem a cianose — as células recebem uma coloração amarelada ao nível da pele.

Com essa deterioração das condições cardíacas demonstrava ganhar peso o roteiro segundo o qual Tancredo caminhava para uma lenta e irreversível queda de todas as funções vitais. Um segundo relatório por do desfecho clínico corrobora a ocorrência de uma crise aguda, bacteriemia e cardiovascular, rompido num contexto de "turbulências" e o frágil equilíbrio das funções vitais.

No Instituto do Coração, o desfecho não dos especialistas nas últimas 24 horas é demonstrado pela informação de que não se tentou nenhum outro recurso terapêutico para hipoteticamente reverter um processo que fluiu com o morte. O prolongamento artificial da agonia do paciente é obtido independentemente da utilização de sofisticados aparelhos, através, de um tipo, da hipotermia — o organismo foi então mantido entre 30 e 31 graus centígrados — e pela aplicação, com intermitência, de oxigênio ao nível de pureza de cem por cento nos pulmões às bobinadas sobre os quais os médicos tentam sustentar "sequeles" (lesões fibrilativas).



Às 21h50, pouco antes do anúncio da morte, a neta Andréa, chorando bastante, retorna ao Incor para se juntar aos seus familiares.

## No início da noite, o amigo da família dá o aviso dramático; da.Risoleta resiste

Reportagem Local

Uma vez mais, como no início da noite, quando o amigo da família Neves, João Baptista Rezende Alves, comunicou aos familiares, no começo da noite de ontem, que o quadro era irreversível e que a morte de Tancredo se aproximava rápida e inexoravelmente. Emocionada, o cirurgião explicou que tudo o que era possível fora feito mas a morte estava vencendo.

**Lívido, Montoro chegou pouco antes da morte**

Acompanhado de sua mulher, da Lucy, o governador de São Paulo, André Franco Montoro, retornou completamente lívido, chegou pela segunda vez desde domingo ao Instituto do Coração exatamente às 22h15. Não abriu os vidros do Opala azul oficial. Deuseu já protegido pelo cordão de isolamento da Polícia Militar e da Polícia do Exército. Caminhou passivamente ao quarto andar, onde permaneceu em vigília a família Almeida Neves.

**Malafestas presentes**

Pouco depois chegou ao Instituto do Coração o deputado federal Francisco de Paula (PDS-SP) que, em nome da bancada parlamentar no Congresso, assinou o livro de cumprimentos transformado, naquele instante, em livro de condolências.

**Chegada discreta**

A sucessão das chegadas seguintes

tração, Aluizio Alves, então aos jornalistas, ao sair do Instituto do Coração, que ela, desta vez, estava ainda mais confiante do que em outras ocasiões difíceis que seu marido enfrentara nos 29 dias de ontem. Outros familiares, ao contrário, mostravam claramente o desespero, como a neta Andréa, que voltou ao hospital às 21h50 chorando incoerentemente.

**Na frente do Incor, choro interrompe o Hino Nacional**

Quando o porta-voz da Presidência anunciou a morte do presidente eleito Tancredo Neves, o cartório Dividido Quirino, 20, não suportou e passou a lançar sua bandeira violentamente e seguidas vezes de encontro à banca de jornal instalada ao lado das portas do Centro de Convenções Rebobas.

**Secretariado retém-se**

Por fim, chegou o prefeito Mário Covas. Seu veículo entrou rapidamente pela rampa principal do Incor. Não fez nenhuma declaração.

Um grupo de aproximadamente cem pessoas, contidas por um cordão de isolamento na frente do Centro de Convenções, começa a cantar o Hino Nacional. Nas primeiras estrofes coros vai aumentando. Depois, a emoção e as lágrimas vão apagando as vozes em soluço. Menos de cinquenta pessoas chegam às últimas estrofes.

a doença não chegou aos níveis de irreversibilidade alcançados no domingo passado — essa fé era baseada com uma absoluta confiança nos médicos que atendiam ao presidente eleito. Em nenhum momento, foram questionados os procedimentos adotados ou chegou a se imaginar a hipótese de desligar os aparelhos que prolongaram artificialmente a vida de Tancredo durante os últimos dias.

**Embalsamamento, técnica pouco usada no Brasil**

O embalsamamento consiste na retirada das vísceras do morto e a injeção, no restante do corpo, de uma solução de 2% de formalina, mais uma série de substâncias, entre elas o ácido fólico, a povidona e o cloroformo. O vaso do tórax e do abdome, após a morte, são removidos e colocados em posição, e preenchido com uma mistura de serragem e carvão vegetal. Esse trabalho demora de três a quatro horas e permite a perfeita conservação do corpo por mais de um ano.

**Normalmente é feita uma maquiagem, com cosméticos comuns, ao fim do trabalho, apenas para efeitos estéticos. Para dar um pouco de cor no rosto, que sempre fica muito mais pálido após a aplicação do formalina, alguns usam dos poucos produtos específicos nesse trabalho, em São Paulo.**

**Caseiro raro**

Pedindo sigilo de seu nome — "é muito desagradável ser conhecido por esse tipo de serviço" — esse técnico afirma que não são raros os casos de embalsamamento em São Paulo, que ninguém pode viver apenas desse trabalho. Ele calcula que a média de corpos embalsamados na Capital não chega a mais de dez por ano. Explica que isso só acontece em casos de corpos que têm de ser transportados para o exterior, em obediência a uma convenção internacional estabelecida em 1937, que obriga esse tratamento de conservação por motivos sanitários.

Em São Paulo, a maioria dos corpos embalsamados é de dirigentes de empresas multinacionais e de bolivianos e paraguaios que vieram se tratar nos hospitais mais especializados da Capital. No Rio, diz o técnico, esse trabalho é mais comum em consequência do maior número de turistas. Mesmo assim, acrescenta, não há quantidade de pedintes suficientes para maior especialização dos técnicos. Informa que todo embalsamamento é feito sob supervisão de médicos, que se responsabilizam pelo tratamento e pelo transporte até as câmaras sanitárias, mas não chegam a tocar no corpo.

Depois, no dia dois, quando veio nova crise. No domingo passado, a descrença dos médicos aumentou ainda mais, mas foi só na última quinta-feira — especialmente depois de uma grave crise respiratória — que até o médico Walter Pinotti entregou os pontos e considerou perdida a longa guerra contra a morte. Ainda assim, dona Risoleta manteve a serenidade, toçida de fé, única e exclusivamente.

**Depois, o cortejo**

Depois, virá a etapa final: a saque para São João Del Rey — onde Tancredo nasceu e será enterrado — via Barbacena, a cidade próxima que tem aeroporto em condições de receber pessoas de fora.

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## O cortejo de despedida do presidente

O cortejo fúnebre do presidente eleito Tancredo Neves sairá às 22h30 do Instituto do Coração, em direção ao aeroporto de Congonhas, na o embargado para Brasília. O corpo será submetido a um processo de preservação (isto chega embalsamamento), que consistirá em injeções de substâncias preservativas e, provavelmente, na retirada das vísceras, juntamente para facilitar a conservação. Uma dessas substâncias é o formalol.

Haverá uma missa de corpo presente no próprio Instituto do Coração, cortejo seguirá pela avenida Ilhéus até o estacionamento com a saída de Brasília, ali, toma a esquerda e segue ao túnel. No Monumento aos Soldados de 1932, haverá a cerimônia da marcha para a lava de 21 tiros de canhão. As honras fúnebres em uma marquise monumental.

Depois, o cortejo, que tem uma duração prevista de 1h30, toma a avenida 23 de Maio e segue diretamente para o aeroporto. O delegado contra Duma, superintendente da Polícia Federal, em São Paulo, saqueará o corpo, entretanto, se, dependendo da vontade da família, poderá haver algum tipo de alívio mais prolongado em São Paulo (quando da partida, o cortejo seguirá pelo presidente eleito, o governador Montoro propõe três alternativas para esse cortejo: a) a saída de São Paulo, a Assembleia Legislativa e o Palácio dos Bandeirantes).

No aeroporto, o caixão será retirado do Urutu do Exército que o transporta desde o Instituto do Coração. Haverá uma homenagem canônica em seguida e o caixão será colocado no Boeing presidencial. O voo decolará em Brasília para a sua forma final, com uma duração prevista para dois dias. O caixão ficará exposto no salão de lanal.

**Embalsamamento, técnica pouco usada no Brasil**

Depois, virá a etapa final: a saque para São João Del Rey — onde Tancredo nasceu e será enterrado — via Barbacena, a cidade próxima que tem aeroporto em condições de receber pessoas de fora.

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The internal page, number six, presented as main headline «With emotion, Britto announces the expected outcome» and was filled with three different pictures, several perspectives of the last moments before the Tancredo's death announcement, as well as the first reactions in São Paulo's city. The main text of the page, occupying the left column next to the largest photograph, detailed the moments, expressions, and reactions of the Press Secretary of the presidency, Antonio Britto in the moments when he went to communicate to his journalist colleagues the worsening of Tancredo's health condition and his subsequent death. The text highlights the strong presence of emotion and tears among several press professionals. In the same column on the left, right below it, has been published a small recap of the latest medical bulletins. In the center of the page and in the middle of the three images that were published, the entire text of the last bulletin, read at 22h29, was presented. In it, the last three paragraphs made a summary of his decades of dedication to politics in the country.

In the right-column of the page a small box text indicated that the cause of death was a sharp reduction in his lung function. Under the box has been detailed hour-by-hour the account of the movements in the hospital the previous day after 6 p.m., followed by the fact that shortly before the announcement of his death, police and army surrounded the hospital. Finally, in the last third of the page, two texts were dedicated to the reactions after the announcement of Tancredo's death in two different neighborhoods of the city. The first one in the city center presented a strong relation with the main image of that page, besides that, different opinions and personal accounts of interviewees were published. The second text detailed the situation in Jardins, a city's and country's upper bourgeoisie neighborhood, in this case important names and their considerations are mentioned, such as Paulo Setúbal, son of the banker Olavo Setúbal.

Regarding the main picture (*photo 178*) published on that page the vertical long-distance image of an electronic billboard in São Paulo's city center recalls the attention for its symbolic signs. In first place, is necessary to underscore the fact that in this case, a night image printed and archived for decades, several details were not conserved in the photograph. Although, the one's there are in the scene gives a fundamental path of the narrative. The shot probably made using a tele objective lens, bringing the plans closer and with a very clear sharp element, was focused on the billboard which read «Adeus, Tancredo»<sup>1074</sup> with the Brazilian national flag in the background of the phrase. In addition to it, the other elements in the scene were a sequence of public lighting posts that have a specific aspect and characteristics in the city center of São Paulo. These light posts are acknowledged almost in the entire country.

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<sup>1074</sup> «Farewell, Tancredo».

POLÍTICA — Segundo-leiro, 22 de abril de 1985

POUNHA DE S. PAULO

A morte do presidente eleito

# Com emoção, Britto comunica o desfecho esperado

Reportagem Local  
Rosto fechado, olhando para o chão, Britto comunicou aos jornalistas a morte de Tancredo Neves. Ele estava acompanhado por seu filho, o jornalista Antônio Britto, 32 anos, e o filho do casal, o jornalista Mauro Monteiro, 10 anos. Ambos estavam vestidos de preto e estavam com o rosto fechado.

Os repórteres — cerca de duzentos — aguardavam no salão de recepção do prédio da imprensa. Britto chegou às 22h30, acompanhado de seu filho, o jornalista Antônio Britto, 32 anos, e o filho do casal, o jornalista Mauro Monteiro, 10 anos. Ambos estavam vestidos de preto e estavam com o rosto fechado.

Britto subiu pela rampa lateral do prédio, cabido e também com o rosto fechado. O comitê de imprensa estava reunido no salão de recepção. Britto chegou às 22h30, acompanhado de seu filho, o jornalista Antônio Britto, 32 anos, e o filho do casal, o jornalista Mauro Monteiro, 10 anos. Ambos estavam vestidos de preto e estavam com o rosto fechado.

Justo ao bonco de Tancredo, onde um homem e a seguir outro choravam convulsivamente, uma fotografia também chorava. Diante do Instituto do Coração, o mesmo ocorria com uma repórter. Num dos andares intermediários do Centro de Imprensa, nas mesas ocupadas pelas emissoras de rádio, o choro também não faltava. Britto chegou às 22h30, acompanhado de seu filho, o jornalista Antônio Britto, 32 anos, e o filho do casal, o jornalista Mauro Monteiro, 10 anos. Ambos estavam vestidos de preto e estavam com o rosto fechado.

## Boletins apontar o avanço final da enfermidade

O subsecretário de Imprensa e Publicidade da República, Paulo Luis Rodrigues Torres, às 18h30, seguiu informações.

As informações obtidas apontam, às 22h, para um avanço final da enfermidade de Tancredo Neves, registraram a ocorrência de instabilidade cardíaca no período da madrugada, imediatamente corrigida através de medicamentos.

Continuam seguidos os procedimentos de ultrafiltração e de hipotermia. Neste último, a temperatura reduziu para 36,5 graus. A respiração permaneceu estável, registrando-se concentração de oxigênio para 70% e de oxigenação do sangue (PO2) para 57. O estado de saúde do sr. presidente Tancredo Neves continua sério.

Sério quadro infeccioso  
As 18h, o jornalista Antônio Britto, porta-voz da Presidência, divulgou o seguinte boletim médico:  
"O emprego de medidas assistenciais do boletim médico de ontem, como hipotermia e assistência ao aparelho respiratório, trouxeram uma melhoria nos níveis de oxigênio de sangue, com a diminuição do consumo de oxigênio ao nível dos tecidos.

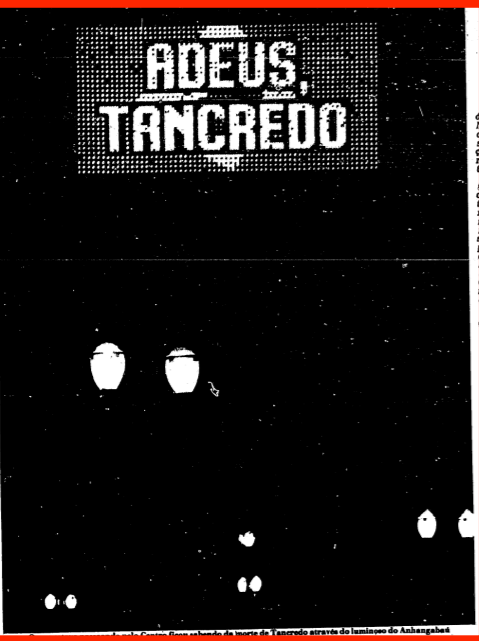
Apesar de o boletim de ontem apontar para um avanço final da enfermidade de Tancredo Neves, os médicos continuam otimistas quanto ao prognóstico do sr. presidente Tancredo Neves.

Surpresa, população lamenta no Centro

Reportagem Local  
"Ades Tancredo", dizia o painel luminoso instalado no alto do prédio da imprensa. Britto chegou às 22h30, acompanhado de seu filho, o jornalista Antônio Britto, 32 anos, e o filho do casal, o jornalista Mauro Monteiro, 10 anos. Ambos estavam vestidos de preto e estavam com o rosto fechado.

No famoso cruzamento paulistano das avenidas São João com Itaipava, as pessoas que saíram dos cinemas, bares e restaurantes receberam a notícia da morte do presidente eleito Tancredo Neves não só pelo painel luminoso, mas por inúmeros fôtons de automóbiles e estabelecimentos comerciais das imediações. Despedaçados, tristes, conformados, todos lamentavam o acontecimento.

O jornalista Diógenes José, 41, com muitas pessoas, ao passar por sua banca depois de abandonado o falecido, parava para fazer as mais variadas perguntas sobre o assunto: "Disse que não sabia o horário exato da morte, outra se foi sabotagem, se suicidou entre a imprensa e revistas e



Um desacomodado caminha pela sacada do 4º andar do hospital e provoca movimentação de repórteres e confundidos familiares de Tancredo.

## Às 22h29, a leitura do boletim final

O boletim em que Antônio Britto anunciou oficialmente a morte de Tancredo Neves foi lido às 22h29 e teve o seguinte teor:  
Senhores jornalistas,  
Lamento informar que o ex-candidato a presidente da República, Tancredo Neves, faleceu esta noite no Instituto do Coração, às 22h29.

Acrescento o seguinte:  
Nos últimos cinquenta anos a vida pública de Tancredo Neves confundiu-se com sonhos e com os ideais brasileiros de união, de democracia, de justiça social e de liberdade.



Britto, desolado, vai anunciar a morte de Tancredo.

## Reações de incredulidade nos Jardins

22h23. Os sofisticados restaurantes dos Jardins estão calmos. O movimento é normal igual aos dois outros domingos à noite. De repente, o anúncio da morte do presidente eleito, Tancredo Neves, feito pelo porta-voz da Presidência, Antônio Britto, causa uma espécie de incredulidade e espanto.  
Cercado de amigos, o ex-play-boy Chiquinho Soares, 51, na Churrascaria Rodolfo, se recusa a acreditar na notícia: "É uma brincadeira, não acredito. Não acredito. Não acredito."

Após a morte de Tancredo Neves, os Jardins ficaram calmos. O movimento é normal igual aos dois outros domingos à noite. De repente, o anúncio da morte do presidente eleito, Tancredo Neves, feito pelo porta-voz da Presidência, Antônio Britto, causa uma espécie de incredulidade e espanto.

## Causa do óbito foi debilitação pulmonar

JULIO ABRAMCZYK  
Resumo médico de Britto

Essa forma, ficou estabelecida uma importante relação entre a deficiência função de transporte de oxigênio no sangue e a atividade do coração e dos pulmões.  
Apesar de todas as medidas tomadas, não houve melhora na coloração do sangue arterial. As necessidades de oxigênio em um paciente em estado crítico estão intensamente aumentadas. É esta insuficiente oxigenação, confirmada pela hipoxia (sangue com deficiência de oxigênio), levou a graves alterações metabólicas. Esta situação levou a graves consequências de uma infecção não controlada. Lentamente se iniciou uma severa falência da atividade cardíaca. Ações medicamentosas que poderiam melhorar a atividade cardíaca e a função pulmonar não foram suficientes. Em 22 de abril, às 22h, a pressão arterial de 9 de máxima (pressão diastólica) era o prenúncio da falência cardíaca definitiva, confirmada à morte.

## Movimentação no Incor aumenta depois das 18h

Reportagem Local  
principais acontecimentos ontem

17h35  
O porta-voz da Presidência retorna ao Incor. Ele esteve quase uma hora e conversou informal com os familiares das no Centro de Convenções Rebouças.

17h45  
Antônio Britto, porta-voz da Presidência, sai do Incor e dirige-se para o Centro de Convenções Rebouças para divulgar o laudo médico da tarde.

18h  
Britto lê o boletim, revelando que melhoraram os níveis de oxigenação, mas que "nas últimas horas surgiram novas dificuldades" em relação às condições hemodinâmicas do paciente.

18h20  
O governador Franco Montoro, acompanhado do secretário de Planejamento, José Serra, entra sem conversar com a imprensa.

21h25  
Reforço do policiamento no período noturno e no quadrilátero da Polícia do Exército. No principal, foram montados dois cordões de Polícia do Exército, mais um sargento. No secundário, ficam cinco soldados.

21h50  
Retorna ao Incor, chorando muito, a nete de Tancredo, Andréa.

21h53  
Um grupo de 106 oficiais militares chega para reforçar a segurança em torno do Hospital.

21h55  
O ministro Francisco Dornelles, da Fazenda, entra sem falar com os jornalistas.

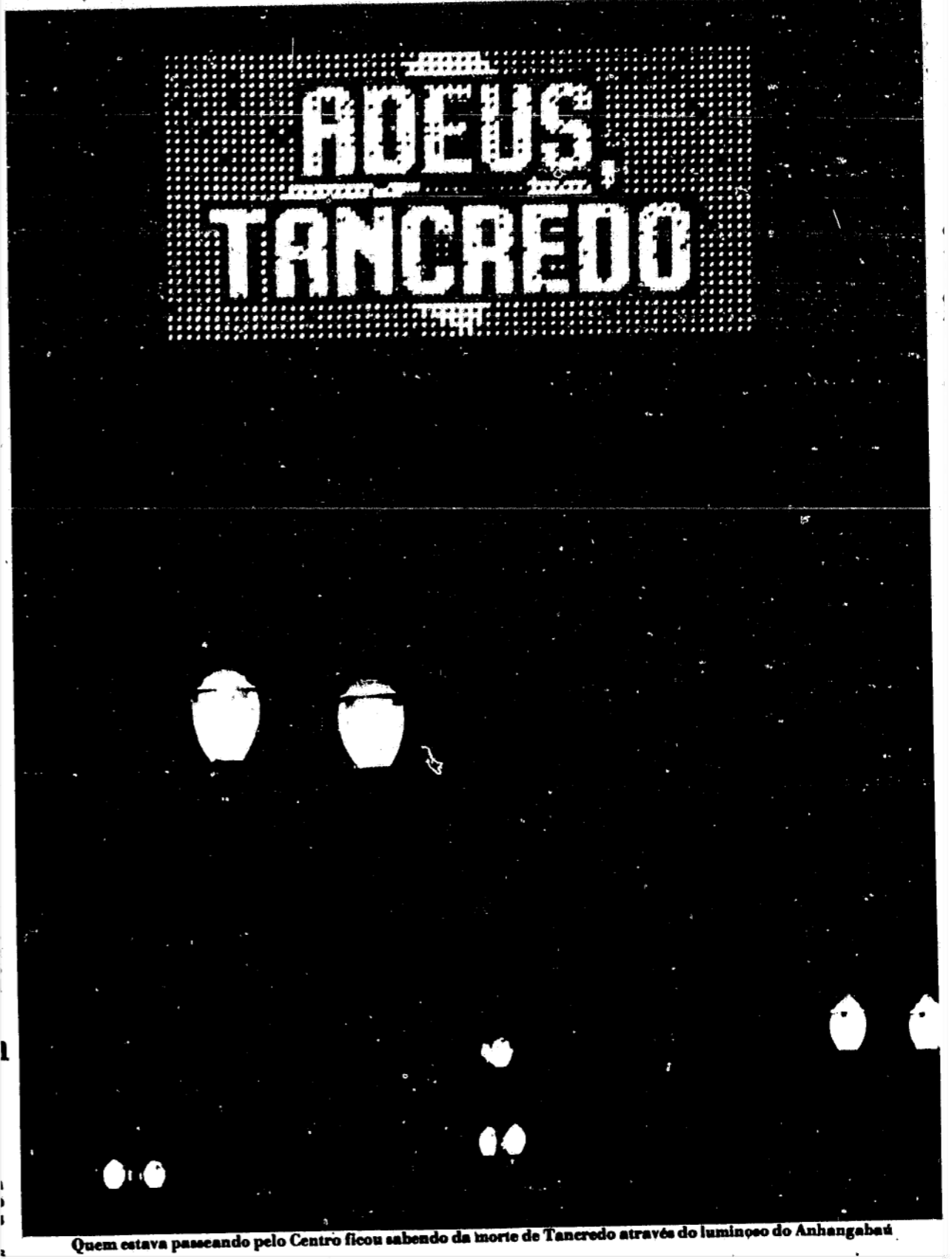
## Antes do anúncio, polícias militar, federal e do Exército cercam o HC

Pouco antes do anúncio oficial da morte do presidente Tancredo Neves, o espaço da avenida Dr. Eneas de Carvalho foi ocupado por efetivos da Polícia Militar, do Exército e agentes da Polícia Federal. A alteração era evitar perturbação do trabalho jornalístico — os trailers de emissoras de TV e seus holofotes faziam do trecho em frente ao Incor um lugar altamente iluminado e bastante movimentado — e da rotina do Instituto do Coração.

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Quem estava passeando pelo Centro ficou sabendo da morte de Tancredo através do luminoso do Anhangabau

Because of these two main elements of the photo, the caption, «Quem estava passeando pelo Centro ficou sabendo da morte de Tancredo através da iluminação do Anhangabaú»<sup>1075</sup> has a descriptive role but does not present a fundamental interaction narrative aspect. On the other hand, the gloomy aspect of the scene brings an extra drama layer to the edition that has been built in an ascendent order so far. Combining the newscast with the emotion and trauma that the situation brought to the Brazilian people.

The next page, number seven, presented the headline «Opposition parties support Sarney's permanence» and began to deal with the consequences and political developments of Tancredo Neves' death. Moreover, throughout the page the texts present the repercussions and statements of different sectors of civil society: politicians, trade unionists, writers, artists. All of them building a univocal discourse in favor of the maintenance of democracy and of the rites that needed to be fulfilled. In this case, approximately ¼ of the page was occupied with six different photographs of leaders of the groups mentioned above, again proposing a visual element in the narrative that aimed to give a known face to some new actors of Brazilian politics and civil society. The present analysis, however, will focus on the following page.

Page number eight of the «FSP» was dedicated to the detailing of the process and consequences of José Sarney, the vice-president, arrival into the Presidency office. In so, the page's main headline was «Sarney, former leader of the PDS, arrives at the Presidency in the PMDB». The main text on that page has an initial «lead» paragraph dedicated to the fact that Sarney had come to the Presidency of the Republic being born in a traditional family in the state of Maranhão, that historically is connected to the national politics. The text then presents a biography of his career in the Brazilian politics and literature, at this point is important to underline the factual event that was presented remembering the readers, that Sarney has been the «PDS» leader until 1984 when the party went under a strong influence of Paulo Maluf, in that occasion Sarney had resigned from his position of «PDS» president and take the front of the Liberal Front that alongside the «PMDB» formed the opposition group in the 1985 elections. On the lower half of the page, the report focuses on the fact that Sarney had become the country's first president from the Northeast region since 1954. In its turn, on the right-hand column of the page the article gives details of the Constitution which guarantees that in the event of a vacancy in the presidency the post goes to the vice-president.

Our focus will now be directed to the large vertical photograph (*photo 179*), oriented in a counter-dive angle made from a short distance in relation to Sarney. The then vice-president

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<sup>1075</sup> «Those strolling through the centre learnt of Tancredo's death from the Anhangabaú street lighting».

was standing inside the hall of the National Congress (identifiable not only by the caption, but also by the details on the wall in the background). The exact moment when he was taking his oath was captured, Sarney was wearing a dark suit, with his gaze directed forward as he holds the constitution with his left hand and raises his right hand one. The angle of the image, as well as, the loglinear elements of the wall, help to further «elevate» the visual plan attached to Sarney that was being added to the verbal narrative of trust around the one who would assume the presidency.

The caption, «Em 15 de março, no Congresso Nacional, Sarney faz o juramento constitucional ao assumir a vice-presidência»<sup>1076</sup>, presents a further layer to the narrative present in the articles of the page that highlight the way in which Sarney was willing to comply with the constitutional order. Is also important to underscore the fact that the proximity of the photograph, probably taken with a wide-angle lens, allowed the photographer to capture not only details of his expression, as well as his characteristic eyebrows and moustache, but also the national coat of arms on the constitutional notebook in his hand. In other words, the specific details of the scene, help to build the element of uniqueness and importance of that historical moment. A last aspect related to this photograph is the freezing of the scene, providing the calm and serenity that the information transmitted, and context asked for. At the bottom of the page, there are three other photographs that inverted this logic and make the page reading more dynamic in exposing Sarney meeting with Maluf and Guimarães, as well as when he resigned the presidency of the «PDS» in June 1984.

The following pages of that day's edition of the «FSP», more precisely from page number nine until page sixteen were dedicated to narrating, present and a final farewell to Tancredo Neves, exposing a kind of enunciation memory project, of which Tancredo and how his memory should be considered in the years to come. Once again, the present analysis will be concentrated in some key elements that the newspaper had presented on that day. In so, on page number nine the main headline was, «Tancredo leaves an image of a skillful and conciliatory politician». Starting from this headline is possible to hypothesize that the enunciative path proposed by the «FSP» would go towards the politician that had unified the country in the final years of the dictatorship. The entire right-hand column of the page was dedicated to presenting a compilation of Tancredo's phrases and statements that, according to the newspaper, were demonstrations of his good humor and insight throughout his political

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<sup>1076</sup>«On March 15, at the National Congress, Sarney takes the constitutional oath as he assumes the vice-presidency».

# Partidos de oposição apoiam permanência de Sarney



**Reportagem Local**  
de São Paulo

Os presidentes dos partidos de oposição ao governo Sarney, reunidos em uma reunião no Palácio do Planalto, manifestaram seu apoio à permanência de Sarney no cargo, ressaltando que a transição de poder deve ocorrer de forma pacífica e dentro da ordem constitucional.

**PDS reafirma apoio à ordem constitucional**  
De São Paulo de Brasília

As tribuna, assim que foi anunciada a morte do presidente Tancredo Neves, o líder do PDS na Câmara, deputado Paulo Vitorino, enviou nota de pesar aos familiares e amigos do falecido. Ele também se pronunciou sobre a situação política do país.

# Estamos entristecidos, afirmam os EUA

**PAULO FRANCIS**  
de São Paulo

A Casa Branca informou há 24 horas de ontem (21) horas de Brasília, que o presidente Reagan se manifestou profundamente entristecido com a morte de Tancredo Neves. Ele também expressou sua confiança na capacidade do povo brasileiro para superar a crise.

# Democracia está garantida, dizem escritores

**Reportagem Local**  
de São Paulo

A Carta Magna será respeitada e a ordem constitucional preservada, mesmo com a morte do presidente eleito Tancredo Neves. Os escritores afirmam que a democracia não foi afetada e que o processo de transição de poder seguirá seu curso normal.

# Para artistas, não haverá volta ao passado

**Reportagem Local**  
de São Paulo

Se esperar retrocesso os artistas brasileiros aguardam serenamente as mudanças do Brasil depois de Tancredo. Eles afirmam que não desejam voltar ao passado e que a nova administração deve trazer mudanças positivas para o país.

# Metalúrgicos suspendem a greve e apoiam Constituição

**Reportagem Local**  
de São Paulo

A greve dos metalúrgicos foi suspensa e os trabalhadores manifestaram seu apoio à Constituição. Eles afirmam que a greve não afetará a produção e que a ordem constitucional deve ser mantida.

# Perda de Tancredo causa consternação generalizada

**Reportagem Local**  
de São Paulo

A morte de Tancredo Neves causou consternação generalizada no Brasil. O presidente Sarney recebeu as notícias com pesar e se pronunciou sobre a situação política do país.

# Para artistas, não haverá volta ao passado

**Reportagem Local**  
de São Paulo

Se esperar retrocesso os artistas brasileiros aguardam serenamente as mudanças do Brasil depois de Tancredo. Eles afirmam que não desejam voltar ao passado e que a nova administração deve trazer mudanças positivas para o país.

# Sarney, ex-líder do PDS, chega à Presidência no PMDB

**Reportagem Local**  
de São Paulo

O movimento militar de 1964 encontrou Sarney na oposição à direita ao governo João Goulart. Mas mesmo seus adversários testemunhariam sua luta pelo bem da pátria. Sarney não teve nenhuma intenção de perseguir os vencidos, apenas de restaurar a ordem constitucional.



**Cargo é do vice, assegura texto constitucional**  
**Reportagem Local**  
de São Paulo

Sarney é desde ontem o presidente da República Federativa do Brasil. Com a morte de Tancredo Neves, ele automaticamente assumiu o cargo definitivo, o posto que era internamente. Esta é a interpretação da maioria esmagadora de juristas brasileiros, que vêm afirmando há algum tempo que o artigo 77 da Constituição ("Substituto do Presidente") não se aplica a um Vice-Presidente. Respostas das as dividas sobre a sucessão foram dadas pela Constituição.

**Do PDS à oposição**  
Após deixar o governo maranhense, em 1970, em meio a uma manifestação de simpatia em frente ao Palácio dos Leões — que ele classificou como a sua maior vitória política — Sarney foi eleito senador pela Arena. Reeleito em 1974, foi presidente do partido com a reformulação promovida por Petrólio Portela, ajudou a construir o PDS. Desde o início da luta por reformas políticas espasadas do Palácio do Planalto, até que, em junho de 1984, com o avanço do movimento parlamentarista, que aglutinava seu nome e o do governador Leão, Sarney rompeu com o governo federal e se candidatou a vice-presidente da chapa de Sarney e Petrólio Portela, ajudou a construir o PDS. Desde o início da luta por reformas políticas espasadas do Palácio do Planalto, até que, em junho de 1984, com o avanço do movimento parlamentarista, que aglutinava seu nome e o do governador Leão, Sarney rompeu com o governo federal e se candidatou a vice-presidente da chapa de Sarney e Petrólio Portela, ajudou a construir o PDS.

# Desde 54, o primeiro nordestino civil na Presidência

**Reportagem Local**  
de São Paulo

José Sarney é o primeiro nordestino civil a assumir a Presidência da República desde agosto de 1964, quando, em circunstâncias igualmente trágicas, o potiguar Café Filho substituiu Getúlio Vargas, que se suicidou dias 24 daquele mês. Apesar de carecer, o primeiro presidente do regime militar, Humberto Castello Branco, pela própria natureza da profissão, sempre teve sua identidade mais vinculada ao projeto de modernização de seu país do que à sua origem.



Sarney é abraçado por Maluf na posse na Academia Nacional de Letras. No dia 11 de junho de 1984, renuncia à presidência do PDS

career. Two of them are worth highlighting: «Se não fosse Castello, íamos ter uma “pinochetada” infamante que aquela do Chile (declaração ao “O Estado de S.Paulo”, 2/4/78)»<sup>1077</sup> and «Isto que alguns chamam de “pacto social”, outros de “conciliação”, outros ainda de “transição política” seria uma integração de esforços entre governantes e governados para enfrentar os problemas que não podem ser resolvidos sem a participação de todos (maio 80)».<sup>1078</sup> These cases are a great demonstration of his partial agreement to what had been done in March 1964, as well as the fact that, in 1980, Tancredo statement proposed a major synthesis of what should be the conciliation process during the political transition in the 1980s.

The two articles in the lower half of the page were dedicated, the first one, to Tancredo Neves' political roots, going back to the end of the 18th century in the state of Minas Gerais and the arrival of new Portuguese leaders in the colony. The second one, on its turn dealt with the fact that he was the second elected president not to take office, taking up the case of Rodrigues Alves, elected in 1918, but a victim of the Spanish Flu. The text connected to the main page's headline presented a biography of his ability of political conciliation, presenting moments from the beginning of his career, statements, data on his strong religiosity, marriage, and private life. For the present analysis, some facts cited stand out, his vote against the election of Humberto Castello Branco in 1964 and the fact that Tancredo was the only elected parliamentarian who accompanied João Goulart to the airport that same year. On the other hand, Tancredo was part of the opposition consented to by the regime, a practical demonstration of his moderation in opposing the military.

Regarding the images that were published on that page, we must underline the fact that four images were composing it, the three smaller ones were relative to the precedent decades of his career, creating a sort of mini biography in images. Our attention will be in the bigger one. The picture (*photo 180*) occupied approximately 1/8 of the page, and in a vertical orientation, the two-plan photograph, most probably shot using a tele objective lens, flattening the two plans and bringing the subjects closer to the reader, framed Tancredo Neves and José Sarney hugging each other after the results of the Electoral College elections in January of 1985. That has been the most recent political achievement of Tancredo and the most important one that was connected to his conciliator ability. The caption of it «A vitória no Colégio, segundo as regras do jogo» was also reinforcing another characteristic of him, respecting the

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<sup>1077</sup> «If it were not for Castello, we would have had an infamous "pinochetada" like the one in Chile (statement to "O Estado de S.Paulo", 2/4/78)».

<sup>1078</sup> «What some call a "social pact", others "conciliation", still others "political transition" would be an integration of efforts between the governors and the governed to face the problems that cannot be solved without the participation of all (May 80)».



law and the Constitution, a fundamental notion in that moment of the country's history in which the elected president had just died. In addition to these elements, the photo's atmosphere presented a lot of joy and happiness, Tancredo was smiling, the other persons in it were celebrating, helping to create and organize a notion of a good remembrance of Tancredo.

The following page, number ten, presented the re-publication of a long interview that Tancredo has given to the Editor-in-Chief of the «FSP», Boris Casoy, in September of 1984 when he was still a candidate to the indirect elections. As headline to the page the phrase, «The politician Tancredo reveals the candidate's plans». The whole interview had undergone a process of restructuration being putted grammatically and textually in the past, in many cases some parts of it were accompanied by the expression «Tancredo used to say». Is important to note that under the biggest photo of the page, in the upper half of it, has been created a small box in which were underline Tancredo's statement on his health. Regarding the images on that page, two of them had been published, the one in the bottom half was smaller and presented Tancredo alone and crestfallen, the main photo, in its place occupied a central space in the top of the page, nevertheless, approximately 80% of the page has been dedicated to the interview.

The picture right under the headline (*photo 181*), proposed a rectangular close-up framing of three relevant Brazilian politicians in those recent years as was indicated in the caption of the image «Tancredo com José Sarney e o então vice-presidente Aureliano Chaves: selando o acordo da Aliança Democrática»<sup>1079</sup>. In the photo, the three men were seated side by side and had their gaze to somewhere else in front of them, all were wearing suits and smiling. A fourth element was present in the right upper corner of the image, although it was not identified. Is important to highlight that, the photograph that was chosen to be in this page, in interaction with the caption referring to the «Aliança Democrática» and the new framing of the interview compose another element dedicate do exalt the political ability that Tancredo had to work with different points of view in a delicate moment of the country's history. One more time, the picture was reinforcing a narrative of joy and a happy and clear path that the politician had built during his career.

The inside page number eleven has been entirely dedicated to a photographic mini biography of Tancredo Neves. In all, eighteen images of his political life were printed, and the following headline was placed in the upper third of the page, «A life dedicated to the politics of conciliating extremes». Once more, the conciliator idea was reinforced, with the addition of

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<sup>1079</sup> «Tancredo with José Sarney and the then vice-president Aureliano Chaves: sealing the deal of the Democratic Alliance».



the word «extremes», given more emphasis into this characteristic, even though the political elements and subjects that appeared in the compilation were not representatives of all possible political and social extremes. Those represented were Getúlio Vargas, Juscelino Kubitschek, military ministers, members of the official opposition during the dictatorship such as Leonel Brizola after his return from exile. Tancredo also appeared alongside important figures on the international scenario, the Argentine President Alfonsín, the US President Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul II. The last image on this page was also his last official photograph, standing beside his wife, D. Roselita at the end of March 1985 after two operations.

Our focus will be on four of these photographs. The first two (*photos 182 and 183*) placed in the upper right corner of the page were accompanied by the caption «In '61, first, Jango's minister; on Juscelino's birthday with da. Sarah and da. Risoleta». The two photographs together occupy approximately 1/10 of the page, in the first one on the left, Tancredo is seated next to João Goulart, in what appears to be an airplane, both were wearing black suits and with serious expression while reading small handouts. Right next to Tancredo there was a person standing in the very foreground, with a notepad in his hand, the photograph has been taken from a short distance, in a counter-deep angle, framing what was probably an interview excerpt taken during an official trip of the presidency of the republic. Capturing a moment of work of the two politicians framed. The image on the right, on the other hand, presented the two politicians (Tancredo Neves and Juscelino Kubitschek) next to their wives in a photograph taken from close range in an american plan with smiles on their faces. However, no information about the context was presented, reinforcing the importance of the image as a record of a historical moment and its subsequent reuse in a new reading context of an unknown superaddressee such as indicated by Bakhtin (1986, p. 126).

The other two images (*photo 184 and 1845*) were inserted right below the headline on that page. In these cases, also occupying approximately 1/10 of the page and divided into a horizontal and a vertical image, each with its own caption. The horizontal photograph, taken using a telephoto lens, blurring the background of the image, captured a moment of chat between Tancredo Neves and Franco Montoro, in 1971 when both were senators for the «PMDB», such information is presented by the photo's caption «No Congresso, em 71, senador pela oposição, junto com Montoro».<sup>1080</sup> The image presented the two seated, with their backs to the camera and looking at each other while talking, with balance in the contrast presented by the play of shadow and lights of the scene and the colors present in the shadow, giving an

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<sup>1080</sup> «In Congress, in 71, senator for the opposition, together with Montoro».

FOILHA DE S. PAULO Segunda-feira, 22 de abril de 1985 — POLÍTICA —

**A morte do presidente eleito**



**Uma vida dedicada à política de conciliar extremos**



*Em 61, primeiro ministro de Jango; no aniversário de Juscelino com da. Sarah e da. Risoleta*



*No Congresso, em 71, senador pela oposição, junto com Montoro*

*Em 81, com Magalhães Pinto no PP*

aesthetic element to the image that crosses the depth of the scene, the subjects and the space in which it was made. The second photograph, with the caption «Em 81, com Magalhães Pinto no PP»<sup>1081</sup>, was a close-up image from the waist up of the two politicians in a moment of meeting with the two standing. In the image, Tancredo seems to hear something Magalhães was saying in his ear, however, he was portrayed with an expression of dissatisfaction expressed in his frown. Is not possible to say whether such aspect was due to the tenor of the conversation, the flash of the photograph or another factor, however, in the context in which the photo was printed on the newspaper page, helps to build the idea that even if he did not want or was dissatisfied Tancredo's political dedication was carried forward in any situation.

The next two pages, numbers twelve and thirteen, were dedicated to the resume of the agenda of the «Diretas Já» movement and its relation to the campaign for indirect elections in early 1985. Thus, the two headlines presented were in the first case, «A decisive year for democratic transition» and in the second one «From direct to indirect, twelve months of campaign». Together the two pages presented a review of the two most recent political movements in the country and how Tancredo Neves had a central role in both. In the first three paragraphs of the main article on page twelve, the importance and relevance of the «Diretas Já» movement had been once again reinforced and synthesized as the missing element for the transition to democracy to gain new momentum. From then on, almost the whole page was filled with a month-by-month detailing of the last year, the main political acts, their actors, and Tancredo's participation. In addition, five photos were printed in the whole page, the present analysis will be detained at the two placed in the upper right corner (*photos 186 and 187*).

These two images were together occupying approximately 1/8 of the page. The smaller one has been placed in the very top right corner of the page and was followed by the caption «14.7.84: Sarney, Ulysses, e Aureliano Chaves formalizam a Aliança que lança Tancredo»<sup>1082</sup>, contextualizing a determined moment of the political campaign that aimed the indirect elections. In here, the political negotiations played a fundamental role, what probably had influenced the «FSP» editors in choosing an image that could be connected to the moment in which has been formed the «Aliança Democrática» reuniting different opposition parties and consolidating Tancredo Neves and José Sarney candidature. In the horizontal rectangular image capture from a long distance, using a tele objective lens, the three political leaderships were framed seated side by side, the image framed them in a full body plan and horizontal

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<sup>1081</sup> «In 81, with Magalhães Pinto in the PP».

<sup>1082</sup> «14.7.84: Sarney, Ulysses and Aureliano Chaves formalized the Alliance that launched Tancredo».



angle, in which their crossed legs and entwined hands are visible, as well as, their facial expressions demonstrating a small dose of relaxation, considering that they were smiling.

The second picture on the other hand played a different role in the page composition, as indicated in the caption «14.9.84: em Goiânia, 200 mil no 1º comício da campanha indireta de Tancredo»<sup>1083</sup>, the photograph presented Tancredo Neves in a rally held in the path to the indirect elections. In our interpretation that can be seen as a way of enunciating that even in a moment of the political history of the country in which the decisions would be made behind the palace doors, Tancredo political attitude has been that of going into the people's directions, of being in the streets. In so, the vertical rectangular image had framed him standing, wearing a white t-shirt, having their hands in raised up in a celebration moment during the rally. Close to him can be seen other four men, two of them with also their hands raised and the one that it is closer had his gaze directed to Tancredo. Is worth to mention that the contrast effect between Tancredo's white shirt and the rest of the other individuals' dark clothes had putted him in evidence in respect to the rest of the scene.

The next page presents two longer texts that dealt with the long campaign period that Tancredo Neves faced, first being focused into the «Diretas Já» movement and then to the indirect elections in the Electoral College. The second text, in turn, dealt with the period after the election in 1985 and the process of composition of the ministry during the government transition period. In these cases, from the visual point of view, the first was a photograph of Tancredo at a rally in São Paulo and at the bottom of the page some cartoons published during the months in which the political negotiations for the formation of the ministry took place.

The last three pages of the coverage proposed by «FSP» on that day presented three different balances on the last years, months and days. On page fourteen the headline set the tone of what was being presented in that page, «Dia após dia, o País acompanha o drama de Tancredo»<sup>1084</sup>, in short paragraphs the medical details of all the days in which the elected president was hospitalized were printed. On the same page were published nine photographs from the period, six of it in the upper half of the page right under the main headline and the last three in the very bottom of the page. Is important to indicated that the images that had been chosen to compose the narrative on this page, built a chronological path that has acted as a new enunciate layer in the page and in the newspaper edition. That is to say, the photographs not

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<sup>1083</sup> «14.9.84: in Goiânia, 200 thousand in the first rally of Tancredo's indirect campaign».

<sup>1084</sup> «Day after day, the country follows Tancredo's drama».

A morte do presidente eleito

# Das diretas às indiretas, doze meses de campanha

O então chefe do executivo de Minas Gerais, Tancredo Neves, foi um dos dez governadores, eleitos por sufrágio direto, que subscreveram o documento "A Saída Precisa e Ousada", articulado por Franco Lessa, que exigia eleições diretas em todos os níveis e se constituiu no primeiro sinal de que os mandatários dos Estados importantes se preparavam para criar um movimento nacional de pressão em favor das diretas.

O movimento "dirtas-já", todavia, ainda demorou a ganhar as ruas. Primeiro comício-teste, o de Curitiba, sabotado pelos meios eletrônicos de comunicação e boa parte da mídia impressa, reuniu sessenta mil pessoas no dia doze de janeiro de 1983. Tancredo Neves esteve presente em Curitiba. Mas na manifestação seguinte, a do dia 25 de janeiro na praça da Sé, em São Paulo, sua ausência foi notável. Tancredo alegou compromissos protocolares (reber o presidente João Figueiredo na Libertadora) para justificar a ausência. Perdeu um belo espetáculo: mais de trezentas mil pessoas foram à Praça da Sé e a transformaram em marco definitivo da maior campanha popular da História brasileira.

Nas notícias sobre movimentação de Tancredo Neves, neste período, em favor das eleições diretas, também declarações suas neste sentido — mas o fato é que ele erasmoseu nos bastidores, exercendo sua arte de articulação política; até o dia 25 de fevereiro. Neste dia, em Caravana das Diretas, liderada pelo deputado Ulysses Guimarães, percorre metade do Brasil, em a presença de Tancredo, a caravana promove comícios em Teresina, São Luís, Macapá, Belém, Manaus, Rio Branco e Curitiba. O entusiasmo pró-diretas sobe progressivamente.

O dia 25 de fevereiro de 1983 vai marcar o retorno de Tancredo Neves praça pública. Neste dia, ele demonstra seu imenso poder de articulação produzindo um dos maiores comícios da História brasileira, na praça Rio Branco, em Belo Horizonte, mais de trezentas mil pessoas e pronuncia entusiasmado discurso em favor das diretas. Daí em diante, Tancredo participa do embalo da campanha em ascensão. No dia dez e abril, ele está no Rio para o lançamento do projeto de lei que institui o plebiscito de 1985, dentro da cidade. No dia dezesseis, lá está Tancredo na comissão de frente à passeata do Anhangabaú, ao lado de Ulysses Guimarães, Franco Lessa, Lula e outros líderes que saíram pelo Teatro Municipal rumo à praça das diretas.



Tancredo, ao lado do governador Franco Lessa, em um dos comícios da campanha indireta à presidência, em São Paulo

Até a noite de 23 de abril — quando a emenda Dante Oliveira foi derrotada na Câmara pela carência de 22 votos — Tancredo Neves participou ativamente da campanha pelo restabelecimento da eleição presidencial direta. A partir desta derrota parlamentar, o maior partido oposicionista, o PMDB, rachou-se em dois. Um grupo, denominado 50 Diretas, chegou a publicar um documento de total recusa de participação no Colégio Eleitoral, rejeitado pelas multidões nas ruas. Outro, mais pragmático, já formulava outra estratégia que visava ao Colégio uma passagem obrigatória. Ulysses se alinhou com os parlamentares que insistiam nas diretas-já. Tancredo, discretamente, já contactava dissidentes do PDS com outros objetivos.

Em junho, o governador Franco Lessa lança a tese do "candidato competitivo e único das oposições", sem especificar o tipo de eleição que este candidato deveria disputar. Pouco dias antes, contudo, o secretário de Governo de São Paulo, Roberto Guimarães, já tinha aberto o jogo numa entrevista: o homem é Tancredo, para a eleição direta ou indireta. O Palácio dos Bandeirantes promove nova reunião de governadores do PMDB (Briola, do PDT, fez suspen-

se e só compareceu no último instante) e coloca, com vigor, nas ruas, a tese do "candidato único e competitivo". Na cabeça de todos, a presença do nome de Tancredo. Ele, todavia, resistia a um anúncio formal de seu nome e na reunião final deste dia demonstrou grande nervosismo, com seu gesto característico neste estado de espírito, ao rasgar em centenas de pedacinhos o papélio no qual estava marcado seu lugar à mesa do salão nobre do Palácio dos Bandeirantes.

A bipolarização permeabilizava entre Ulysses Guimarães ("O Senhor Diretas") e Tancredo Neves ("O Conciliador") vai manter-se durante um

meio, com uma guerra de desgaste e um jogo de intrigas intenso. No final, percebendo que as diretas eram impossíveis, Ulysses desiste da candidatura presidencial e acaba apoiando Tancredo, que por seu turno já sedimentava acordos com a dissidência pedebista, iniciada com o Grupo Pró-Diretas que se consolidou na Frente Liberal. As convenções nacionais dos dois maiores partidos, PDS e PMDB, em agosto, vão gerar novas definições. A escolha de Paulo Maluf pelo PDS, de certo modo, facilitou as gestões indiretas dos tancredistas (há quem diga, inclusive, que Tancredo pediu a

seus amigos no PDS que votassem em Maluf, contra Mário Andreazza), porque a vitória do ex-governador paulista na convenção iria pavimentar o caminho do ex-governador mineiro ao Palácio do Planalto.)

Torna-se evidente que desde antes da inviabilização das diretas-já, Tancredo Neves tinha na mente a hipótese alternativa de disputar a eleição indireta no Colégio Eleitoral. Seus contatos com figuras do governo Figueiredo, como o próprio ministro Mário Andreazza, deixam sítidas estas pistas. Neste encontro, no qual Tancredo garantiu o apoio do ex-governador italiano Antônio Carlos Magalhães no caso de derrota de Andreazza na convenção pedebista, o candidato de "conciliação nacional" recebeu a promessa de desseparar votos pedebistas balanos no Colégio.

Tancredo também colheu os frutos da desastrosa viagem de Paulo Maluf ao Nordeste. Apenas um governador pedebista, Wilson Braga, da Paraíba, deu apoio público ao candidato oficial do partido, enquanto os outros ficaram numa atitude de espera, indicativa de uma tendência em favor do candidato da Aliança Democrática, que costava com o senador José Sarney, nordestino e ex-presidente do PDS, como seu companheiro de chapa.

Na medida em que Maluf não conseguia mobilizar o Governo Federal a seu favor — em verdade, apenas dois ministros de então, Abi-Ackel, da Justiça, e Murilo Badur, da Indústria e Comércio, lhe davam apoio efetivo, enquanto o ministro Leitão de Abreu já lhe mostrava aberta hostilidade —, Tancredo Neves incursionava nas hostes pedebistas e a emergência da Frente Liberal, capitaneada pelo vice-presidente Aureliano Chaves, já tornava sua vitória no Colégio Eleitoral praticamente certa.

No dia 15 de fevereiro deste ano, esta complicada estratégia política articulada por Tancredo Neves mostra sua eficiência, com uma esmagadora vitória no Colégio Eleitoral. Uma vitória que, antes de tudo, expressou a capacidade política de Tancredo em transformar o movimento popular pró-diretas em movimento social pelas mudanças (daí e logo de sua campanha "Nova Brasil"), que se manifestou em toda sua intensidade na instância política criada pelo regime civil-militar para produzir mandatos presidenciais: o Colégio Eleitoral. (G.F.)

## Após a eleição, a complicada montagem do novo Ministério

Eleito por uma heterogênea coalizão, no dia 15 de janeiro, Tancredo Neves teria necessariamente de lidar em consideração as forças políticas que compunham a Aliança Democrática (PMDB, Frente Liberal e neo-dissidentes do PDS) na montagem de seu Ministério, que seria lemurada, como ele próprio avisara, que obedeceria a critérios genéricos como "produtividade e competência", além de flexível para com o "federalismo" (critérios regionais).

De qualquer modo, a mudança do escritório de campanha, do centro comercial de Brasília, para o escritório de pré-governo, no prédio da Fundação Getúlio Vargas na Capital Federal, parecia sugerir algumas pistas. O senador Afonso Camargo conservava sua proximidade para com o Presidente eleito e isto parecia suficiente para confirmar o boato de que ele seria o chefe do Gabinete Civil. Pista falsa, como se provou logo.

Outro fato que gerou muitas especulações sobre o Ministério que estava sendo montado foi a nomeação do professor José Serra, secretário do Planejamento de São Paulo, para coordenar a Comissão do Plano de Ação do Governo (Copaq). A indicação de Serra substitui para cem, como provável ocupante da Secretaria de Planejamento da Presidência da República, Serra, todavia, deve ter sido o primeiro a ser informado que o tributarista Francisco Dornelles, sobrinho de Tancredo, iria ocupar a Pasta da Fazenda e preferiu sair suavemente de cenário, uma vez que a chamada área econômica já tinha dono.

A viagem ao Exterior, habilmente usada para evitar pressões e dissipar especulações, serviu para Tancredo dar pistas mais seguras das decisões que estava tomando. Foi nela que ele contou uma história que lhe fora contada pelo espanhol Felipe Gonzalez, que por sua vez a recebeu do sueco Olaf Palm: "Nomeie um bom ministro da Economia e 90% dos problemas do Ministério estarão resolvidos".

De fato, como as pressões contra o ascensão de José Serra, partindo de setores conservadores, se avolumaram, houve também um impulso contra Dornelles no Ministério da Fazenda. Resultado: para dar cobertura ao sobrinho, Tancredo antecipou na prática a revelação de que ele seria o "xerife" das finanças, o que pela sua lógica resolvia grande parte de seus problemas ministeriais, pois a retirada de Serra da cena ensejou a entrada de João Sayad no Planejamento, mas isto permaneceu um segredo fechado até uma semana antes da posse prevista.

As visitas de governadores estaduais e de políticos ao escritório de Tancredo, ou à Granja do Riacho Fundo, onde se instalou depois de sua volta do Exterior, passaram a ser tomadas como sinais indicativos de convites para o Ministério. Todavia, uma visita mais ampla e hoje mais histórica, permite destacar alguns critérios usados pelo Presidente eleito na formação de seu gabinete.

Além das forças políticas, Tancredo sempre se manteve atento ao regionalismo. Assim, logo de início era possível notar que ele premiaria São Paulo e Minas Gerais como Estados-chave. Nomeou quatro paulistas: João Sayad, Almir Pazianotto, Roberto Guimarães e Olyseth Sobral (este último, numa manobra surpreendente, para o Itamaraty, posto que lhe dá evidência mas nem tantos políticos, que poderiam embarçar o PMDB paulista do governador Franco Lessa). E nomeou cinco mineiros: José Aparício para a Cultura, Ronaldo Costa Couto para o Interior, Hugo Castello Branco para Casa Civil e Francisco Dornelles para a Fazenda — estes dois últimos colocados na cota de "escolha da intimidade pessoal do Presidente" — e Aureliano Chaves, que é um caso à parte.

Também por questões regionais, a Bahia acabou abdicando três ministérios. Como Antônio Carlos Magalhães tinha garantido seu lugar nas Comunicações, as outras forças políticas baianas contrárias ao ex-governador (o PMDB e o ex-PP), ganharam assento através de Waldir Pires (este também por sua ligação com Ulysses) na Previdência Social e Carlos Sant'Anna na Saúde. O fator regional, combinado com o de forças políticas, proporcionou as duas maiores surpresas do Ministério: Flávio Petrólo, em nome do governador Rensselor, virou ministro do Desenvolvimento Urbano e Meio Ambiente e o cearense Paulo Lustosa fica com o Ministério da Desburocratização.

O sentido de simetria levou Tancredo a dar o Ministério da Educação ao senador Marco Maciel, da Frente Liberal, e Pernambuco, e o Ministério da Justiça ao deputado Fernando Lyra (PMDB-PB). As Pastas militares, pelo que se observa, foram dadas em função de compromissos assumidos antes da eleição indireta. O mesmo ocorre com Ivan de Sousa Mendes no SNI.

O Sul, que teve no governador José Richa, do Paraná, seu porta-voz na broca contra o "continuísmo" (que na prática era uma exigência de mais cargos), se contenta com duas cadeiras: Pedro Simon, na Agricultura, e Afonso Camargo, que espelha certa relutância, acita o Ministério do Interior.

Um amigo pessoal do Presidente eleito, o nordestino Aloísio Alves, acabou no Ministério da Administração e o paraense Nelson Ribeiro, em nome da Amazônia, ficou no Ministério dos Assuntos Fundiários, um arranjo que aparentemente contendeu a Igreja, previamente consultada através de um canal direto de Tancredo com a CNBB.

Como se observa, houve um cuidado especial de balanceamento, com vistas a manter o difícil equilíbrio da Aliança Democrática e a preservação de apoios obtidos ao longo da campanha. Resta saber se este edifício político resistirá à sanção de seu arquiteto e construtor. (G.F.)



O chargista Paulo Caruso acompanhou passo a passo, na página 2 da Folha, a formação do Ministério de Tancredo Neves, colocando em cena (ou dela retirando) os políticos à medida em que seus nomes cvrgiam no noticiário como protótipos integrantes do futuro governo

only illustrated the textually described texts, but also gave materiality (visual and narrative) to historical events that were narrated in that day's «FSP» edition.

Page fifteen, on the other hand, had as its main headline the sentence, «A morte imita a arte»<sup>1085</sup>. In the page were published three opinion texts signed by important authors: Otávio Frias Filho (son of the «FSP» owner and recently stated in the post of Headchief), André Singer (Political Science from the USP) and Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva in the occasion he was the «FSP's» Secretary for the Editorial Office. Silva's text was dedicated to a balance on the performance of the press during the period in which Tancredo Neves was hospitalized, the author presents some of the practical (specific medical vocabular) and material difficulties (absence of planning in the medical bulletins release) that the press faced in the period. Another element that Silva added to this context was the disinformation principle that in many cases had been adopted by the medical staff and Tancredo Neves's family, making more difficult the press work. Finally, the author also presented a division in the press organs attitudes towards the case, having on one side the «FSP», «JB», «O Globo» and «Veja» magazine as the organs that proposed an attitude of trying to break the «misinformation siege», on the other side were «O Estado de S.Paulo» and «Jornal da Tarde». These two newspapers were two of the main competitors of «Grupo Folha». Following the self-evaluation process, the lower half of the page was occupied by all the «FSP» headlines since Tancredo's hospitalization, and also, the thumbnails of some of the «FSP» covers in the period accompanied by the caption «As primeiras páginas da Folha nos momentos mais dramáticos da doença de Tancredo, da primeira cirurgia até o dia de hoje».<sup>1086</sup> In here is fundamental to underscore the fact that in the first eight clipped pages of the period and named by the «FSP» as the most dramatic one's in all of them the space dedicated to the photographs varied from half of the page to 2/3 of it, indicating a central enunciate role in the discursive composition of the newspaper.

Still on this page, the pictured placed in the left upper half of the page resumed Tancredo Neves' presence at Vargas' funeral, relating to the first text. The text signed by Otavio Frias Filho, in its turn, proposed a comparison between Tancredo Neves and Getúlio Vargas, not exactly in the way they governed, but their relationship with the public but specially the cathartic form that both politicians died and from that moment on entered in a deeper layer into the country's history. The picture was an image of Vargas's burial in his birthplace, the city of São Borja, (Rio Grande do Sul), in the shot mad in a deeping angle, in a close-up plan of the

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<sup>1085</sup> «Death imitates art».

<sup>1086</sup> «Folha's front pages at the most dramatic moments of Tancredo's illness, from the first surgery to today».

A morte do presidente eleito



Dia após dia, o País acompanha o drama de Tancredino

15/3  
O julgamento de Tancredino Neves...  
16/3  
De associados dizem que Tancredino Neves...  
17/3  
An 1980, quando o secretário de Imprensa...  
18/3  
Apesar das informações médicas de que...  
19/3  
O estado de saúde de presidente eleito...  
20/3  
A tarde, Tancredino Neves sofreu a segunda...  
21/3  
O ministro do Trabalho, Almir Pardo...  
22/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
23/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
24/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
25/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
26/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
27/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
28/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
29/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
30/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
31/3  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
1/4  
O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
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O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...  
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O ministro da Saúde, Carlos de Aguiar...



group of approximately fifteen men that were attending to the burial. The photograph because of the use of a tele objective lens brought closer the group and in the first plan could be seen Tancredo and João Goulart with their gazes down, wearing black suits and scarfs. Their serious expressions were almost the same and the caption «Tancredo (à dir. na foto, junto a João Goulart) no sepultamento de Getúlio Vargas, em São Borja»<sup>1087</sup>, filled an interaction role that was fundamental. That is to say, without it, the connection between the three historical presidents of the country would not be immediately made by the reader, and more, the linking with the text beside would also be at risk, in an overall this page presented a very careful composition, being to conjugate the country's political history to the newspaper historical actuation, also a way of legitimize the «FSP» work without explicitly expressing it.

Finally, the last page, number sixteen, presented after the headline, «There is no despair in São João del Rey, only sadness», a review of the atmosphere in the birthplace of Tancredo Neves in the interior of Minas Gerais, the historical city of São João del Rey. Also, in this case three photographs were published, occupying  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the page and carrying until the last page of the coverage the symbolic and narrative weight to the use of images in the coverage and journalistic production during that period. Is worth to indicate that the images presented three different aspects of Tancredo's hometown, the first one and to which was dedicated the bigger image was the fact that in the grave where he would be buried were entombed seven generations of his family, revealing a strong historical element connected to his family, known as a traditional one in the interior of Minas Gerais. The other two images, however, were dedicated to the popular element, that is to say, framed different moments of the city's population reaction to news of his death. In one case was captured the moment in which a group of persons were watching the newscast in a TV placed in the boot of car, the other picture was exposing the sad atmosphere inside one of the city's bars. Is important to note that the three images present in this page were acting as a fundamental interaction element with the descriptive and almost literary text that occupied the other  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the page's upper half. In it, the journalist Ricardo Kotscho, narrates the city's reaction to the news emphasizing the daily life elements and the personal affects and relations that Tancredo had in that small town.

A final aspect regarding this huge journalistic coverage that the «FSP» made in the day after the death of Tancredo Neves is the fact that in all of the first sixteen pages of the newspaper, with the only exception being the lower half of page sixteen, absolutely no space

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<sup>1087</sup> «Tancredo (right in the photo, together with João Goulart) at the burial of Getúlio Vargas, in São Borja».



Tancredo (à dir. na foto, junto a João Goulart) no sepultamento de Getúlio Vargas, em São Borja

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A morte do presidente eleito

# A morte imita a arte

OTAVIO FRIAS FILHO  
Diretor de Redação da Folha

Como a de Getúlio Vargas (1964), a morte de Tancredo Neves parece constituir a própria morte política, destinada a gerar consequências e permanecer. O suicídio de Vargas significou horror ao acidente e ao desperdício: até mesmo o desaparecimento tem de ser um gesto, praticado com cálculo. Vargas era a política total, a dissolução da personalidade privada nas cédulas, nos retratos oficiais, nas comemorações de grupo escolar, nas teses de mestrado, no cordel, no samba. Uma economia perfeita da própria imagem, que não se permitia a privacidade, ou seja, o elemento casual, nem no momento mais particular, porque mais solitário, de todos.

A sua maneira, Tancredo Neves simulou Vargas até o fim, a morte imita a arte. O Presidente que não governou será lembrado por gerações e a memória pública, autorizada pelo mito de d. Sebastião, saberá inventar a lembrança nos encontros do quase-feito, da potência irrealizada, do por-acontecer. É a magia da véspera (do encontro, da festa, da consumação), no caso em acepção literal: Tancredo Neves deu baixa no hospital na noite que antecederia a posse, o pleno gozo.

Se as semelhanças são mitológicas — o povo orfão, o compromisso de fidelidade para com o assunto, a tragédia (no sentido de o inevitável dentro do imprevisível) — as diferenças também. Vargas era galego e sua morte teve ares espanhóis; Tancredo Neves é mineiro e cal vilado por uma doença prosaica e interiorana. Vargas passava por polígrafo e se matou, coisa pouco aceitável para religião; Tancredo Neves morreu após agonizar durante os rituais cristãos. Vargas morreu de simulação, Tancredo Neves — de fato. Tancredo Neves — de fato — morreu de véspera. Vargas disse "fiz-me chefe de uma revolução e venci" e o

instrumento do seu sacrifício foi muito a propósito um revólver, ele que foi o único presidente civil e fardado (em 30) da história republicana. Tancredo Neves morto aos poucos, como numa homenagem ao estilo que o notabilizou e que é a marca da transição lenta, marca; agora ainda imitável. Morreu, também, numa atmosfera de carisma suficiente, colada de afares historiográficas: o Descobrimento, Tiradentes, Brasília.

Para além das semelhanças e diferenças há uma identidade. É que Vargas terminou de desaparecer ontem, ao desaparecer o seu maior discípulo. A pergunta é se morre com eles essa linguagem de "notáveis locais", bacharéis ilustrados, mandarins de gênio, conservadores dotados de um olhar social agudo, embora intuitivo, conciliadores que partem do pressuposto de que o Brasil é um acampamento desocupado mas explosivo de desigualdades. A ver.

# A lógica que cria o mito

ANDRÉ SINGER  
Editor da Folha de São Paulo

Os meios de comunicação são unânimes em atribuir a morte de Tancredo Neves a doença, mas entre a população há outras versões. Talvez, se realizada hoje uma pesquisa de opinião, número significativo de pessoas declararia ter o presidente eleito sofrido um atentado às vésperas do dia da posse, e ser esta a causa real de sua morte.

A população fez, à margem de todo o "establishment", um processo religioso com a morte de Tancredo. Alguns fatos isolados de forma a liberar uma lógica. O caso de Tancredo, o civil, ter caído doente algumas horas antes do momento em que assumiria a presidência depois de vinte e um anos de governo militar, transformou-se em necessidade: "Eles não iam deixar ele tomar posse".

Supportar a frustração exige explicações. A ideologia funciona como um bálsamo, consolo. É preferível ser presa das "forças terríveis" a ser-lo das forças caóticas do acaso. Sobre os inimigos ocultos é possível cogitar de vitórias, embora com muito sofrimento (o que estabelece uma lógica de sacrifício e recompensa). Mas sobre o caos da realidade nunca há vitória — apenas convivência.

A coincidência de um homem saudável, apesar de idoso, cair vítima de uma doença inexplicada e morrer às vésperas do grande momento de glória é material fértil para as interpretações ideológicas. Não seria estranho se Tancredo Neves ficasse na consciência popular como um mártir. Na realidade o azar gerou uma nova situação política com rearranjo das mesmas forças que apoiavam o presidente eleito. Sarney, presidente por acaso, procurará se apoiar da imagem de herdeiro do mártir nessa mitologia. Colará?

# Uma prova de fogo para a imprensa

CARLOS EDUARDO LINS DA SILVA  
Secretário de Redação da Folha

Todas as instituições sociais passaram por uma prova de fogo com a doença de Tancredo Neves. A jornalista também. De repente, a imprensa se viu diante de um desafio: a cobertura precisa ser com desdobramentos que se prolongaram por 38 dias, com as notícias sendo descobertas e divulgadas a qualquer hora do dia ou da noite e uma densa cortina de desmistamento para ser rompida.

Numa sociedade moderna, como a brasileira, os jornalistas acostumam-se a ter os eventos programados de modo a facilitar sua tarefa de recolher e divulgar as informações. Os políticos, os empresários, os artistas, todos têm interesse em ter notícias a seu respeito divulgadas por longo período. Mas houve acontecimentos referentes à saúde de Tancredo não podiam ser programados. E, por isso, tornaram-se mais difíceis de serem cobertos.

Os jornalistas tiveram que dobrar-se do ponto de vista físico, os jornais que atrasar seus horários de publicação com as edições completadas sob pressões psicológicas e de tempo muito adversas.

Essas são dificuldades de vulto, porém, várias vezes sem sucesso, inclusive a informação correta e exata para seus leitores.

Os jornalistas tiveram que defrontar-se com um rígido esquema de desinformação e obstrução da realidade, montado sob pretextos que

foram da ética médica ao direito de privacidade da família. Essa cortina de fumaça dificultou a obtenção de informações corretas. Os jornais a serem publicados tiveram que recorrer ao "off the record" e estimular a disseminação de todo o tipo de boatos entre a população.

Além disso, foi necessário vencer o preconceito cultural (típico do País) que alimenta a crença de que falar da doença de uma pessoa contribui para agravá-la. Essa superstição recomendava que a respeito dos enfermos só se deve proferir lugares-comuns sobre esperança, fé e preceitos. Apesar de ser uma crença sem qualquer fundamento científico, entretanto, diversos adeptos, inclusive entre membros da comunidade científica.

O presidente eleito Tancredo Neves era a pessoa mais importante do País. Sua enfermidade interessava a todos os cidadãos que seriam prejudicados por ele. A opinião pública tinha o direito de ter todas as informações a seu respeito divulgadas com correção e rapidez. Não faltava cultura, nem pruridos familiares, nem interesses políticos poderiam sobrepor-se a esse direito público.

## FOILHA DE S. PAULO

Tancredo é operado, e se não puder assumir Sarney toma posse

## FOILHA DE S. PAULO

Médicos fazem 3ª cirurgia para tentar salvar a vida de Tancredo

Tancredo em estado crítico é mantido vivo por aparelho

## FOILHA DE S. PAULO

Sarney toma posse conforme a lei; Tancredo já anda no quarto

## FOILHA DE S. PAULO

Tancredo em estado crítico é mantido vivo por aparelho

Médicos tentam tudo para adiar a morte de Tancredo

## FOILHA DE S. PAULO

Tancredo teve um tumor benigno; operado de novo, estado é grave

## FOILHA DE S. PAULO

Médicos tentam tudo para adiar a morte de Tancredo

Tancredo em estado crítico é mantido vivo por aparelho

## FOILHA DE S. PAULO

Tancredo se decaia fatigado e não pode ser definido

## FOILHA DE S. PAULO

Tancredo em estado crítico é mantido vivo por aparelho

Médicos tentam tudo para adiar a morte de Tancredo

A morte do presidente eleito

# Não há desespero em São João Del Rey, só tristeza

RICARDO KOITSCHK

A notícia chegou a São João Del Rey no meio do baile do Clube dos Argonautas e Subalternos do 11º Batalhão de Infantaria, o lendário Regimento Tiradentes. A música parou, e gente que assobiou, alguma aiaram. Mas depressa a notícia orrou, explicando o silêncio: o homem morreu. E, em silêncio, todos foram saindo. Na cidade toda, foi o silêncio de repente e não os sinos — a sinas que anunciam a vida e a morte nosa linguagem secular das orzes das 22 igrejas da cidade — a anunciar que a hora havia chegado.

Não houve comoção, não houve exaltação, nada mudou na vida da cidade. Foi como se todos já estivessem esperando por isso. São João Del Rey acompanhou pela televisão a morte de Tancredino Neves nesse 21 de abril em que se lembrava mais um aniversário da morte de Tiradentes.

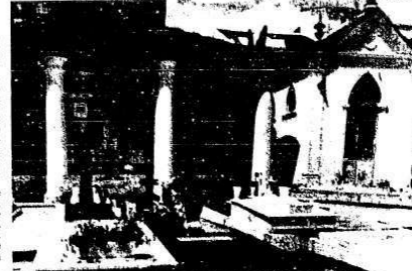
Só na esquina da Pumaça, entre as ruas Tiradentes e Arthur Bernardes, onde ficam os três bares que permanecem abertos até mais tarde, ainda havia algumas pessoas no momento em que foi oficialmente anunciada a morte do presidente eleito. Até as portas da Igreja Matriz de Nossa Senhora do Pilar, onde há dez dias começou uma vigília pela recuperação de Tancredino, já estavam fechadas.

O Cine Glória, o único da cidade, continuava exibindo o filme "Retrosos da Vida". Os casais de namorados continuavam namorando nos cantos mais escuros. Ao se cruzarem nas ruas, as poucas pessoas que ainda estavam andando pela noite de São João Del Rey só sabiam dizer: o homem morreu.

Na mesma esquina da Pumaça, que sábado à noite era uma festa, os mesmos jovens que cantavam e riam, agora estavam calados diante da televisão, prostrados. Faltava Belém casta o Hino Nacional. Um rapaz abotica a cabeça e chora. Nesta hora, os homens que choram não têm nome, não têm idade, não tem mais nada a dizer. E só o pranto sentido, solto, da hora da verdade esperada, aliada, que chegou.

Alguns bebados xingam os jornalistas que se dirigem para o prédio onde mora Octávio de Almeida Neves, o irmão mais velho do presidente eleito. Breno Neves, filho de outro irmão de Tancredino, o general Roberto de Almeida Neves, que morreu no ano passado, entra correndo no prédio, preocupado com o tio. Octávio ficou sabendo da morte de Tancredino pela televisão, sozinho no apartamento. No começo da noite, sua irmã Esther tinha telefonado do Instituto do Coração avisando que a situação era muito ruim. Mas não deu tempo de comunicar a morte.

A irmã caçula de Tancredino, dona Zilzina, que chegou a São João Del Rey no começo da noite, depois de passar vários dias em São Paulo, foi informada por Breno da morte de uma criança, Conceição Beilo. A família estava falando do enterro de



No jazigo onde Tancredino será enterrado, sete gerações da família Neves



No Bar Clever's, as conversas, a melancolia e o choro compulsivo



Em silêncio, um grupo de moradores assiste ao anúncio da morte do presidente eleito

Conceição, quando chegou a notícia da morte de Tancredino pela televisão. Na porta do edifício São João Del Rey, no número 221 da rua Arthur Bernardes, onde mora Octávio, a primeira a chegar foi Maria das Graças Castro, 34, que ficou viúva no ano passado, e ficou falando da ajuda que Tancredino sempre deu à sua família. A uma quadra dali, em frente ao quartel do 11º Batalhão de Infantaria, o sentimento Tomar Livro o que Tancredino fazia quando foi informado pelos jornalistas: "Nossa Senhora..."

De manhã, como se já estivesse prevenido o desfecho, ao final de uma homenagem a Tiradentes, o velho Octávio, que ajudou a criar os irmãos depois da morte do pai, o comerciante Francisco, já se referia a Tancredino no passado: "Tancredino foi o marido da 'Nova República'". Agora, ele está esperando notícias de São Paulo. Ninguém ligou para ele ainda, só uma coisa é certa: o enterro será em São João Del Rey, no jazigo da família Neves, no cemitério de São Francisco de Assis, onde estão os despojos de sete gerações da família Neves.

A casa de dona Zilzina permanece fechada, só se vê a luz azulada da televisão. Em frente à sua casa, no prédio da Rádio São João Del Rey, da qual Tancredino era o sócio majoritário, há um corre-corre para colocar no ar a notícia da morte em edição extraordinária. Antonio Fraga, 50, há 28 anos funcionário da rádio, ageja o

disco do Hino Nacional no velho toca-discos e se prepara para dar a notícia que ninguém queria ouvir. A locutora Rosângela Braga, 23, chega chorando: "Ele foi um herói mesmo, só tinha que morrer no dia 21 de abril como Tiradentes."

Os repórteres também não conseguem conter a emoção, depois de tantos dias em São João Del Rey convivendo com essa gente simples como dona Ieda, Alvaranga Oliveira, vizinha de dona Zilzina, e choram junto com ela. "Eu sinto que estou apaixonada", diz, "mas não sei o que fazer". "Eles foram preparando a gente devagarinho, até que o Brito deu a notícia, mas daí demais. Sinceramente, estou me sen-

tindo mal. Mas o que a gente vai fazer? A vida continua..."

Perambulando pelas ruas, Maurício Martins, o Maguila, oficial de Justiça, velho amigo de Tancredino, fica lembrando a ajuda que recebeu da família Neves a vida toda. E um dos muitos defuntos de São João Del Rey, "só porque o doutor Tancredino ia ser presidente, faz dois meses que os armazéns não aumentam os preços da emenda das diretas, que havia acendido as esperanças, herdadas pelo sarjoneiro Tancredino de Almeida Neves."

Fassa um pouco da mais noite, já não se vê viva alma nas ruas, só o silêncio e os jornalistas testemunham esse momento trágico na história de São João Del Rey.

Foi como se junto com ele partissem todas as esperanças — esperanças como as dos 1.500 desempregados que as obras da Ferrovia do Aço deixaram na cidade — e a cidade fica lembrando a ajuda que recebeu da família Neves a vida toda. E um dos muitos defuntos de São João Del Rey, "só porque o doutor Tancredino ia ser presidente, faz dois meses que os armazéns não aumentam os preços da emenda das diretas, que havia acendido as esperanças, herdadas pelo sarjoneiro Tancredino de Almeida Neves."

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## Discursos marcantes nos funerais de 3 presidentes

Do Suroeste de Brasília

Do Suroeste de Brasília, em um momento de grande tristeza, o presidente eleito Tancredino Neves em um castelo Kubitschek — foram sepultados em clima de grande comoção popular. João Goulart, ex-presidente ligado a Tancredino, teve enterro mais discreto. Nos três sepultamentos, não faltou a presença de Tancredino que, nos dois últimos, fez severas críticas aos governos da época.

Getúlio, que se suicidou no curso das investigações sobre a morte do maior da Aeronáutica Rubens Figueiredo Vaz, em 1964, a fim de não ser forçado a prestar depoimento no inquérito do Galeão, invertido, com esse gesto, uma situação política que lhe parecia irremediavelmente desfavorável. Ao ser anunciada sua morte, ocorreu no quarto presidencial do Palácio do Catete, os políticos que o placavam, e eram até então aplaudidos pelo povo, tiveram de deixar suas residências, por medida de segurança. No Catete, milhares de pessoas fizeram questão de desfilar diante do esquife de Getúlio, que, no dia seguinte, foi acompanhado por mais de duzentas mil pessoas, desde o Palácio até o Aeroporto Santos Dumont, no tráfego para São Berja.

Nesta cidade, Tancredino Neves, ex-ministro da Justiça de Getúlio, e estádo cerca de 54 anos, mudou o radicalismo as posições políticas, que apontou como responsáveis pela morte do presidente.

A grande maioria da população de Belo Horizonte recebeu a notícia da morte do presidente eleito Tancredino Neves em um momento de grande tristeza. A temperatura de dezesseis graus, atípica para esta época do ano na capital mineira, aumentou mais cedo as passagens das ruas.

Apesar do comando da 4ª Divisão do Exército ter exigido a mobilização para uma emergência, soldados da 1ª Unidade foram colocados em estado de alerta e haviam recebido ordens para ir para os quartéis tão logo tomassem conhecimento da morte do presidente.

Ontem, por volta das 23h, dentro de um esquema previamente planejado, era grande o movimento na avenida Raja Gabaglia, que dá acesso à 4ª DE. Vários soldados, com mochilas às costas, foram vistos se deslocando para o quartel. Um grupo de quatro deles confirmou o estado de alerta em que a Força se encontrava.

Sabe-se, também, que ficará a cargo da 4ª DE a coordenação do policiamento durante o enterro de Tancredino Neves em São João Del Rey. A grande preocupação dos militares é com o reduzido tamanho do cemitério da Ordem de São Francisco, onde o presidente será enterrado.

A Rádio Inconfidência, pertencente ao governo do Estado, tão logo foi anunciada a morte de Tancredino, modificou sua programação e passou a transmitir músicas clássicas, em sinal de luto.

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at all has been dedicated to advertisements, what might be interpreted as a sign of respect to the event, as well as, a demonstration of the historical importance of it.

*Jornal do Brasil – 22/04/1985*

The coverage proposed by «JB» the day after Tancredo Neves' death presented several points of similarity with the one presented by «FSP», although, has also been marked by some differences in the approach. The first similarity was precisely the almost total absence of advertising on the pages dedicated to the coverage of the elected president's death. Only the inside pages numbers two and three presented in their two clichés (morning and afternoon) an advertisement each. Another similarity between the newspapers was the fact that both proposed a special rubric for the coverage, in the case of «JB» this was called «A morte do presidente»<sup>1088</sup> and within it the pages received the nomenclature with numbers and letters, being then named 2A, 2B, 2C and so on. The main difference between the newspapers were, however, in the size of the coverage and mainly in the number of photographs printed in the newspaper edition. The Rio de Janeiro daily devoted twelve pages to the issue and thirty-eight photographs were published on them, a little bit more than a third less than what has been seen on the «FSP» pages.

The first page of that edition was entirely dedicated to Tancredo's death; nevertheless, presented very synthetic verbo-visual elements. Besides a very short and direct headline «Tancredo died», the photograph chosen for that page had vertically occupied almost half of the entire page. The image (*photo 188*) presented Tancredo Neves standing in his whole body, wearing a dark suit, smiling, and looking straight to the camera, most likely at some official event he had attended. Moreover, the photograph taken at medium distance and using a telephoto lens captured other people in the background, these, however, are not identifiable and have no relevance in the image or on the page composition. The photo's caption, does not present details of the situation or event in which the image was made, indicated only the dates of birth and death of Tancredo Neves «04.03.1910 / 21.04.1985».

The long text that occupied the right half of the first page of the newspaper presented in its first four paragraphs' details about Tancredo's final moments, as well as the clinical circumstances of his death, some reactions of the family, and what would be the schedule of the next few days with the burial scheduled for two days later after having received a state funeral in Brasilia. Then the text went on to deal with his political succession, statements made by José Sarney were published, reaffirming that he would be faithful to Tancredo's principles

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<sup>1088</sup> «The president's death».



and would continue to work for a government of conciliation and change in the country. The last five paragraphs presented a comparison between Tancredo Neves and Getúlio Vargas, pointing to the fact that when Vargas committed suicide, the country was politically divided, according to the «JB», a different situation from the historical moment of Tancredo's death. It is worth mentioning the paragraph in which his political career was mentioned, in which is possible to get an idea of the memory that was being built around the politician

Produto de 50 anos de História, desde que foi eleito vereador em São João del Rei em 1934, Tancredo enfrentou as crises de 1954, 1961 e 1964, no “centro do furacão”, como ele mesmo dizia. Manteve-se, até o fim, fiel a dois princípios: jamais servir a ditaduras e fazer oposição sem esquecer que o Governo ao qual se opunha precisava funcionar.<sup>1089</sup>

This last quotation is a very efficient synthesis of what the opposition conducted by the «PMDB» during the dictatorship represented, being legally moderated, but especially of what the transition and conciliation process was for the return of democracy. With a strong and explicit concern aiming to do not generate major ruptures. The text ends with another Tancredo's quoting made soon after his election in January of that year when he was claiming that the national unity had achieved in the transition process could be maintained after it. In his statement Tancredo, in turn, quoted Tiradentes, the main name of the «Inconfidência Mineira»<sup>1090</sup>, which in the 18th century attempted to organize a Brazilian independence from the state of Minas Gerais. April's 21, the date of Tancredo's death, is also Tiradentes' bank holidays. In this sense, «JB» opted for a clear correlation of dates and historical politicians when presenting its coverage on the death of the newly elected president.

The first inside page proposed a continuation of the newspaper's front cover and the topics that were mentioned on Tancredo's death and its unfolding. The page's number two main headline has been «Tancredo's heart stopped at 10:23 p.m.». In addition to the main article just below the headline, the page contained four other secondary texts, as well as Carlos Castello Branco's column, which occupied the entire left column of the page. The main text presented,

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<sup>1089</sup> «Product of 50 years of History, since he was elected councilman in São João del Rei in 1934, Tancredo faced the crises of 1954, 1961 and 1964, in the "center of the hurricane", as he himself said. He remained, until the end, faithful to two principles: never to serve a dictatorship and to oppose without forgetting that the Government to which he opposed needed to function».

<sup>1090</sup> April's 21<sup>st</sup> is a national Holiday in Brazil because it is the celebration of the Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, memory, which was known as Tiradentes. He had received the state death condemnation in 1792 after participating in the «Inconfidência Mineira» an insurrectionary movement that in the end of the XVIII century, guided by the Illuminists concepts was trying to limit the Portuguese Crown strength in the taxing inside the Brazilian colony, especially the mining zone where the political movement took place, Minas Gerais Province, nowadays a State Federation and the birthplace of Tancredo Neves.

besides clinical details on Tancredo's last moments and the ultimate cause of his death, further information about how the news had been transmitted and what had been the ceremonial steps to follow. What stands out in this case is the fact that in the very first paragraph the relationship with Tiradentes was resumed, indicating that Tancredo had died on the day dedicated to the memory of the «inconfidente». Besides, textually this internal page of «JB» presented an allusion to the precise hour of Tancredo's death, an enunciation that is very similar to what was seen in the first internal pages of «FSP», which allows the interpretation that both coverages followed the illness and hospitalization of the president with maximum proximity and with constant updating.

From a visual narrative point of view, two photographs were published at the top of the page, above the headline. Side by side the images occupied approximately 1/6 of the page. The caption, however, was common to both photographs «Zapol conferiu a medicação, viu os exames e voltou desanimado aos EUA. Angelita, de hábitos mudados, permaneceu no Incor»<sup>1091</sup>. The two photographs (*photo 189 and 190*) were close-ups of the north american doctor who had come to Brazil in the last few days at a request of Tancredo's medical team, Zapol was photographed when he was in the passenger seat of a car, probably leaving the hospital after his intervention in Tancredo's treatment. Such information is deducible from the rest of the scene that was framed. The close-up image exposed the doctor looking forward at the window of the vehicle, which was being driven by other men beside him, as can be seen in the background blur elements of the shot. Some aspects of the image, such as the car window, its reflex, also the vehicle seat and other parts that were framing the medic's face had built an interesting contrast in the scene, balancing the lighting in it and mostly with the beside photo. Is also worth mentioning that Zapol's expression was serious and serene, without demonstrating any emotion. The image of Dra. Angelita Gama (this information has been indicated throughout the text dedicated to the moment of the announcement of death made by the Press Secretary of the Presidency Antonio Brito), presented a different emotional charge that was linked to the fact present in the caption that indicated that she had stayed in hospital. On the newspaper page, Angelita's face has been printed towards the left, as if she was looking at Zapol in the nearby photo. The squared photograph presented an even stronger close-up through which only the medic's face was portrayed, in the image is possible to see details of her expression that demonstrated fatigue and the feeling of a certain agony. Is worth

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<sup>1091</sup> «Zapol checked the medication, saw the exams and returned discouraged to the USA. Angelita, with changed habits, remained at Incor».

**COLUNA DO CASTELÃO**

**O truncado destino de Tancredo Neves**

**C**OM a morte de Tancredo Neves, um capítulo de história brasileira fecha as portas. O destino de um homem que chegou ao poder em 1974 e deixou o Brasil em 1978, para morrer em 1985, é o destino de uma nação que viveu a ditadura militar e a democracia, a luta pelo poder e a luta pela liberdade. O destino de Tancredo Neves é o destino de um povo que viveu a ditadura militar e a democracia, a luta pelo poder e a luta pela liberdade.

Em 1974, Tancredo Neves foi eleito presidente da República. Ele foi o primeiro presidente eleito diretamente pelo povo brasileiro. Seu governo foi marcado por reformas econômicas e sociais, e por uma política externa que buscava o diálogo com os países comunistas. No entanto, seu governo foi interrompido pelo golpe de 1978, e ele morreu em 1985, antes de completar seu mandato.

Seu filho, Carlos Tancredo Neves, também foi eleito presidente da República em 1994. Ele foi o primeiro presidente eleito diretamente pelo povo brasileiro a ser filho de um presidente eleito diretamente pelo povo brasileiro.

**COMBATE às histerias exige 11 ambulâncias**

**O anúncio da morte na voz de Brito**

**Irmas falam em "assalto" e comparecem a Tiradentes**

**Fatos TANCREDO O FIM DA LUTA**

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**BOMBA DO RIOCENTRO VAI ESTOURAR DE NOVO**

**TRÊS GOVERNOS SIMULTÂNEOS NÃO GOVERNAM O BRASIL**

**JÁ NAS BANCAS**

**3K-7**

**USE ANTES DE AGITAR O SEU DIA.**



**Coração de Tancredo parou às 22h23miu**

**Medicos perdoam seus vícios particulares**

**Combate às histerias exige 11 ambulâncias**

**O anúncio da morte na voz de Brito**

**Irmas falam em "assalto" e comparecem a Tiradentes**

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**3K-7**

**USE ANTES DE AGITAR O SEU DIA.**

**A morte do Presidente**

**JORNAL DO BRASIL**

**Foto de Marcelo Motta Agência Fofhas**

**São Paulo — Foto de Fernando Pereira**

**Zapol conferiu a medicação, viu os exames e voltou desanimado aos EUA. Angelita, de hábitos mudados, permaneceu no Incor**



mentioning that the text placed right below her picture dealt with the fact that she and other colleagues who were dedicated to the treatment of Tancredo Neves had lost other patients in the last few days, the secondary caption stated «Médicos perdem seus clients privados».<sup>1092</sup> Another point that is important to mention is the fact that the second edition of that day, presented another photograph instead of the two here mentioned, in this case had been published an image of the grave in which Tancredo would be buried in his hometown.

The next page, 2A, had as its headline «Vigil of hope comes to an end with a challenge». The text that followed the headline and was published in the upper half of the page had the signature of Villas-Boas Correa presented a rather opinionated perspective on the latest events in the country. The first paragraph set the tone of the text

Agora, é preciso deixar o povo chorar. Respeitar e proteger o seu pranto, o extravasar de uma decepção que se vinha acumulando desde a madrugada da posse, que virou na vigília da angústia e que, no sofrimento de dias de tensão represada, tantas vezes recebeu o tempero ilusório de instantes de esperança.<sup>1093</sup>

The article then went on with other information and details regarding the next political steps that the institutions should take. However, it stands out the fact that was not a text based on a journalistic «lead» in its opening, but rather a slower narrative construction founded on emotional elements. Understandable given the contextual situation in which the country was, perhaps has been precisely this context that gave the editors of «JB» the «poetic license» to allow a less objective text at that point of the newspaper.

The narrative continued and in the following paragraphs reinforced the constitutional guarantee that the individual who should take over the office was really the vice-president, José Sarney. Is also emphasized again the consensus around the re-democratization process, although the text and the «JB» were still naming the dictatorship as a «revolutionary cycle». «Ora, o País mudou e trocou de donos. O poder que se esvaiu na longevidade excessiva de um ciclo revolucionário que não pôde terminar, foi conquistado por um dispositivo político forjado na luta e na resistência e que é, hoje, folgadoamente majoritário».<sup>1094</sup> The second part of the text was dedicated to the fact that for the elected government, at that moment it was not interesting to advance the engagement for new direct elections without first politically consolidating the

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<sup>1092</sup>«Doctors lost their private clients».

<sup>1093</sup>«Now, is necessary to let the people cry. Respect and protect their weeping, the overflowing of a disappointment that had been accumulating since the dawn of the inauguration, that turned into the vigil of anguish and that, in the suffering of days of pent-up tension, so often received the illusory seasoning of moments of hope».

<sup>1094</sup> «Now, the country has changed and changed owners. The power that vanished in the excessive longevity of a revolutionary cycle that could not end, was conquered by a political device forged in struggle and resistance and that is, today, comfortably in the majority».

government itself, the direct election agenda in that moment would open the possibility of room creation for new political adversaries inside the national institutional politics. The lower half of the page was dedicated to a selection of Tancredo's quotes taken from several of his speeches, interviews, and meetings. This set of phrases served as a kind of political testament that, according to the page's second headline «Testamento vai orientar ação do Governo da Aliança»<sup>1095</sup>, would be the great guide for the civilian government that assumed power.

The upper half of the page had also published the main photograph (*photo 191*) of the page. The rectangular image in a counter-dive angle presented an American plan of Tancredo Neves standing, in a dark suit, waving his right hand while his left was holding on to a handrail what might indicate that he was probably standing on a stage. Moreover, the background of the image was out of focus indicating the probable use of a tele objective lens, in addition, it carried little visual information, consisting basically of a part of a palm leaf and the dark sky. Tancredo's smile, combined with the play with the light and shadow that was applied to the photograph gave a minimum aspect of movement to the image. This aspect in composition with a layer of «greatness» an idea that was presented throughout the page, reinforcing a particular image of Tancredo that would remain for the history and memory of readers and Brazilian people. The photo's caption sought to summarize the historical milestone, as well as the future that was to come «O povo perdeu seu símbolo, e o Governo, se não é o de Tancredo, necessita parecer-se com ele».<sup>1096</sup>

The inside page 2B, on the other hand, detailed José Sarney's arrival at the Presidency of the Republic at this time of unprecedented crisis. To this end, four photographs were published, all occupying practically half the page and framing Sarney at different moments of his political career such as: celebrating the 74th birthday of the General and then-President Emilio Médici, during the meeting in which he confirmed his demission from the «PDS», at the first ministerial meeting called after his election alongside Tancredo, and finally during the oath he took in Congress a little over a month earlier. Will be in this last image (*photo 192*) that the present analysis shall devote more attention. The caption on the photo was «Tenso, o Vice-Presidente Sarney prestou o juramento no Congresso no dia 15. Não mais deixou a Presidência».<sup>1097</sup> The photo was taken from a long distance inside the hall of the National Congress. Sarney was captured as he was standing with his arm raised and reading his oath,

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<sup>1095</sup> «The Testament will guide the actions of the Alliance Government».

<sup>1096</sup> «The people lost their symbol, and the Government, if it is not Tancredo's, needs to look like him».

<sup>1097</sup> «Tense, Vice-President Sarney took the oath of office in Congress on the 15th. He no longer left the presidency».

# Vigília de esperança chega ao fim com um desafio

Após 17 dias de luto e de profunda reflexão, a vigília de esperança chegou ao fim com um desafio: a realização de eleições gerais em 1985. O povo brasileiro, que se reuniu em milhares de locais para celebrar a memória do ex-presidente, agora se prepara para enfrentar o futuro.

**O desafio?**  
O Brasil precisa superar o desafio de organizar eleições livres e seguras, com ampla participação popular. Isso requer reformas profundas no sistema eleitoral e na administração pública. O povo brasileiro precisa acreditar na sua capacidade de superar o desafio e construir um futuro melhor.



17 dias de luto e de profunda reflexão, a vigília de esperança chegou ao fim com um desafio: a realização de eleições gerais em 1985.

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# Testamento vai orientar ação do Governo da Aliança

O testamento do ex-presidente vai orientar a ação do Governo da Aliança. O documento estabelece diretrizes para a administração pública e para a organização do Estado. O governo deve seguir estas diretrizes para garantir a estabilidade e o desenvolvimento do país.



Os signatários do testamento: o ex-presidente, o governador de São Paulo e o ministro da Justiça.

O testamento do ex-presidente vai orientar a ação do Governo da Aliança. O documento estabelece diretrizes para a administração pública e para a organização do Estado. O governo deve seguir estas diretrizes para garantir a estabilidade e o desenvolvimento do país.



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surrounded by other politicians from the new legislature, all white, middle-aged men in black suits. The most striking thing about this image, however, is how much is practically the same as the one published by «FSP», that is, the two newspapers made the choice of re-using a historical photo to fill in the new moment that the country was experiencing after Tancredo's death. The main differences from the «FSP» and the «JB» photos were two. In first place, the close-up degree, that is to say, the «JB» proposal was a less close to the object, allowing the reader to have an idea of what were the surrounding elements of the scene and in the oath's moment. In addition to it, there is a major difference in the angle of the images, if the «FSP» had published a shot in a bottom-up angle, reinforcing the classical narrative tool of «enlarging» the object of the scene. The «JB» picture was taken in a opposite angle, what might build a less noble idea on the subject, or in this case and interacting with the other politicians around Sarney, the idea that he was inserted and absorbed by the new political system and agreements.

After the headline «Fatality hands over the country's destiny to Sarney», the main text on the page followed a similar format to that has been used in the previous page, with a slower, and more emotionally charged opinionated narrative piece that was focused on the figure of José Sarney and the role he was assuming on, as well as in his biography at a delicate moment in the country's history. A major emphasis was given to the great change of position that his political trajectory underwent last year, leaving the «PDS» and becoming the first civilian president after the military dictatorship. The text then went on to discuss his political career over the last decades, as well as his relationship with literature, highlighting the fact that he had founded and directed different literature magazines.

On the inside page 2C, the main headline presented was «A long trajectory dedicated to an unfinished dream». Divided in two different parts, the upper  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the page had a long text dedicated to Tancredo Neves' personal and political biography, as well as a large vertical image of the recently elected president. The last  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the page presented, after the secondary title «As raízes barrocas do menino de S. João del Rei»<sup>1098</sup>, elements of his childhood and youth, highlighting how he remained connected throughout his life to his regional roots. The main text of the page presented details and some of the key moments of his political career long more than fifty years, and which had begun in 1934 when Tancredo was elected city councilor for the first time. Is worth underscoring the passage in which his relationship with the military coup of 1964 was presented

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<sup>1098</sup> «The baroque roots of the boy from S. João del Rei».



No dia 1º de abril, Goulart estava deposto. Tancredo o acompanhou até a porta do avião, rumo ao exílio. A abominação pelas ditaduras o levou à ousadia: foi o único deputado PSD que não votou no Marechal Castello Branco, seu amigo desde a mocidade em Belo Horizonte. Depois, Tancredo viria reconhecer que escolha de Castello para primeiro Presidente do regime militar livrou o país de “uma pinochetada mais infamante do que aquela do Chile”.

In this excerpt various aspects of the different statements on the Brazilian military dictatorship, however, what is of most interest at this point for the present analysis is the fact that, by not voting in favor of Castello Branco after the deposition of Goulart, Tancredo, according to the statement of «JB», was in the progressive camp and in opposition to the regime from the beginning, even though at the time he was part of the «PSD», one of the main articulators and bases of political support of the civil-military movement that overthrew João Goulart.

The photograph (*photo 193*) was not accompanied by any caption or credits to the photographer who took it. The image presented Tancredo seated on a sofa with feet and details of its wooden frame, fabric upholstery and a format that indicates a Victorian style. The vertical, rectangular photograph occupied approximately ¼ of the entire page and in a horizontal medium shot, captured the historic Brazilian politician in his traditional dark suits, sitting on the sofa and slightly leaning backwards as he had his hands crossed and was intensely laughing. Next to him a small table with metal feet and stone top composed the rest of the scene, just above his head is possible to identify what most likely was the frame of a painting. His feet are on a dark wooden floor and just in front of is visible a piece of a carpet. The image is very clear with no blurry spots, the elements of the scene give the impression that the photograph was taken in an institutional palace, especially because of the luxury of the furniture. Tancredo's laughter stamped on his facial expression gives lightness to the long text and to the different moments of his political career.

Is possible to interpret the image's choice as a way of visually constructing the good humor and strength with which Tancredo faced his political career, which, as the last paragraph indicates, had been interrupted

No dia 14 de agosto do ano passado, Tancredo renunciou ao Governo de Minas, para cumprir a suprema destinação que lhe reservara a história: Presidente da República e condutor da transição pacífica de um regime autoritário para a democracia. Para tanto, só lhe faltou a vida.<sup>1099</sup>

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<sup>1099</sup> «On August 14 last year, Tancredo resigned from the Government of Minas Gerais, to fulfil the supreme destiny that history had reserved for him: President of the Republic and leader of the peaceful transition from an authoritarian regime to democracy. To do so, he only lacked life».



Besides the emotional elements present in the text, is also possible to identify other important discursive choices, such as the use of the expression «authoritarian regime» and the constant reinforcement of the peaceful transition to democracy, without problematizations about the non-accountability of the crimes committed by the Brazilian State.

The next internal page, 2D, presented almost no textual elements. After the headline «He helped make three decades of the country's history», six photographs of important moments of Tancredo Neves' political life were printed, on this page however, the focus was the 1950s and 1960s decades. In this period, according to the published text and the printed photographs, Tancredo Neves played an important role in Getúlio Vargas' last government, in the interlocution between adversary political groups in JK's government, and also during the tense years between 1961 and 1963 when João Goulart was president.

The image to which we will dedicate ourselves is precisely the photograph (*photo 194*) that covers his presence at Vargas's funeral and burial. The photo's caption states «Ao lado de João Goulart, no sepultamento do Presidente Getúlio Vargas, na cidade gaúcha de São Borja». <sup>1100</sup> In a very clear way, both «JB» and «FSP» emphasized the presence of Tancredo in the burial of Vargas. While the São Paulo newspaper used a photograph of the event to build a historical comparison between the two politicians and their dramatic deaths in a page mostly dedicated to opinion texts. The «JB» inserted the image in an overview of twenty years of Tancredo's public life. The rectangular image, which took up approximately 1/6 of the page was probably made with the use of a wide-angle lens was placed in the lower left corner of the page, captured several of those present at the moment when Vargas' coffin was being carried by other politicians. Unlike the case of «FSP», the open angle of the «JB» photo, pictured others present at the scene, which in the first case focused on the presence of Tancredo and Jango at the burial. Is also important to underline the fact that both photos were made in a diving angle, which indicates the existence on the occasion of a specific location for the photographers or just their decision to place themselves on the top of the tomb where Vargas was being buried. Finally, is important to mention that the images of Vargas' burial, besides portraying two presidents who had strong popular appeal and died in dramatic occasions, brought together some of the leading names in Brazilian politics in over half a century.

The next page we will analyze, 2E, presented a very similar biographical imagetic path to the previous one. Right after the headline, «A firm and conciliatory man, with a statesman's

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<sup>1100</sup> «Beside João Goulart, at the burial of President Getúlio Vargas, in the Rio Grande do Sul city of São Borja».





vision» were published other six images and a short three-paragraph text in the left bottom corner of the page. This text described the main elements present in the images or induced by them, such as the confidence of the Brazilian people in the politician of the «PMDB» due to his active participation in the campaigns for direct elections and in the last years of parliamentary opposition to the military regime. Thus, the first paragraphs of the text are linked to the two final pictures of the page (from top to bottom and from left to right), building the idea that Tancredo had a great popular support that took him to the international scenario as the legitimate representative of Brazil after the January 1985 election, even if through an indirect process. Besides, other moments of his international recognition were emphasized on the page, such as the meetings with Ronald Reagan, president of the USA, and his Argentinean colleague, Raúl Alfonsín, the first president after the Argentinean military dictatorship. The biggest photograph, however, is the one that had pictured Tancredo's visit to the Vatican and his meeting with Pope John Paul II. Returning to the text, is worth highlighting the last sentence of it «Em todos esses momentos, Tancredo resgatou a alegria do povo pela reconquista da Liberdade».<sup>1101</sup>

Regarding the photographs that were published on that page, we will focus on only one (*photo 195*), is a small rectangular and horizontal image that was published in the middle of the page on the right side of it, just below it reads the caption «Com Ulysses, na convenção do PMDB, recebe a indicação de candidato a Presidente».<sup>1102</sup> In the american plan picture, made in a counter-dive angle, Tancredo and Ulysses, wearing suits (one light, the other dark) were portrayed standing with arms outstretched and raised, celebrating the moment of confirmation of his candidacy, in the background is possible to see that there was a dark band with writings in white, but is not possible to read them. The expressions of both photographed, was of joy and discreet smiles, although, according to the newspaper, the photo taken on 12/08/1984, was carrying a greater element of fatigue. Nevertheless, should be noted, that perhaps the most important aspect of this photo was not the political and visual elements in it, but its presence on that page. In other words, in the midst of images of Tancredo Neves with other political leaders of the world, as well as one of the rallies of the campaigns for governor of Minas Gerais and for the direct elections, the newspaper option of demarcate once again the moment in which Tancredo's candidacy for the 1985 indirect elections was consolidated represents a way of

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<sup>1101</sup> «In all these moments, Tancredo rescued the people's joy for the reconquest of freedom».

<sup>1102</sup> «With Ulysses, at the PMDB convention, he receives the nomination of Presidential candidate».



narratively bringing together the fundamental elements of the Brazilian institutional politics, its necessary relationship with the masses that in turn led to international legitimization.

Reaching the end of the coverage proposed by «JB» to Tancredo Neves' death, the four final pages presented quite different aspects of the developments to the fact, as well as to the political and historical memory that was being built around the figure of Tancredo. After the headline «A political style put into words», page 2F proposed the recognition and resumption of his political style based on quotes and statements by Tancredo. Composing the visual elements of the page four photographs of different moments in his political career were distributed along the page: as Minister in 1953, Prime Minister in 1961, Senator in 1978 and elected President of the Republic in 1985. Almost two thirds of the page was dedicated to the publication of various phrases and statements made by the politician. The last of these stands out due to the context «Para descansar temos a eternidade»<sup>1103</sup>. One last visual element present in the page was precisely his writing signature printed in the lower right corner, giving an aspect of legitimization and verbo-visual interaction to the statements, bringing the texts and words closer to the subject portrayed there.

In its turn, on page 2G, after the headline «D. Risoleta gave to the family her great courage», the upper half was dedicated to the figure of D. Risoleta, wife of Tancredo Neves, who according to the text did not leave the side of the elected president at any time during his hospitalization. Throughout the paragraphs her faith was highlighted, as well as the way the first lady knew how to occupy and behave in the institutional position during the hardest moments of the last months. The image chosen to fill this section of the page presented Mrs Risoleta at a counter-dive angle with her hands joined, looking upwards as she prayed or was preparing to do so. The contrast between her bright face and the dark background, built an important dramatic element linked to the mourning and suffering of the period that the country was going through. In addition to it, the dramatic moment had also a personal narrative aspect, considering that the first lady as a human being had to face the suffer and mourning moments in a daily routine conjugating public and private life. The second half of the page, in turn, was dedicated to a medical summary of what had been each day of Tancredo's hospitalization, again a modality of re-presentation of the facts very similar to that used by «FSP». In this section of the page there are three small passport photographs of the two medic-chiefs of the team and also of Antonio Brito, Press Secretary of the Presidency.

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<sup>1103</sup> «To rest we have eternity».



The last page of the rubric carried the headline, «Iron health was a myth denied by the flu», and was dedicated to deconstructing the myth that was created around Tancredo Neves in the last years that he had iron health. To this end is worth quoting a short excerpt that sums up the general tone of the page

Tancredo foi sem dúvida um homem vigoroso, mas foi também um homem esmagado pela consciência de seu papel social, escrupulosamente responsável, incapaz de uma leviandade que representasse risco de prejuízo político para si ou para o País.

Não era propriamente um homem saudável. Seu médico há 30 anos, Diomedes Garcia Lima, também de São João del Rei, diagnosticou quando ele caiu gripado entre o Natal e o Ano-Novo de 1984:

- O maior problema do Tancredo sempre foi sua baixa resistência imunológica frente aos estados gripais. Sempre que ele apanha um simples resfriado, seu organismo, como acontece com poucas pessoas, tem uma queda muito grande das defesas.<sup>1104</sup>

In addition, the remaining  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the page presented images of the last months of the elected president's life, focusing mainly on some of the most dramatic moments after his first surgery. According also with the text of the report, the choice of often hiding the disease he had, was made by Tancredo until the moment when his hospitalization was inevitable.

On page three of that day's «JB» edition, which in fact was page fourteen, the newspaper went into the «Politics» section and its first headline was «Sarney says the objective now is to preserve the Alliance». On the second cliché of the day, on the other hand, the headline was «Sarney asks for Nation help and promises changes» and published the entire text of Sarney's statement on the national television network on the top half of the page. The image chosen in this case was of the new president of the Republic literally on television during his speech; in the case of the first cliché, there was no mention of Tancredo Neves' death on the entire page. All the articles and reports dealt with the political agenda of those months in which the country was trying to move forward despite the uncertainties surrounding the presidential succession. The photograph published was a picture of Sarney smiling on the telephone and, according to the caption, he was greeting the new Portuguese president. Curiously, the advertisement on the

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<sup>1104</sup> «Tancredo was undoubtedly a vigorous man, but he was also a man overwhelmed by the awareness of his social role, scrupulously responsible, incapable of a levity that would represent a risk of political damage to himself or to the Country.

He was not exactly a healthy man. His doctor for 30 years, Diomedes Garcia Lima, also from São João del Rei, diagnosed it when he came down with the flu between Christmas and New Year's Day 1984:

- Tancredo's biggest problem has always been his low immunological resistance in the face of flu states. Whenever he catches a simple cold, his organism, as happens with few people, has a very big drop in defenses».



# Saúde de ferro era mito que gripe desmentia

Até o fim de março de 1985, pouco se sabia sobre a saúde do presidente da República. Até então, o presidente da República não costumava ser visto em público sem um guarda-costas. Até então, o presidente da República não costumava ser visto em público sem um guarda-costas. Até então, o presidente da República não costumava ser visto em público sem um guarda-costas.

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Assim como os presentes, o presidente estava com a família, a esposa, as filhas e os filhos, quando morreu.



A comitiva para São Paulo, com base de militares e policiais, foi uma verdadeira praça de guerra.



A fotografia aqui se refere ao momento em que o presidente morreu.



Em São Paulo, a comitiva do presidente foi recebida com uma verdadeira praça de guerra.



lower half of this page was dedicated to a British airline that was ceasing to operate in Brazil and had as the central element of the piece the face of a young woman full of tears and weeping, along with a text that dealt with the uniqueness of the word «saudade».<sup>1105</sup> It is remarkable how the advertisement piece, unwittingly proposed a strong verbo-visual interaction with the main agenda of that day.

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<sup>1105</sup> Portuguese word used to express when someone misses somebody or something else.

# Sarney diz que objetivo, agora, é preservar Aliança

**Brasília** - O Presidente da República, José Sarney, disse hoje que o objetivo da Aliança Democrática é preservar a democracia e a liberdade de expressão e garantir a continuidade do sistema representativo e a unidade do Brasil. Ele afirmou que a Aliança não tem o objetivo de mudar o sistema de governo, mas de garantir a continuidade do sistema democrático e a unidade do Brasil.



## Pazzianotto tenta pacto após greve

**Brasília** - O Ministro de Estado da Justiça, José Pazzianotto, tenta hoje estabelecer um pacto com os sindicatos após a greve dos funcionários públicos. Ele afirmou que o objetivo é resolver o conflito de forma pacífica e garantir a continuidade do serviço público.

## Leitão nega que Médici tenha preparado plano para invadir o Uruguai

**Brasília** - O Ministro de Estado da Defesa, Carlos de Araújo Leite Filho, nega hoje que o General Médici tenha preparado um plano para invadir o Uruguai. Ele afirmou que o Brasil não tem interesse em interferir nos assuntos internos de outro país.

## Presidente interino passa dia no palácio

**Brasília** - O Presidente interino da República, Figueiredo, passou hoje o dia no Palácio do Planalto. Ele afirmou que o objetivo é garantir a continuidade do governo e a estabilidade do país.

## Lyra não teme avanço da oposição

**Brasília** - O Ministro de Estado da Justiça, José Pazzianotto, afirmou hoje que não teme o avanço da oposição. Ele afirmou que o governo está preparado para enfrentar qualquer situação e garantir a continuidade do sistema democrático.

## Entidades de direitos humanos querem volta do DPF ao Judiciário

**Brasília** - Entidades de direitos humanos querem a volta do Departamento de Polícia Federal (DPF) ao Poder Judiciário. Elas afirmam que a presença do DPF no Judiciário é necessária para garantir a imparcialidade e a justiça.

## Deputados distribuem 54 carros pagos pela Assembleia de S. Paulo

**São Paulo** - Deputados da Assembleia Legislativa de São Paulo distribuíram hoje 54 carros pagos pela Assembleia. Os carros foram entregues aos deputados e seus familiares.



**Saudade. Nós aprendemos essa palavra aqui.**

Esta campanha publicitária para o British Council em Londres apresenta uma mulher brasileira usando um turbão. O texto em português fala sobre a saudade e a importância de aprender a língua inglesa.

British Council  
Sabemos que...

# Sarney pede ajuda à Nação e promete mudança

Após cinco meses de suspensão, José Sarney pede hoje à Nação que lhe permita voltar ao cargo de Presidente da República. Ele promete uma mudança profunda no sistema político e econômico do Brasil.



Sarney, em sua primeira pronunciamento, promete mudança para o Brasil

Com a voz firme, Sarney disse que não se desistirá de lutar pela democracia e pela liberdade de expressão. Ele afirmou que o Brasil precisa de uma mudança profunda no sistema político e econômico.

Washington, D.C. - O presidente da República, José Sarney, pediu hoje à Nação que lhe permita voltar ao cargo de Presidente da República. Ele promete uma mudança profunda no sistema político e econômico do Brasil.

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## Presidente recebe de Salles notícia da morte e em crise de choro

**Brasília** - O Presidente da República, José Sarney, recebeu hoje a notícia da morte de um dos seus filhos. Ele ficou em crise de choro e pediu um momento de silêncio para o povo brasileiro.



**Saudade. Nós aprendemos essa palavra aqui.**

Esta campanha publicitária para o British Council em Londres apresenta uma mulher brasileira usando um turbão. O texto em português fala sobre a saudade e a importância de aprender a língua inglesa.

## Miguel Reale diz que a posse é automática

**São Paulo** - O governador de São Paulo, Miguel Reale, afirmou hoje que a posse de seu governo é automática. Ele afirmou que não há necessidade de uma eleição para a posse.

Alfonso é o primeiro a mandar os pés para...

## **Conclusions – Layers of the reality and onion tiers**

The following pages will present some considerations that emerge after the conclusion of the analytical and theoretical path proposed. At a first glance, the research developed here may seem extremely specific, and it is in fact in its object and historical period framing. On the other hand, it can be said to be universal in its attempt to interpret and understand the paths and discursive proposals of the «private apparatuses of hegemony», which placed themselves as one of the basic superstructural elements of the material consolidation, dominion, and hegemony of a determined historical power bloc. Thus, the understanding and demystification of the universality in the discursive organization of newspapers as a political-social tool clears the horizon and unveils the liberal and naturalizing varnish of the historical process, in the actions of the bourgeois mass media in this and other contexts.

With the aim of answering if the research hypothesis was confirmed or not, it can be said that in a general aspect yes, it was confirmed. If from the mid-1960s what has been seen was a major alignment of both newspapers narrative to the military dictatorship, it is quite evident in the pages of the analyzed newspapers, especially in the early 1970s, that a narrative reorganization was present in comparison to what was the proposed government of the military, its problems, limits and interference in journalistic production itself. However, such transformation was embedded in the limits of materiality; first linked to the maintenance of their own existence as newspapers companies, and then to the slow passage between a position of spokespersons of the regime and its entire historical power bloc to the position of discursive promoters of the interests of a sector of the Brazilian liberal bourgeoisie, that no longer saw in the «Dictatorship of big capital» the best and most effective form of political and economic organization according to their interests. In a few words, inside a social context and as part of a group (industrial bourgeoisie and liberal petty bourgeoisie), the newspapers as «hegemonic private apparatuses» of this bourgeoisie were not afraid to, pragmatically, let go of its allies in the name of its own survival, perceived and was part of this discursive reorganization movement. However, it was necessary to re-elaborate itself within a certain historical context.

Thus, from the 1980s, the use of images in the pages of newspapers was accentuated, mainly to promote and deepen a new consensus in the country, as well as a proposal for national reconciliation within the transition to a new bourgeois democracy. Contextually, the final transition phase of the military regime will be understood as a new «Passive Revolution» (MACIEL, 2022, p. 233), and in this context it was exposed the way through which the

newspapers (with great use of photographs) promoted a dialectic narrative process, composed by the legitimation of the political institutionalization of such passive way of transformation through the creation of a «notion of the reality» (GRILLO, 2004, p. 48) that framed (literally) through pictures the «Brazilian people» as the great protagonist of such political process which, as has been demonstrated, took place in a negotiated and controlled way within the halls and corridors of palace politics.

In this logic, it is important to highlight the fact that the «FSP» saw in the campaign for the «Diretas Já» a major opportunity not only for its own discursive reorganization<sup>1106</sup> as a newspaper, but of repositioning its business and journalistic proposal in a new country that was being designed. The transition from a regional newspaper to a daily of national relevance was the result of the consolidation of its economic hegemony, deepening its capillarity and promoting, in addition to it, a neo-liberal agenda and its corresponding values in the country's society. In its turn, the «JB» suffered the opposite process. It lost relevance over the years, but performed as well its discursive restructuring, even if such movement was characterized by more caution and by the attempt to survive from a material and economical point of view, distancing itself from the military regime in a slower way. Nevertheless, in 1985, its rupture was placed in a more incisive way in relation to the «FSP».

In an overall, within the dialectical process of enunciative re-elaboration about what it was and what it would be the military dictatorship in a near future, the two newspapers chose to make a use of photographs that, in broad terms, varied between: an explicit nationalist ufanism in the moment of the coup d'état and first months of the militaries in power; its institutional legitimization during the first four years of dictatorship; silence and caution, especially in the so-called «years of lead» in which Edson Luis and Carlos Marighela were killed; a moderate corporativism in the occasion of Herzog's death; and finally a reconciliation and anti-party neo-nationalism tone connected to the «Diretas-Já». In this descriptive interpretation it is exposed the fact that, in the two ends of the historical period cut out, reside the points of synthesis of the narrative process changing.

Regarding the construction of a narrative sense in the newspapers pages, the element of discursive interaction between enunciates/utterances was placed as the protagonist, what means that without the constant exchange between ideologized verbo-visual signs the narrative-discursive result can not be fully realized (VOLOSINOV, 1973). Thus, the analyzed work of

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<sup>1106</sup> This uttering movement soon had its tone reduced and softened, already in the coverage dedicated to the election of Tancredo Neves (PMDB) in the following year.

journalistic editorial revealed, as its main tools: the re-signification of words within the social historical context, especially the words democracy, freedom, union, revolution, enemy. These were, most of the time, placed in situations in which their meaning has been historically emptied, acting in favor of the regime and the historical power bloc inside their respective narrative proposal that was explicit in moments of discursive institutionalization. Moreover, the alternation between the humanization and dehumanization of the historical subjects through the choice of agendas, but also the way in which each individual would be visually portrayed - in this case, the most explicit examples were the way in which the figures of Carlos Marighela and Estella Borges were represented, but also the exposure of the fragility of president Figueiredo in a moment when the military were no longer hegemonic within the press narrative (1984/85). Another strategy used with the aim of altering the reader's perception in relation to the subject portrayed was the use of direct or indirect discourse in the quotations. It has also been highlighted the subjection of the individuals in some cases, as well as the exaltation or erasure through the angles and framings that were used in the photos.

Finally, the element of the generic and universal in the narrative was part of two key moments in the analysis: first by universalizing the civil-military adherence and participation in the coup d'état in 1964, and then, at the end of the military regime, by narrating, inflating, and promoting popular participation in the moments of demonstrations against the military. Not coincidentally, this discursive tool was put into use at critical moments of consolidation of the «Passive Revolution» processes. That is to say, when being made from top to bottom, without the organicity and molecularity that legitimize them with the masses, the processes of political and social transformation require the existence of a narrative apparatus itself and its hammering, capable of build, expand and seek legitimacy of a reality that is based primarily in what is said about the real and little in what is materially existing. Thus, the crisis of hegemony, first populist and then military, required coordinated actions of the historical power bloc, which in both cases built around itself a discursive veneer emptied of meaning and that proposed the historical-dialectical inversion of the meaning of things in the world.

In 1964, the newspapers here analyzed opted for the narrative of the anti-communist «Revolution» in the name of a false patriotism and the defense of national values against the «communist danger», reinforcing the «revolutionary» character of the coup d'état, carried out with the aim of avoiding any social popular-based transformation. Two decades later, in 1984 and 1985, the newspapers supported and expanded the narrative of consensus and national reconciliation with a weak social organicity, that is, the transition process made from above silenced a real national reconciliation by preventing any attempt at accountability or at least

forgiveness for the crimes committed by the State. At the same time, the consensus that was built was the one desired by the military and by the liberal representatives of the historical power bloc, marginalizing important and existing political groups, as has been seen in the frequent cases of occupation of the squares in the 1980s. In short, both newspapers amplified the «Revolution» discourse in 1964 and the «Reconciliation» one in 1984, without having, the two concepts, a materiality founded in the reality of country's life, and, again in both cases, the consequences were and are felt over the decades. If in the 1960s, the narrative of the «Revolution» helped legitimize the military in power, in the 1980s the narrated «Reconciliation» helped to hide the wounds, traumas and problems of a society that did not have the chance to be accountable for its past - and by many prisms chose not to do so.

Other important considerations that emerged from the process are that, when denaturalizing the capital discourse, that is, when making the movement to unravel, understand and historicize the material and political reasons for certain social practices and narratives, the flaws and gaps are revealed. In our interpretation, the process of emptying and non-signification of things of the world was not the end-objective of the proposed enunciation. The discursive interaction and the language resources were employed in an attempt to justify and give a narrative sense to contradictory social elements and forces that within capital and its forms of socialization are not explained. In synthesis, how to discursively justify the violence of a civil-military coup d'état that materially opposed practices of social reform? A narrative apparatus of the presence of an internal enemy has been built, complemented by the need to oppose it with a «revolution» to defend the nation and the discursive construction of the military's patriotism as a guarantee of a better future. In other words, a rhetorical resource with little or no basis in reality was constructed. The same happened in the transition process, in which the historical power bloc, while protecting its neoliberal interests and paving the way for a negotiated transition, without accountability, protected the criminals who sheltered in the state apparatus (still military), and discursively constructed the idea that reconciliation came from the streets, from popular mobilization, from a national will.

Thus, throughout the whole period the element that always remained was the support given by the newspapers to the historical power bloc. If the newspapers updated their enunciation about the world, this happened because the different sectors of the hegemonic social group (rural elite, industrial bourgeoisie, upper middle class, and political elites) reorganized themselves in order to meet the new hegemonic class interests, that corresponded to the decrease of the size of state interference in the economy and the increase of the consumer market, opening Brazil to the international capital market.

As we have indicated, it is possible to say that through the enunciative uses of the verbo-visual elements, a narrative was constructed in the pages of newspapers about the great political, social and historical transformations, which yes, existed, especially from the point of view of institutional politics, but were less significant and popular than the pages of the newspapers pretended to portray to its the readers. This organized verbo-visual narrative created a «notion of the reality» that proposed the Brazilian society, its people, as a much more active participant in major political decisions than they really were, especially in the two great moments of crisis of hegemony mentioned above, both in 1964 and in the final years of the military regime.

Besides the points already addressed, some new issues were raised, related specially to the consideration of photography as language and as material expression of the world. A first point concerns the overlapping of some of the authors that served as our basis: Valentin Volosinov, Antonio Gramsci, Umberto Eco, Mikhail Bakhtin, Ferdinand de Saussure and others. It is possible to think that there are simultaneous applications intersected between the analysis objectives and the theoretical perspectives that a priori seem divergent, but which have extremely useful points of contact when taken in a dialectical key. In this sense, the contradiction is not undesirable, on the contrary, it is placed as an inherent part of the process of philosophical organization of thought, and also as part of the analysis of the objects of study.

Taking such reasoning as a basis, the contradictions of sense that appear throughout the analysis and the History present in the analyzed elements are the result of social and material political disputes that are compressed in moments of crisis or consistent change of context. Social classes discursively (understanding discourse as materiality) push and pressure each other based on their interests and objectives (VOLOSINOV, 1973). In a society that is organized and based on the deepening of capitalist relations, it is the bourgeoisie that is hegemonically positioned as the historical power bloc, simultaneously enabling , however, in an apparently contradictory way, the development of counter-hegemonic forces. These forces, in turn, press the shared social horizon in the direction that seems the most effective or the only possible to them. In the present interpretation, the conjugation of bourgeois elements and interests deepened (technologically) the photographic tool as a form of expression of class interests and was used in favor of such interests, helping the discursive and narrative reorganization of the History in course, reorienting the enunciations, terms, expressions and meanings towards a re-legitimation of the historical power bloc, of its private apparatuses of hegemony, institutions, parties, companies and press organs. Some examples of «counter-

hegemonic pressure in the breaches»<sup>1107</sup> were seen, re-signified and cooptated in the name of a new bourgeois democracy and of what was called «national reconciliation» in the transition moment from a dictatorial to a democratic bourgeois autocratic society. (COUTINHO, 2011; MACIEL, 2022).

In brief, the hegemonic narrative of the two mass media newspapers analyzed used the discursive, descriptive and narrative resources of photography to sustain and amplify textual and ideological aspects of their material classist production of news and information as naturally historical and self-referential of their own legitimation as enunciators. To this end, as we have seen, the class dispute was omitted and disguised sometimes as institutional palace politics and at other times as the civil society participation. Moreover, both newspapers went through distinct and opposite economic and financial moments. On one hand, the «FSP» during the 1960s and early 1970s sought to consolidate itself as a media conglomerate within a logic of production of news and information for consumption based on the cultural industry (TASCHNER, 1992), on the other hand, the «JB» experienced a growing economic crisis, also a result of the preference given by the regime to other media conglomerates in Rio de Janeiro, and went through the decades of dictatorship trying to perpetuate its influence and business organization, facing, however, great difficulties (CHAMMAS, 2012).

Finally, there is one last aspect that must be addressed. What is the meaning of realizing this analysis today? In the moment in which the last pages of this thesis are written, a little less than a month separates Brazil from the end of Jair Bolsonaro's presidential mandate. However, as presented at the beginning of this work, the current President explicitly represents a portion of the Brazilian society that is nostalgic of the military regime and has no problem flirting with it and extolling authoritarian paths to achieve its political goals. This means that in 2022, the current transition process, almost forty years after the end of the dictatorship, is taking place amidst anti-constitutional actions, representing yet another practical demonstration that historically, Brazilian conservative groups, whenever necessary, have not hesitated to opt for authoritarian or unconstitutional actions;<sup>1108</sup> the «reactionary subversivism» that was seen in 1964 is still present (GRAMSCI, 1975, p. 325; FRESU, 2020, p. 260).

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<sup>1107</sup> The emergence of new political actors and civil society movements in the late 1970s, early 1980s.

<sup>1108</sup> On November 11<sup>th</sup> of 2022 the «Superior Tribunal de Justiça» published the «Arguição de Descumprimento de Preceito Fundamental (ADPF) 519» ordering the liberation of the roads and avenues in the whole country that were still blocked by protesters and supporters of President Jair Bolsonaro that did not accept the election's results that ended two weeks before.

Available in: <http://www.stf.jus.br/portal/autenticacao/autenticarDocumento.asp>. Access in: 08/12/2022.



In 2016, Jair Bolsonaro vote's declaration in favor of the impeachment of the then President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff (that had been imprisoned and tortured during the Military Dictatorship), was in one side dedicated to the Army former colonel and known torturer, Carlos Brilhante Ustra, making an explicit apology of the regime and torture. In the other hand, it made a direct critic to the «FSP», naming it, what can be interpreted as an indication that, in a pragmatic sense, the newspaper has been successful in its uttering reorganization, finding itself a new placement in the Dictatorship history and memory

Neste dia de glória para o povo brasileiro, um nome entrará para a história nesta data pela forma como conduziu os trabalhos desta Casa: Parabéns, Presidente Eduardo Cunha! Perderam em 1964. Perderam agora em 2016. Pela família e pela inocência das crianças em sala de aula, que o PT nunca teve... Contra o comunismo, pela nossa liberdade, contra a Folha de S.Paulo, pela memória do Cel. Carlos Alberto Brilhante Ustra, o pavor de Dilma Rousseff! Pelo Exército de Caxias, pelas nossas Forças Armadas, por um Brasil acima de tudo, e por Deus acima de todos, o meu voto é "sim"!». (Ata da 91a Sessão da Câmara dos Deputados, Deliberativa Extraordinária, Vespertina, da 2a Sessão Legislativa Ordinária, da 55a Legislatura, em 17 de abril de 2016)<sup>1109</sup>.

Such facts and the lack of a legal process against Bolsonaro is the practical-political result of the historical and legal non-accountability of Brazilian society with the crimes that were committed by the State during the military regime. The fear of «revanchism» mentioned in the previous chapters has been the genesis of a society and the continuation of a Brazilian way of doing politics remains tolerant to the institutionalization of violence when necessary to meet certain class interests. The political and discursive violence made explicit by Bolsonaro in recent years is its symptom and not its cause. The cause of the reactionary subversiveness represented in him can be found in the impossibility, in Brazil, of the realization of any project of nation that presents itself as minimally progressive, independent, and aimed at not immediately defending the interests of the large national and international economic groups. In every opportunity that a national and political project in progressist-popular direction was

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<sup>1109</sup> «On this day of glory for the Brazilian people, a name will go down in history on this date for the way you conducted the work of this House: Congratulations, President Eduardo Cunha! They lost in 1964. They have lost now in 2016. For the family and the innocence of children in the classroom, which the PT never had... Against the communism, for our freedom, against Folha de S.Paulo, for the memory of Col. Carlos Alberto Brilhante Ustra, the dread of Dilma Rousseff! For the Army of Caxias, for our Armed Forces, for a Brazil above all, and for God above all, my vote is "yes"!». Minutes of the 91st Session of the House of Representatives, Extraordinary Deliberative, Evening, of the 2nd Ordinary Legislative Session, of the 55th Legislature, on 17 April 2016. Available in: <https://www.camara.leg.br/internet/plenario/notas/extraord/2016/4/EV1704161400.pdf> Access in: 08/12/2022.

attempted, what has been seen were abrupt interruptions inside the constitutional law or outside of it.

And in this logic, as we have seen, the historical power bloc with its political-economic project needed, counted, and will continue in need of a media-discursive apparatus able to organize itself and other social groups in favor of their interests. In the past and in the present case of analysis, photography, was inserted within such process and gave its contribution to the maintenance of hegemonic control of the materiality of class relations through its interactions inside the journalistic utterance. However, although relevant within the journalistic enunciation treated here, it was not the central element. The narrative centrality is precisely in the interaction, in the overlapping of the layers, which dialectically and dialogically open breaches. Thus, in a propositional synthesis of the indicated debate, it is not a matter of claiming a discursive reform of the mass media newspapers or its corporate conglomerates, but in aiming the rupture of a «passive balance» (FRESU, 2020, p. 357) move towards a «intellectual reform» (GRAMSCI, 1975, p. 1561) that in its turn must be based in a radical change of the social production set up organization. It is then in a dialogical counter-hegemonic path, that permits the finding, in the gaps of the discourse contradictions and class struggle, the spaces to build an organic narrative of the things of the world, that leads to a real emancipation of those who narrate them. Without this double and retro alimentative rupture (economic and intellectual) the narrative uttering of the reality, dressed in a «notion of the reality», will keep the subalterns in their condition and the dominant class in their privileged position using all the possible tools, photographs and newspapers included, to keep it. Meanwhile the shelter of a humanized existence spins the interactions in the social horizon forward, as said Drummond «tudo é caminho»<sup>1110</sup>, and, sooner or later «a hora mais bela»<sup>1111</sup> will surge.

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<sup>1110</sup> «everything is path».

<sup>1111</sup> «the most beautiful hour».

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