



## MEMORY AND JOURNALISM: THE JOURNEY OF JORNAL DA BAHIA AND TWO OF THEIR INTELLECTS DURING THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

<sup>1</sup>Vinícius Pales Quaresma and <sup>2</sup>Lívia Diana Rocha Magalhães

<sup>1</sup>Master in Memory: Language and Society and Education Specialist, both by UESB

<sup>2</sup>Professor of the program of Post-graduation Stritusensu in Memory: Language and Society of UESB

### ARTICLE INFO

#### Article History:

Received 20<sup>th</sup> April, 2018  
Received in revised form  
19<sup>th</sup> May, 2018  
Accepted 21<sup>st</sup> June, 2018  
Published online 30<sup>th</sup> July, 2018

#### Key Words:

Memory Dictatorship.  
Right. Intellectuals.  
Jornal da Bahia. Journalism.

### ABSTRACT

This paper has as goal to show the steps of the research performed so that the dissertation named "Memory and journalism: the journey of Jornal da Bahia and two of their intellects - João Falcão and João Gomes - during the Brazilian military dictatorship." was designed. We went through the key issues such as the research's motivations, the object's development, the research's difficulties and redefinitions that it had until it was converted into the final outcome of this work, which is the dissertation. This also pervaded the knowledge's categories and the authors' contributions so that we can examine the history told by the two authors through scientific observation. We found, as the main analysis fields, memory, law, history and sociology.

Copyright © 2018, Vinícius Pales Quaresma and Lívia Diana Rocha Magalhães. This is an open access article distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

**Citation:** Vinícius Pales Quaresma and Lívia Diana Rocha Magalhães. 2018. "Memory and journalism: the journey of jornal da bahia and two of their intellects during the brazilian military Dictatorship", *International Journal of Development Research*, 8, (07), 22017-22020.

### INTRODUCTION

Since the early days of the year 1964 the government of the former President João Goulart held up the serious threats that ended in the Brazilian Civil-Military Coup of 1964. The coup is stated as Civil-Military, because there was a joint not totally military, but with a powerful support of wealthy businessmen, the catholic church and the unsatisfied political groups that had given voice and echo to the coup movement of the time. In this national scenario, we have an important segment of society that played a fundamental part in the facts that followed the media. Particularly in this paper, we focused our attention primarily to the written newspapers and, in a more regional cut out, to the Bahian journalism in the capital, Salvador. Among the large newspapers at the time, there was a greater group of journals that were approving of the military regime and a few others of larger circulation showed themselves as visibly contraries, to represent each of these spots there were chosen "Diário de Notícias" (DN) and "Jornal da Bahia" (JBa), respectively.

**\*Corresponding author: Vinícius Pales Quaresma**

Master in Memory: Language and Society and Education Specialist, both by UESB

The DN was another enterprise that belonged to the conglomerate "Diários Associados" and it in turn was a property of Assis Chateaubriand, a communications' magnate and one of the most influential businessmen in Brazil's history. The JBa. was owned by the banker João Falcão, original of Feira de Santana - Bahia and a former member of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), party which he fulfilled as a journalist and from where he brought a large part of his editorial employees. The Jornal da Bahia chief editor in the most sensitive periods was João Carlos Teixeira Gomes (Joca), a symbolic figure in Bahian journalism that together with JBa and the newspaper's owner resisted strongly to the politician Antônio Carlos Magalhães (ACM) a civilian politician who was sponsored by the military because of his excellent relation with them and that used several means in an attempt to destroy his several opponents. About these means Gomes spoke with authority, he was prosecuted by it in the military court on behalf of JBa's editorial position: "Advertisers Persecutions, improper use of government advertising, verbal insults and political retaliation directed to opponents, systematic fiscal restraint, media communication muzzling, terror implanted among the employees, threatened by removals or transferences, disrespect to the Legislative and pressure on the

Judiciary, grooming of artists and attempt to control the public conscience (...). The JBa was the victim of a financial suffocation process because they were opposed to ACM and to survive under much resistance he used campaigns as "Do not let this flame die" and a countdown to the end of the politician first term as the governor of the State of Bahia. In short, this mentioned dissertation analyzed the Bahian and Brazilian historical situation at the time, aside from the editorial line of the above mentioned periodicals and the resistance impact of the *Jornal da Bahia* in its daily life and in the life of João Falcão and of Gomes, passing through the work and power relations and the memory's reminiscences arising from the strong bond of the JBa employees. with the Brazilian Communist Party.

## MATERIAL AND METHODS

For the establishment of the researched object we appealed to bibliographic sources needed for the factual basis and the ones essential to the theoretical base. In the theoretical field, the content was essentially focused in the works of Maurice Halbwachs - in the memory's field - and Antonio Gramsci, who properly addressed about the subjects vital to the research, such as the intellectuals and hegemony concepts. The ones who still deserve honorable note are Reinhart Koselleck, Moniz Bandeira René Dreifuss, Paolo Marconi, Livia Diana Rocha Magalhães and José Dias. Besides, the works of João Falcão and João Carlos Teixeira Gomes, being the first author of the book "Nãodeixeestachamaapagar" (2006) and the second author of the "Memória das Trevas – Uma devassanavida de Antônio Carlos Magalhães" (2001) and "A bravatravessia" (2016). Apart from these, we looked for newspapers in order to highlight the media editorial approaches of that time, there were chosen newspapers of the "Diário de Notícias" and "Jornal da Bahia" of 1964, mostly the moments before the coup (March 1964), the coup's moment and the period after it (April 1964). In order to examine on-the-spot all of these journals so that there was no interference between the object and the researcher, some displacements to the Public Library of the State of Bahia located in the Barris' valley in Salvador were needed. Through the verification of all these data and sources, a cautious analysis of the ones got under the theoretical knowledge acquired was made.

## DISCUSSION

Because it is a dictatorial process, a social and historical joint of factors the argument around the object and the research's focus is vast and complex, this because it comprises a range of topics, such as the relation between the *Jornal da Bahia* and its main characters with the dictatorship and its protagonist in Bahia, ACM and the *Diário de Notícias* relation's to the same totalitarian movement. Categories such as memory, collective memory, hegemony, intellectuals, crisis, conflict of classes and history, among others, surpass this debate.

**Dictatorship in Bahia and in Brazil:** Bahia is an economically and geographically important state on the national scenario, therefore it would not pass unharmed to the dictatorial situation that happened in the country. On a homeland level, the Brazilian situation became more complicated and uncertain after the resignation of President Jânio Quadros in 1961. Unlike to what the current Constitution

indicated, there were put impediments to the succession that was a valid claim on João Goulart's part, such as contrary articulations referendums that revalidated or not his president status and the civil-military articulation, to what he would finally collapse. In the Bahian overview there was as stated by José Dias (2009), a prevalence of figures like Juracy Magalhães, Luís Viana Filho and Lomanto Junior however, such overview would be empty with the seats change after the coup, the main criteria was the support or the opposition to the dictatorial movement and to Jango, the ones who supported earned positions far from Salvador, the ones that were against were chased and intimidated by the recently introduced government. This way, such scenery was widely favorable to Antônio Carlos Magalhães's ascension to the power, primarily leaving the duty of state deputy to become "prefeitobiãoico" of Salvador and afterwards becoming "governadorbiônico" of the state of Bahia, position of where he would have even more powers to deploy his aggressive and persecuting modus operandi against his adversaries.

**Bahia's journal x "Diário de Notícias": um contraponto:** As we became more absorbed in the newspapers research the turbulent year of 1964 we encountered a conservative pattern, editorial lines that were opposed to João Goulart's government and the core reforms that he intended to perform, this line was characterized by periodicals such as "Diário de Notícias", "Jornal A Tarde", "O Estado da Bahia" and many others. The sample of newspapers with a more traditional profile and the ones that are considered as "rightist" is large, but this would make the study unviable. As it would be impossible to address all of them with the appropriate research's quality, we opted to elect one as a symbol of an entire line of thought, the chosen one was the "Diário de Notícias". The reasons for the choice of the DN newspaper come since the close ties with ACM and the fact that the newspaper was used as the politician communication channel, being entitled by many as "officious", we have for instance the inquiry opening notice introduced in defense of the governor ACM honor which took João Carlos Teixeira Gomes to the military court it was also in the pages of this above mentioned vehicle. By contrast, the "Jornal da Bahia" has great importance on the fight against the military dictatorship, from the newspapers of wide circulation in Salvador was the one that most opposite and unquestionably the one that most suffered with the civil-military dictatorship, especially with the despotic image of Antônio Carlos Magalhães. We did an inventory of issues related to the months before the coup and to the first days after the coup, and the editorial gap is noticeable: While before April the *Jornal da Bahia* brought news like "Jango: People should not permit being terrified"; "Jangoulart denies the continuationism rumors"; "Jurema denies the state of emergency" the *Diário de Notícias* had headings such as "64 will be difficult, affirms CP."; "Teachers accuse the government of communizing the country" and "Until the left-wings fear Jango's continuationism". From April 1, 1964 while the JBa. Chooses just to reverberate the international repercussion with news like "The movement reverberates in the press from abroad." "The world press keeps commenting on JG deposition." The DN had a worship tone for the military action with issues such as "Free of the Communist Field, Brazil has since yesterday democratic government."; All power to the glorious Brazilian Army. "

**The legal issueduring Dictatorship:** With noticeable influence of my study's area, I dedicated myself to making

observations on the juridical matter that pervaded society before and after the 1964 coup. There were examined legislative issues relevant to the research, which displayed the pre and post scenario of the 1964 coup. For that matter we have come to assess the constitutionality of JoãoGoulart's term, we examined the Federal Constitution active in 1961 (the year in which the President Quadros resigned), which was the one of 1946, according to which Jango's term was fully constitutional. Furthermore, we examined the legal enclosure surrounding the opposition, giving full powers to the military to govern with iron hands, despite of the 1967 Federal Constitution written during the dictatorship not being so hard it was also not respected in relation to the individual's fundamental guarantees with the country being more exposed to measures such as those of the AIs that gradually displayed a severe expansion of despotic times. The AIs were progressively contradicting the idea that some sustained that the military would quickly return the country to democracy. In AI-1 (1964), among other measures there were increased the powers of the head of the Executive, making it possible to display amendments and to put on hold the political rights of any citizen for up to ten years. In AI-2 (1964), he gave the dictator power to declare recess in the Legislative power, established bipartisanship as mandatory, withdrew direct elections for president, and gave the Brazilian Military Justice jurisdiction to judge civilians who had committed crimes against National Security. AI-3 (1966) withdrew the direct elections possibility for governors and mayors of the capitals. AI-4 (1966) called the legislative to elaborate the Magna letter which was approved in 1967 and it kept the Legislative Power tied to the Executive. In 1968 the hardest attack on the few individual and collective rights came through the AI-5, through this essential and subjective rights like the habeas corpus were relieved. It should also be noted the 1967 National Security Law, which based the heavy persecutory measures, because it placed all of them as responsible for the National Security (suitable for incrimination, because the ones who did not report would be considered as complicit) and would institute the crime against the honor and dignity of public power authorities, making it excessively dangerous to complain about them and if such action were committed by the press the penalty would be expanded to half of the total like the crime of subversion incitement of the political-social order, incitement to collective disobedience of the laws, all the categories also increased if it was practiced by the press. To make it even more difficult the activity of combative journalism, they still had the Press Law (1967) that assigned clear and firm limits to the press activity in the country.

**The crisis in Koselleck and the relevance of the newspapers to political instability:** Koselleck (1987) provided his formulation of the crisis concept and also talked about its causes and consequences in society, this was a significant contribution to understand the historical context of the moments before the coup and the press part in worsening the instability of the time. Koselleck (1987) shows us that it is natural from the crisis that a decision is arising but not yet taken, such situation generates insecurity and this insecurity is "crossed by the certainty that, without knowing for sure when or how, the end of the critical state is coming up." The principles and the elaborated research indicates that the disturbances in democracy were carefully managed by the dominant elite's group, Koselleck (1987) yet claims that the law is an important way of trying to control the outcomes of the crisis that are likely to get out of control. The journalistic

media may act and as the research shows, acted mostly on behalf of the dictatorial movement, it was created at the state level and at the national level an enormous sense of insecurity that requested an answer, the answer came in the form of a Civil- Military coup already premeditated by the Brazilian elites. In the collected material for the dissertation, extracted directly and cautiously from the original newspapers located in the Public Library of the State of Bahia, we could check rumors released with highlight without the possibility of word from the opposite party, convocations for marches contrary to the government and etc. After the coup, the words transmitted by the newspapers like the "Diário de Notícias" had connotations of relief, celebration and acclamation of the attitudes of the armed forces. Memory and collective memory:

The memory, in addition to being the primal subject of the masters at UESB it is also the "reason for being" of the research. Moving on from the memory's standpoint addressed in the course we are introduced with the most influential minds of this knowledge area of development and of a more recent production. Some of the most important influences of the memory's study come from the books "Os quadros sociais da memória" (1925) and "Memória coletiva" (2006), but for this study we relied mostly on the last one. Such books were designed from the reflections of the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, with his masterpiece posthumously published in the year 1950. The French thinker says to us that the social grouping have importance for the upkeep of the collective and individual memory, when the ties and links are maintained the memories remain more latent than the ones which are not strengthened. Halbwachs also states that it is not an issue of memory's collectivizing - and its consequent time resistance - only a statements joint, it is needed that the memory agreement ties have not expired, it is important yet that the collectivity at hand stay in touch so that the memory is rebuilt on a common foundation. Under this assumption, we examined the keeping reflexes of the significant body of the communist periodical "O momento" in its tendency for a position considered as of left-wing and therefore in the civil-military coup endurance. Such grouping in direct and constant touch in the buildings populated by the "Jornal da Bahia" is a collectivity that kept the memory of the Brazilian Communist Party alive, as if a little was lost or changed. By contrast, the participation of the Halbwachian memory's theory it becomes even more complementary to the dissertation because of the fact that the memories' books of João Falcão and Joca are crucial cornerstones of the research, it is through the collectivity that we fill up present gaps in the recalling act and it is through the above-mentioned volumes that we filter out the most significant points of JBa's resistance. and we could face them with the Public's Library collection in the State of Bahia. This way, it was not just possible to compare the memory of a newspaper owner with the one of his most representative employee, but also with the reality indicated by the newspapers of that time.

### Class conflict

In this dissertation two vivid class conflicts stand out. First we reinforce that JoãoGoulart government was in more than one moment approved by most Brazilians, becoming this way unquestionably democratic until the moment he was deposed. In spite of the fact that there was a known popular class in the Brazilian Armed Forces, the Civil-Military coup of 1964 was organized between the high military cupule and wealthy Brazilian businessmen, showing this way how a definite

political-ideological position was strongly imposed by the richest part of the Brazilian society to the popular class, such thought is yet grounded on the series of primary articulated reforms by Jango, it is mainly highlighted the intention of agrarian reform, this one was feared and extremely refused by the country's dominant classes. Moreover, we glimpsed not just the different positions and moments of visible conflict but the distinguished look of the dictatorial government to João Falcão and João Gomes, boss and employee, respectively. Falcão was a wealthy family banker that had a strong left leaning while his employee was a chief editor deriving from Salvador's middle class families. Gomes tells us in his work that he felt strange because he was indicted by ACM in a lawsuit filed by the feared Military Justice and that Falcão's name has passed intact, besides that Joca feels resentful because of the fact that the event was never quoted by Falcon in his work.

### Hegemony and intellectuals in Gramsci

Gramsci highlights the cohesion function (or of the sensation that there is one) in the good functioning of a society in the view's point of the ones that have the domain. To this sensation of apparent agreement deployed by the prominent group Gramsci named it hegemony, it would be primary to make more quiet the voices of discordant niches present in the social environment. The Intellectuals have a primary function in this structure, because they would be responsible for turning the dominant group's idea as more appetizing for the non-dominant groups through its reliability, nevertheless if this structure failed, oppression would come to action through force. Concerning the research, we could classify Falcão and Joca as intellectuals who on numerous times suffered attempts of co-optation by the dictatorial power and, in face of their denial afterwards suffered the hard strength face of an exception government, passing through moments of attacks or courts with basically certain results.

### Final considerations

Through the field research aiming to get to a dialectical relation of the journalism dictatorship influence and journalism in the dictatorial movement, I could find the representative cases of João Falcão and João Carlos Gomes Teixeira and therefore, his works that are reports charged with history, memory and despotic power resistance. I consider beneficial the memory's vision choice of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, because factors connected to the collective memory based on the experience of Falcão and the upkeep of the PCB communist newspaper base "O momento" are vital for building the identity had as the left and, according to the new conjuncture and the persistence of its members, the

resistance represented by the JBa. Furthermore, it is important to us the conception of "hegemony" and "intellectuals" for Gramsci, because Falcão and Gomes fill this position and suffer recurrent attempts of co-optation in their paths during the dictatorship, however when they are opposed and become discordant points in the effort of societies' planning they end up suffering with the most hostile answer of the State, personified then by ACM. Additionally, we consumed the Koselleck's knowledge with the intent to describe the dynamics of the crisis that in the factual reality was managed by the elite with the journals assistance. It is important to highlight that, despite the majority of the written media at the time corroborate with the strong climate of coup pressure, there was a resistance represented here by the *Jornal da Bahia*. Meanwhile, we also highlight partnerships like those of Dreiffus, Moniz Bandeira, Delgado, Fico, Golbery, Magalhães, Dias, Marconi and others. It should be demonstrated juridical and legal issues that enabled us to highlight on the right manner both the vital rights breach - the innate trait of a dictatorial period - as well as the way in which the dictatorial government deformed for its own welfare the Brazilian legal system, to let practically unlimited his legal power, even if he used on a daily basis the most various illegalities to keep the hegemonic power he had.

### REFERENCES

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Cadernos do cárcere*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001. v. 1.
- Diário de Notícias. Salvador, 1964. (exemplares)
- DIAS, José Alves. O golpe de 1964 e as dimensões da repressão em Vitória da Conquista. In: ZACHARIADHES, Grimaldo. C. (Org.). *Ditadura militar na Bahia: novos olhares, novos objetivos, novos horizontes*. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2009.
- FALCÃO, João C. Não deixe esta chama se apagar: História do *Jornal da Bahia*. Salvador: Revan, 2006.
- GOMES, João C. T. *Memórias das Trevas – Uma devassa na vida de Antônio Carlos Magalhães*, São Paulo: Geração Editorial, 2001.
- GRAMSCI, Antonio. *Cadernos do cárcere - O Risorgimento. Notas sobre a história da Itália*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2002. 461, p. v. 5.
- HALBWACHS, Maurice. *A memória coletiva*. São Paulo: Centauro, 2006.
- Jornal da Bahia*. Salvador, 1964. (exemplares)
- MAGALHÃES, Livia Diana Rocha. História, Memória e Geração: remissão inicial a uma discussão político-educacional. In: *Revista HISTEDBR On-line*, Campinas: FE-UNICAMP, n. 55, p. 94-103, mar. 2014.

\*\*\*\*\*