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**60 YEARS OF THE 1964 COUP:
CLASSIC THEMES, CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH,
VARIOUS ARCHIVES**

The ignorance and devaluation of this past has contributed to the fact that the new generations have had insufficient education, in political terms, both in relation to a civic and ethical conscience, as well as in the intransigent demand for Human Rights.

(Enrique Serra Padrós still here, today and always)

In 2024 we are remembering the 60 years of the 1964 Brazilian Coup d'état. Six decades on, we know a lot more than we did in the first decade, when Brazil was still beginning the period of the Geisel government and resistance to the dictatorship was in the throes of armed struggle, strengthening the limited, consensual and institutionalized opposition within the *Movimento Democrático Brasileiro* (Brazilian Democratic Movement - MDB), in addition to some social movements that were timidly resuming self-organized public action. In 1974, the most influential sectors of the *Confederação Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil* (National Confederation of Brazilian Bishops - CNBB), the *Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil* (Brazilian Bar Order – OAB) and the *Associação Brasileira de Imprensa* (Brazilian Press Association – ABI), had been the biggest 1964 movement supporters. As well, political parties' members, that also supporting the coup, has had our political parties extinguished with the bipartisanship from Institutional Act N° 2 (AI-2) in 1965 and, the presidential elections cancellation the following year, they were already in open

opposition to the governments that were succeeded by generals chosen indirectly by those committed to State Terrorism (TDE) during the 21-year National Security Dictatorship.

Even though we still know little about what the Brazilian Dictatorship was like, we know more than we did before, because the resignation of Jânio Quadros in 1961 and the attempt to prevent Jango from taking office had its counterpoint in the extraordinary Campaign for Legality, which postponed the coup for almost three years. The ministers of the Armed Forces, as well as coup-plotting sectors of the press, the US State Department and the ruling classes, who didn't even tolerate Labourism in government and the Basic Reforms, even though they won conciliatory parliamentarianism, which limited João Goulart's initiatives until 1963, didn't accept the popular mobilization that put workers and students, military personnel and military police on the streets to defend compliance with the Constitution in 1961.

They quickly rearticulated themselves, creating, as René Dreifuss has already said, the IPES and IBAD complexes, the former for ideological action, the latter for political action, respectively, instrumentalizing sectors of the media and universities and financing with millionaire resources, both internal and external, the election of governors, deputies and councilors committed to destabilizing the João Goulart government. And they succeeded.

Under intense anti-communist attack, they chose the Basic Reforms, undeniably the Agrarian Reform as the main one, imbuing the attempted reforms with a character that they absolutely did not have at the time - socialism. In the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution, they won the majority support of the alarmed middle classes, who marched with rosaries in hand calling for the coup that had been in the making since 1961, in the name of a discourse that would "save Brazil from Communism".

Businessmen, bankers and others, both national and foreign, contributed to fomenting the Dictatorship in Brazil, through a coup against Brazil's incipient political democracy, against political and social reforms, against the politicization of civil society organizations (Peasant Leagues, CGT, UNE, Left-wing parties like the PCB and PCdoB) and against the cultural and intellectual debate that the country was experiencing (CPCs and MEBs, magazines like *Brasiliense* and many popular newspapers), destroying political organizations and repressing progressive social movements, as Caio Navarro de Toledo's classic interpretation already indicated. A reactionary coup by the right and the ruling classes and their ideologues, whether civilian or military, with the strategic, political and military support of the United States behind it, in line with João Quartim de Moraes' interpretation.

While, historiography and the social sciences have begun to discuss explanatory categories ("Revolution" or "Coupe"; "Regime" or "Dictatorship"; "Coupe and Military Dictatorship"; "Civil-

Military Coup and Civil-Military Dictatorship"; "Coup and Corporate-Military Dictatorship"; "Coup and Media-Military Dictatorship", "National Security Dictatorship", "State Terrorism", among others), the class character of the Dictatorship, the social, economic, cultural and political aspects, among many others, with cutouts of gender, ethnicity and so many and infinite cutouts that have been presented in new studies and research.

Along these lines, resistance to the Dictatorship and the process of social and political struggle have also become topics of interest, especially for a more complex understanding of the end of the Dictatorship and the so-called Democratic Transition, in clear attempts to avoid the analytical reductionism present in interpretations considered classic. Here, also, it has been necessary to identify the progress of research in the face of the opening (albeit still partial) of the Dictatorship archives, a situation still in suspense, denounced by activists, family members and professionals (especially historians and archivists), given the resistance, especially from military institutions, as well as from those sectors of civil society that were participants in or defenders of the crimes against the country and humanity committed during those 21 years.

With these considerations, we have a long way to go to better understand the Brazilian contradictions between 1964 and 1985. In this sense, this dossier, **"60 years of the 1964 Coup: Classic Themes, Contemporary Research, Various Archives"**, based on five papers, written by new researchers, responds to new perspectives on the theme of the 1964 Coup and the Dictatorship that followed until 1985, whose social, political, economic and cultural consequences continue to this day.

The first of these is the paper "The April 1964 Coup and why dates matter", by **Lineker Noberto**, in which the historian problematizes the political relevance of historical dates, discussing whether the 1964 coup can be dated to March 31 or April 1, exploring the possible conditions of resistance, both by the federal government and its supporters.

Following with paper "Prisoners in the Land of Silence: Culture of Fear and State Terrorism in Dictatorial Brazil (1964-1985)", by the historian **Maicon Mauricio Vasconcelos Ferreira**, which presents the guidelines that built and characterized the "Culture of Fear" and how it was a planned and fundamental part of sustaining the Dictatorship in Recife immediately after the 1964 coup, as well as the action of State Terrorism in the relationship between the state and civil society in Pernambuco.

Next, we have the writing "Right to memory and truth: testimonies and underground memories of the Military Dictatorship", by **Ivo dos Santos Canabarro and Bianca Strücker**, in which the authors emphasize the value of memory as a fundamental element for the notion of truth in Contemporary Brazil, through the case study of testimonial narratives about people who

disappeared during the Dictatorship, defending the importance of the testimonies of peripheral actors for the re-establishment of the State after the authoritarian period, as well as the need for Transitional Justice for Brazil.

The fourth paper, "To combat the 'fold of the fine communist flower': the circulation of information between universities and the Ministry of Education through the surveillance bodies", by historian **Renan Nascimento Reis**, studies the surveillance and repression of the National Information Service (SNI) within the Federal University of Pará (UFPA), through archival documentation released for research more recently, complemented by oral sources, photographs and newspaper reports, which made it possible to identify the dictatorial mechanisms in order to dismantle university student resistance in the Amazon.

The last in this dossier, not least, "Carlos Marighella's legacy and memories of armed resistance in contemporary music: the divergent organic intellectualism of Mano Brown and Caetano Veloso", by an also historian, **Diego Grossi**, this study aims to investigate the process of memorialistic construction within diverse social cohorts, particularly in response to the enduring legacies stemming from the armed resistance against the Dictatorship. The examination focuses on the lyrical content of two songs: "Mil faces de um homem leal" (2012) by the Racionais MCs group, and "Um comunista" (2012) by Caetano Veloso. Through a nuanced analysis, this research elucidates the distinct class perspectives articulated by the artists as they engage with the historical legacy of a revolutionary figure who fell victim to state repression during the Dictatorship era.

This dossier is complemented in this volume of *História: Debates e Tendências* with the following articles on topics that broaden current historical studies and related areas:

- a) "Alliance for Progress and Peace Corps: the vision of the United States and Brizola (1961-1963)", by **Marcelo Marcon**, shows how the US State Department came to describe Leonel Brizola as "anti-American", "communist", "virulent", "subversive", among others, discussing how the US programs, starting with John Kennedy's administration, as well as Leonel Brizola's view of them;
- b) "On public and free education in the Brazilian Republic: a brief history" by **Marcos Jovino Asturian**, through bibliographical research, studies access to public and free education in part of the Brazilian Historical Formation, to understand the challenges of contemporary education:
- c) "The Brazilian military institution in the 19th century: the Army seen by military periodicals (1854-1879)", by **Fernanda de Santos Nascimento**, aims to present a panorama of the Brazilian Army in the 19th century through the eyes of military periodicals, published

between 1854 and 1879, in many provinces of the Empire, studying the discourse conveyed in them, with the aim of broadening the History of the Army in the field of New Military History;

d) "The historiographical debate on the Crisis of the 14th Century: between the Great Depression and the development of the Modern World", by **Kátia Brasilino Michelan**, presents the understanding of European historiography on the period, prioritizing permanence and continuity, based on interpretative possibilities and historiographical revisions on the so-called "Western World" and, finally;

e) "The writing of the history of the Farroupilha: between the construction of order and palace politics", by **Fabício Antônio Antunes Soares**, examines how the historiographical operation, articulated with the construction of meaning in the narrative of historiography, elaborated a narrative about the Farroupilha in the works of Saturnino de Souza and Oliveira Coutinho, in the context of the construction of monarchical order and palace political disputes.

With this, *História: Debates e Tendências* hopes that readers and the academic world will feel encouraged to keep up to date with the new research on historical themes and related areas contained in this volume. Finally, the organizers stress that studies on the Dictatorship in Brazil, as well as its connections with Latin America or any other spatial and temporal context, do not represent a topic that academia, historians and researchers in related fields can treat with exemption. Brazil's fragile democracy and the history of coup attempts and successions in Republican history have left those not committed to basic freedoms and the fundamental rights of citizenship for all lurking, as they did on January 8, 2024. Therefore, the 60 years of the 1964, this is also a dossier so that we don't forget it, so that it never happens again.

By the end, the organizers and the editorial board would like to congratulate and thank the authors who have contributed to this volume becoming a further contribution to current historical studies and their related fields.

Diorge Alceno Konrad PhD

Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM), Brazil

Tatyana de Amaral Maia PhD

**State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) and Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF),
Brazil**