

# Military Dictatorship Dossiers about José Marques de Melo as Thematic Revivals and Biographical Sponsors

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## Abstract

The paper is based on the National Information Service (SNI) documentation about Professor José Marques de Melo stored in the National Archives. From records and dossiers found in the Database Memories Revealed, mentioning the founder of the Brazilian Society of Interdisciplinary Communication Studies (Intercom) and emeritus scholar, researcher and theorist of the areas of Journalism and Communication, it is possible to make the thematic reconstitution during the period of the military dictatorship (1964-1985) and to conceive how it elected biographical sponsors to be recorded by the information's community.

**Keywords:** Dossiers. Military dictatorship. Thematic Revival. Biographical sponsor. José Marques de Melo.

## Introduction

Brazil's Superior War College (ESG) and the Institute of Research and Social Studies and the Brazilian Institute of Democratic Action (IPES/IBAD) were the source of and the driving force behind the 1964 military coup. Modelled after the National War College (the American military school which trains its armed forces elite), the ESG was founded in 1949 with the intention of fighting communism. Both the Institute of Research and Social Studies and the Brazilian Institute of Democratic Action were responsible for the political-ideological action aimed at destabilizing reformist and progressive leftist governments. IBAD centered on political party activities, financing campaigns and candidacies for the Executive and Legislative branches, and IPES focused on putting together an organic intelligence for the movement and the ideological co-opt of public opinion.

The ESG's governing body, and part of the future military coup, was a member of IPES, an institute launched in 1962 composed of the Parliamentary Advisory Group – which advises IBAD; the Public Opinion Group – for media dissemination; the Publication Group - editorial production; the Study and Doctrine Group - ideological teachings; and the Economic Survey Group (DREIFUSS, 1981). The Economic Survey Group accessed Army information

from the military zones in the country and used it to produce a bi-monthly newsletter which it delivered to its affiliates – the military, businessmen, bankers, landowners, companies, entities and employee unions. This newsletter contained information on the activities of individuals, entities, organizations and movements they believed to be either communist or sympathizers to the communist cause. This entire collection of information, comprising 400 thousand files, was incorporated into the National Information Service (SNI) when it was created in June 1964. In 2005, by order of a presidential decree, the remaining documents from the military regime's espionage center, which were being held by the Brazilian Intelligence Agency (ABIN), were sent to the National Archives.

Our research of the National Archives regarding Institutional Act N° 5 (AI-5) and its respective consequences in terms of the nullification of political rights, and bans and persecutions in academic and scientific circles uncovered the SNI Fund with dossiers and medical records pertaining to Professor José Marques de Melo, founder of the Brazilian Society for Interdisciplinary Communication Studies (Intercom) and former scholar, researcher and theorist in Journalism and Communication. He died in June 2018. We recognized we had some expressive material in our hands, in the quantitative and qualitative sense of the word, and that this material was of an intellectual and professional nature characterized by the coherence of theoretical principles and propositions, illustrating the themes, reflections, discussions and concerns of Communication and Journalism in the 1970s and 1980s. These concerns are still true of the current political-ideological moment in Brazil, as well as the historical and conceptual revival of Intercom itself, reasons for which presented the documents for this study.

## **Procedures for the collection and filtering of documents**

We collected 43 documents on the military dictatorship from the National Archives. This amounts to almost 16.5 million pages (ISHAQ; FRANCO, 2008) from the National Security Council (CSN), the General Investigations Commission (CGI) and mostly from the National Information and Counter-Information System (SISNI), formed by the SNI, which included information communities from military ministries (Army Information Center - CIE; Aeronautics Information and Security Center - CISA; and the Navy Information Center - CENIMAR), the sectoral information communities of the civil ministries (the Security and Information Divisions - ministerial DSIs; and Security and Information Advisory Services - ASIs, in state, municipalities and foundations), and the State Secretaries of Public Security - SESP and the respective State Departments of Political and Social Order - DEOPS and Municipal Police Divisions - DMPs - and by the Federal Police Department (DP F), under the Ministry of Justice.

Using the National Archives Information System (SIAN) to conduct a free search of the Revealed Memories database portal (Brazilian reference center for information on political repression in the dictatorial period, composed of a national network of information

from 80 public and private entities, among them state and municipal historical archives, libraries, foundations documentation centers, unions, courts and universities) we found 137 records on Professor José Marques de Melo, who was being monitored by the information community and the internal process at the University of São Paulo (USP) for using classroom material deemed to be subversive, for organizing and participating in congresses and on the executive boards of scientific agencies supervised by the military government, for lectures and interviews, and for collaborating with and/or being involved with people investigated or imprisoned for subversive activities.

In terms of documents, there were 96 dossiers from the SNI [this number will be further updated], one from the DSI of the Ministry of Mines and Energy, one from the National Truth Commission (CNV), two from the Intelligence Division Department of the Federal Police, six from the Secretariat of Strategic Affairs for the Presidency of the Republic, nine from CISA, two from the DSI for the Ministry of Justice, one from the ASI of Telecomunicações Brasileiras SA (Telebras), one from the Police and Social Order of Goiás (DOPS/GO), two from the ASI of the University of Brasília (UnB), one from the DSI of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and 15 from the Police and Social Order of Pernambuco (DOPS/PE). With the exception of the administrative process involving Professor Luiz Beltrão (ASI/UnB), the reproduction of the book *O controle ideológico na USP* (CNV), the processes of the General Commission of Summary Investigation for the Municipality of Recife, and the fragments of the Military Police Inquiry of the Superintendence of the Development of the Northeast (Sudene) in 1964 (DOPS/PE), all other documents were obtained from the SNI.

There was a total of 113 dossiers which needed to be filtered. Dossiers containing homonyms, index references, repeated documents, the investigation of Professor Luiz Beltrão (because it contained the name Marques de Melo), and the National Truth Commission document were all excluded. This left us with 69 dossiers and 88 documents. We assessed the material under the scope of a thematic reconstruction of the time and a number of selected biographies. We divided the documents into two groups - Thematic Reconstruction (subdivided into Scientific Agencies; Religious and Communication Agencies; Communication, Journalism and Teaching; and Intercom) and Biography. These were laid out as follows:

## Thematic Reconstruction

### *Scientific Agencies*

YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIER	CONTENT	Nº of PAGES
1975	CIE	University Law Reform	Intellectual Subversion Units in USP departments	6 pages.

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YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIER	CONTENT	Nº of PAGES
1976	SNI Office	28 <sup>th</sup> Annual SBPC Meeting - Brasília	Document 1- Political-ideological description of agency, participants' records and accommodation, and reports of the lectures	71 pages.
			Document 2 - Continuation of previous document and symposium report	71 pages.
			Document 3 - Continuation of the previous document, transcription of texts, and identification of speakers and audience	71 pages.
			Document 4 – Media reports on meeting and position of the agency	28 pages.
1980	CIE	1 <sup>st</sup> Brazilian Education Conference	Panel on Mass Media and Education	62 pages.
1982	PMESP	Scientific Researchers' Association Meeting	Agency's ideological position	9 pages.

*Religious Agencies and Communication*

YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIER	CONTENT	Nº of PAGES
1975	AGO/SNI	Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication - dossier	Directors' records	16 pages.
1980	Command Forces II – 2 <sup>nd</sup> Division	Vergueiro Pastoral Centre (CPV) subversive activities	CPV members promoting socialism and armed conflict	7 pages.
1980	PMESP	Religious movement – April	CNBB, the Pope's visit, Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication lectures (UCBC) and clergy connections to subversive activities	31 pages.
1981	CI-DPF	Bookstores specializing in leftist literature	Vozes e Cortez publisher catalogues	99 pages.

YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIER	CONTENT	N° of PAGES
1981	CISA/COMAR	Religious group activities	IX Brazilian Congress on Social Communication; XIX General Assembly of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB)	84 pages.
1981	DSI/MEC/MJ	Connections to subversive processes	Document 1 – Vergueiro Pastoral Center and International Communist Movement	71 pages.
			Document 2 – Continuation of previous document and Caparaó guerrilla	22 pages.
1981	CISA	Communist infiltration in various sectors	Document 1 – Identifying infiltration members – Vergueiro Pastoral Center	99 pages.
			Document 2 – Soviet Union’s Financial Support of Luis Carlos Prestes and MR-8 meeting with Fidel Castro	10 pages.
1981	ARJ/SNI	X Brazilian Congress on Social Communication – held by the Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication (UCBC) and sponsored by Santa Catarina Federal University (UFSC)	UCBC event preparations program and report	19 pages.
1982	Command Forces II – 2nd Division	XI Brazilian Congress on Social Communication – held by the Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication (UCBC)	Program and media reports	71 pages.
			Media reports and UCBC Special Aid for the program and selling books at the event	40 pages.
1982	CIE	Special Information Report	XI Brazilian Congress on Social Communication: History of the UCBC; Event Preparations, Conclusion and Annexes with organizer commissions and abbreviations	51 pages.

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<b>YEAR</b>	<b>INFORMATION AGENCY</b>	<b>DOSSIER</b>	<b>CONTENT</b>	<b>Nº of PAGES</b>
1982	ASP/SNI	XI Congress on Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication	Organizer commissions and themes and lecture summaries	41 pages.
1982	ASP/ACE	Religious Seminar in São Paulo	Latin-American Seminar on the Church and the New World Information and Communication Order (NOMIC)	10 pages.
1982	ACE/SNI	Latin-American Seminar on the Church and the New World Information and Communication Order (NOMIC)	Approved resolutions	5 pages.
1982	ASP/SNI	Congress on Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication	Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication (UCBC) Meeting on Theology and Communication	55 pages.
1983	ASP/SNI	Religious group activities	1st Pastoral Communication Service Study Group (SEPAC)	38 pages.
1983	ASP/SNI	Communist infiltration activities in various sectors	Election for Head of the Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication	23 pages.
1983	ASP/SNI	Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication – XII Brazilian Congress on Social Communication	1st Pastoral Communication Service Study Group (SEPAC)	38 pages.
1984	ASP/SNI	XIII Congress on Christian Brazilian Union of Social Communication	Document 1 – book: Public Safety: a challenge to communication; Organizer commission, sponsors and program	273 pages.
			Document 2 – Leaflet: The Workers Issue under Debate	8 pages.
			Document 3 – Dynamic – Unimep Pastoral University newsletter	8 pages.
			Document 4 – Commissions, the public, and lecture summaries	26 pages.

YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIER	CONTENT	N° of PAGES
1984	CIE	Special Information Report	XIII Brazilian Congress on Social Communication: Communication, the Church and the State in Latin America	46 pages.
1984	CISA	VIII Congress held by the Latin-American Catholic Press Union (UCLAP)	Record of UCBC Brazilian representatives	6 pages.
1988	140ACT	Bookstore sales of progressive clergy religious publications in Curitiba	Editora Vozes Catalogue	66 pages.
1988	AC/SNI	Major psychosocial events	13 <sup>th</sup> CS Brazilian Congress of the CS Brazilian Christian Union (UCBC)	44 pages.
1989	AC/SNI	Religious publications	Paulinas Editions	61 pages.
			Vozes Library	68 pages.
			Loyola Editions	76 pages.
			Agencies, ministries, etc.	66 pages.
			Additional movements listed in previous documents	66 pages.
			Vergueiro Pastoral Center Expenses and index of people and agencies cited	17 pages.

***Communication, Journalism and Teaching***

YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIÊR	CONTENT	N° of PAGES
1974	AFO/SNI	II Brazilian Congress on Education and Research in Communication held by the Brazilian Association of Education and Research in Communication - Abepec	Agency with leftist elements	60 pages.
1974	ABH/SNI	Brazilian Association of Education and Research in Communication - Abepec	Director report from Belo Horizonte, position and history of association	23 pages.

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YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIÊR	CONTENT	Nº of PAGES
1977	AGO/SNI	Student Movement - II National Meeting of Communication Students (ENECOM)	Teachers who were invited	99 pages.
1978	DCI-SSPRS	Journalism Notebooks	Cover: discussing teaching; interview with José Marques de Melo	99 pages.
1980	AFO/SNI	V Brazilian Congress on Education and Research in Communication	Speakers and Abepec election	6 pages.
1980	DSI-MJ	Analysis of Coojornal negative advertising, 56 <sup>th</sup> issue, August	Review of the book <i>Comunicação e Classes Subalternas</i> (Communication and Subaltern Classes)	33 pages.
1983	ASI - UFSC	IV Latin-American Faculty of Social Communication Meeting, VII Congress of Brazilian Association of Education and Research in Communication (Abepec), and the 1st Ordinary Assembly of the Latin American Federation of Faculties of Social Communication (Felafacs)	Newsletters, participants and presentation of issues	69 pages.
1983	ASP/SNI	Seminar on Information and Democracy	Follow up and summary of event lectures held by ECA/ USP	36 pages.
1983	AC/SNI	SNI: report of detailed account of destroyed documents	Record of deleted dossier from the 4 <sup>th</sup> Week of Journalism Studies held at ECA in 1972	587 pages.
1984	ASP/SNI	Seminar on Workers' Press	Document 1 – Sample of the newspaper <i>A Esquerda</i>	8 pages.
			Document - 3 <sup>rd</sup> and last day of debates. Theme: Needs, perspectives and problems with the Workers' Press in Brazil	14 pages.
			Document 3 – repeat of final part of Document 2	5 pages.



<b>YEAR</b>	<b>INFORMATION AGENCY</b>	<b>DOSSIÊR</b>	<b>CONTENT</b>	<b>N° of PAGES</b>
1984	ASP/SNI	Main psychosocial events in August	Seminar on Workers Press held by ECA/USP	94 pages.
1984	AC/SNI	National Congress on Communication and Information - Concin	Conferences, speakers, debaters and summaries of main lectures and debates	40 pages.
1985	ASP/SNI	Main psychosocial events in August	Document 2 – Election of the National Commission on the Fight for Better Quality Teaching in Journalism (CONEJ)	36 pages.
1985	B8P	Main psychosocial events in April	Creation of the National Commission on the Fight for Better Quality Teaching in Journalism (CONEJ) during the 2nd National Meeting of Journalism Laboratory Agencies (ENOL-CJ)	59 pages.
1987	ACE/SNI	1 <sup>st</sup> International Journalism Meeting	Themes, coordinators, exhibitors and debaters	14 pages.
1987	ASP/SNI	1 <sup>st</sup> International Journalism Meeting	Themes and participants	8 pages.
1987	AC/SNI	Seminar on the Right to Information – the Right to Opinion, held by ECA/USP	Document 1 - Program, workbenches, themes and subthemes, and speakers	66 pages.
			Document 2 – Setting up the Campus Newspaper; Professional level: IBM Seminar – Journalistic Communication and Editorials	66 pages.
			Document 3 – Bibliography on the Right to Information, Right to Opinion	21 pages.
1987	Armed Forces I – 4 <sup>th</sup> DE	IV National Meeting of Journalism Laboratory Agencies - ENOL	Speakers and process records	8 pages.

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YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIÊR	CONTENT	Nº of PAGES
1987	B8P	Main psychosocial events in August	Document 1 – Academic Symposium on the Right to Information, Right to Opinion	66 pages.
			Document 2 – List of people mentioned in previous document	55 pages.

*Intercom*

YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIÊR	CONTENT	Nº of PAGES
1982	ASP/SNI	V Interdisciplinary Study Group in Communication	Program, Intercom management, qualification data and background	10 pages.
1982	ACE/SNI	V Interdisciplinary Study Group in Communication	Program, Intercom management, qualification data and background	8 pages.
1982	ARJ/SNI	Brazilian Society of Interdisciplinary Studies in Communication - INTERCOM	History of the agency and draft for the V Interdisciplinary Study Group in Communication	9 pages.
1983	ASP/SNI	Brazilian Society of Interdisciplinary Studies in Communication (INTERCOM)	Management members elected in 1983/1985 and organization projects and projects in progress	9 pages.
1985	ASP/SNI	VIII Brazilian Society Study Group of Interdisciplinary Studies in Communication - INTERCOM	Event, themes, program publications and themes from previous meetings	70 pages.
1986	B1C/CIE	Congress on Brazilian Society of Interdisciplinary Studies - INTERCOM	Support agencies, parallel events, and congress themes and debaters	14 pages.
1987	AC/SNI	Annual report of PCB activities	Infiltration of PCB in agencies and organizations	66 pages.

## Biography elegy

### *Dossiers and Reports*

YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIER	CONTENT	N° of PAGES
1964	DOPS/PE	Brief Investigation Process of the State Secretary of Education Business and Culture – municipality of Recife	Statements on the Secretary of Education’s Special Inquiry Commission on Miguel Arraes’ government and connections to the Popular Culture Movement	118 pages.
1964	DOPS/PE	Brief Investigation General Commission for the Recife municipal government: Breno Soares Galiza was investigated	Manifest to the Cuban public published in the <i>Jornal do Comércio</i> in October, 1962, reprinted by the Brief Investigation General Commission for the Recife municipal government	93 pages.
1972	CIE	Antonio Guimarães Ferri dossier and others	JMM of the International Organization of Journalists – communist branch	3 pages.
1972	Ministry of Justice – DSI/ MEC	Lead Technician – José Marques de Melo – ECA/ USP	Sample from the Lead Manual, report and statements from the accused, colleagues, and from ECA director to the Commission appointed by the USP rector and the acquittal published in the <i>Diário Oficial</i>	61 pages.
1972	ASP/SNI	Lead Technician – José Marques de Melo – ECA/ USP	USP rector letters, actions taken and attachments, sample from the Lead Manual and letters from the São Paulo/SNI Agency to the Dean	65 pages.
1973	DSI – Ministry of Communications	Padre Anchieta Foundation – concession renewal	File on Antonio Guimarães Ferri and two other agency employees	11 pages.
1973	CISA/RJ	Ana Araujo Arruda Albuquerque	Mass media connected to jailed journalist	20 pages.

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YEAR	INFORMATION AGENCY	DOSSIER	CONTENT	Nº of PAGES
1975	DSI/MJ	Cásper Líbero Faculty of Social Communication– professor dismissals	Document 1 – Communist infiltration and subversive in the faculty of Social Communication	99 pages.
			Document 2 – continuation of previous document	74 pages.
1978	CISA	São Paulo University Radio	People connected to ECA director Antonio Guimarães Ferri	20 pages.
1979	ASP/SNI	Crisis at Cásper Líbero’s Faculty of Social Communication	Professor dismissals and SJSP and SINPRO intervention	6 pages.
1982	ARE/SNI	Edival Freitas da Silva	Dossier and PCB unit on base of operations for student movement in Recife, 1962	8 pages.
1982	CIE	Meeting of the Scientific Researchers Association	Brief curriculum on Professor José Marques de Melo	6 pages.
1986	DOPS/PE	SUDENE takeover	IPM members at SUDENE in 1964	853 pages.
1988	ASP/SNI	Main psychosocial events in December	Election held for new ECA/ USP director	66 pages.
1989	ASP/SNI	Political activities in the state of São Paulo	Endorsing manifest supporting Roberto Freire, PCB presidential candidate	13 pages.
1989	PMESP	José Marques de Melo’s activities	Election held for new director of the School of Communication and Arts, University of São Paulo (ECA/USP)	7 pages.

SISNI’s *modus operandi* for the formulation and circulation of dossiers and medical records was systematized in the “Information Operations Manual” from the National School of Information (EsNI) - an institution created in 1971, run by the head of the SNI, for civilians and military personnel to further their knowledge in the fields of information - and the “Basic Manual” of the Superior War College. The first manual mentioned here lays out the procedures for collecting and searching for information. The collection phase includes checking community information files or other easily accessible sources, such as registers and operational records. The search for information is divided into an observable

stage, which follows events such as congresses, symposiums, assemblies and class meetings, and a confidential stage, which involves individual surveillance and acquiring protected confidential documents. Surveys and military police investigations (IPMs) are two examples of this.

The circuit of information, as detailed in the ESG manual, is a mix between espionage and government policy, between joint efforts and circular work. Planning shaped how information was processed. When using the material, we fed the data into the next phase, which provides guidelines for the policies in the National Strategic Concept, and the planning agencies, resulting in new searches and collections (ESCOLA SUPERIOR..., 1975, p. 497-498). Feeding this data into the next phase was also a question of survival: “Continually ‘feeding’ the information systems with new data on old cases was a way to show how important the information agencies are, and how observant they are of the evolution of problems” (FICO, 2001, p. 104).

## **Thematic Reconstruction**

5,000 Military Police Investigations (IPMs) were conducted during the first five years of the military regime to investigate acts of subversion across the country. These acts involved 40 thousand people. One such investigation, that of the Brazilian Communist Party, led to 889 people being charged. The investigations conducted by the military focused on specific administrative institutions (ministries, departments, institutes, administrations, universities, colleges, scientific agencies, students and unions, companies), general institutions such as the Communist Press, and conceptual ones like the *História Nova do Brasil* (the New History of Brazil), which is about the idea of critical historical re-reading proposed in the homonymous book collection launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) in January 1964. The military identified opponents to the dictatorship as academic, scientific, cultural, student, media and religious institutions and mediums.

An assessment of Brazilian internal security (conducted by the National Security Council in July 1968) placed artists, intellectuals, scientists, academics, students, clerics and the media on their subversion agenda. Instead of commending militarism, the press (influenced by significant subversive infiltration) criticizes and demoralizes it and gives a voice to those who are persecuted and exiled. The progressive clergy, operating within religious circles and the Second Vatican Council, assume demands from popular segments and advocate for social reforms. Intellectuals and artists lead street demonstrations (like the March of the One Hundred Thousand) and incite widespread opposition. University and high school students confront the government and seize power, supported by the omission, collusion and consent of deans, directors and teacher staff.

In terms of the academic community, the National Truth Commission contacted 800,000 researchers in the 21 years of the military regime, including a survey by the Brazilian Institute of Information in Science and Technology (IBICT) of 471 scientists who, at that

time, were investigated by IPMs, imprisoned, exiled, murdered, disappeared, censored or forced to retire. These scientists came from the University of Brasília, University of São Paulo, the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). There was also the dismissal and persecution of the political rights of ten scientists from the Oswaldo Cruz Institute in 1970, an event known as “Massacre de Manguinhos” (the Manguinho’s Massacre).

### **Scientific, religious and communication institutions and the information community**

The documents we studied demonstrate the military regime’s concern with the scientific, religious, communication and academic institutions. The academic environment was in opposition to the military regime’s educational policies, such as the University Reform implemented in 1968, which received technical assistance from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) yet did not consult with academic and student bodies. In the case of the USP and its departments of Applied Social Sciences, Geography, Social Sciences, History, Philosophy, Letters and the School of Communications and Arts, considered to be units of intellectual subversion which share a didactic autonomy, promoted political proselytism in the classroom and won over students and directed research and work through a Marxist-Leninist doctrine and literature.

The 28<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the Brazilian Society for Progress in Science in 1976 was classified as a group of disconcerted scientists and intellectuals who mobilized a group of upset students with the intent to rebel. The SNI central agency supported lectures by sociologist Florestan Fernandes (“Sociology in Brazil: trends and conditions in its current development”) and historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (“Historical Studies in Brazil”) denouncing the restrictions placed on research from 1964, particularly in the field of Political Science; the submission of scientific work to North American companies; the persecution of university students; cultural terrorism; the marginalization of science. These two intellectuals supported the release of political prisoners, the reinstatement of dismissed teachers and putting an end to having to pledge to a particular ideology when entering public service and to the ideological screening conducted for prospective teachers.

The Association of Scientific Researchers of the State of São Paulo (APqC), an entity for monitoring the careers of scientific researchers created by the Government of the State of São Paulo in 1975, was classified as socialist because it was predisposed to popularize scientific knowledge and raise awareness among the general public of the need for social justice. Similar classifications were submitted to motions from the 1<sup>st</sup> Brazilian Conference on Education for the removal of the disciplines of Moral and Civic Education, Brazilian Social and Political Organization (OSPB) and Study of Brazilian Problems (EPB), the dismantling of ASIs and DSIs of municipalities, universities and ministries, support for the ABC metallurgists’ strike in the city of São Paulo, and the rejection of interventions in unions.

Although a significant part of the Catholic bishops' summit was in support of removing President João Goulart, who participated in the Family March with God for Freedom and subscribed to the new government in a letter from the National Conference of Bishops in Brazil (CNBB) published in May 1964, the Brazilian Catholic Church was opposed to the dictatorship based on its alignment with social and popular issues prioritized by the Second Vatican Council, which ended in 1965, and the "option of the poor" defined in the 2nd General Conference of Latin American Bishops, held in 1968 in Medellín, Colombia.

Represented by social activism from the Catholic University and Student Youth, Ecclesial Base Communities (CEBS), Priests of the Earth and Working Class of the CNBB, Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI), Justice and Peace Commissions of the Archdioceses, and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights for Countries of the Southern Cone (CLAMOR), the religious institution had an agricultural problem: the invasion of indigenous lands and land distribution. 80% of the land was owned by 13% of the estates, which left 13% of the land to be distributed between the remaining 71% of smallholdings (COMBLIN, 1978, p. 93); income inequality: 56% of Brazilian wage earners earned a maximum of minimum wage, and 19% earned about two minimum wages (ALVES, 1989); and disrespect for human rights: set out in research conducted since 1979 by the Archdiocese of São Paulo and the World Council of Churches, published in the 1985 book *Brasil: Nunca Mais*.

A prime example of converging scholars, science, religion, communication, and the information community were the XI Brazilian Congress of Social Communication in 1982, held by the Brazilian Christian Union of Social Communication (UCBC) with the support of CNBB, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco), and Amnesty International. The UCBC's previous events focused on *Social Communication and Education* (1970), *Regional Communication and Popular Culture* (1972), *Popular Communication and Region in Brazil* (1974), *Social Non-communication* (1975), *Mass Communication and the Decharacterization of Brazilian Culture* (1976), *Communication and Participation of Small Groups* (1977), *Communication and Critical Awareness* (1978), *Communication and Ideology* (1979), *Communication and Popular Culture* (1980) and *Communication, Youth, and Participation* (1981).

The UCBC (created in 1969 to develop a nondenominational perspective of communication) defined Human Rights as the central theme for its 11th event, inviting those who had been recently persecuted, exiled or banned by the military regime for round tables and lectures. Among the invitees were communist leader Luís Carlos Prestes; journalist Flávio Tavares; sociologist Herbert José de Souza; exponents of Liberation Theology Betto and Leonardo Boff; Pedro Casaldáliga, the priest of Araguaia; and Amnesty International representatives from Latin America. The Archbishop of São Paulo, Paulo Evaristo Arns headed the event (he documented the tortures, deaths and disappearances of political opponents and compiled these documents as the basis for two publications: *Dossiê dos Mortos e Desaparecidos Políticos a Partir de 1964* and *Brasil: Nunca Mais*). The event opened with a name card which was placed on an empty chair with the word "Missing" written on it.



The meeting at the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUCSP), composed of four conferences, 19 discussion tables, 39 panels, 60 panelists, 250 exhibitors and 2,500 participants, joined together teams from SNI, DOPS and the “Operação Olho Vivo” (Operation Keen Eye) from the II-Armed Forces, which followed up on allegations of torture and death in the São Paulo divisions of Operations and Information Deployment and the Internal Defense Operation Center (DOI-CODI). The military agents alleged in their report that the event was a gathering of the subversive leaders of communication and clergy to propose economic, social and political reforms according to socialist views, and to implement a new order of communication to get rid of the poor.

### **Communication, Journalism and Intercom**

The aforementioned new order of communication related to the New World Information and Communication Order (NOMIC), a proposal prepared by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems instituted in 1976 at the 19<sup>th</sup> General UNESCO Conference and summarized in the work *Voix multiples, un seul monde*, published in 1980. It proposed to resolve the disparities and inequalities of the dominant model of media conglomerates, and to validate national identity, denounce the unjustified violation of the freedom of the press, call for a democratic political order as a tenet for the access to information, and defend all human rights, individual and collective, as an essential responsibility of the media.

The NOMIC led the discussions in Communication in the 1980s. It was debated at the Latin American Seminar on the Church and the New World Information and Communication Order, a preparatory event for the 11<sup>th</sup> UCBC congress, it was the main theme at the *National Communication Policies and Teaching Communication in Latin America* - and it was a thesis entitled *A posição possível ante uma nova ordem da informação e da comunicação* (The possible position in a new information and communication order) presented at the IV Latin American Meeting of Faculties of Social Communication, the VII Congress of the Brazilian Association of Education and Research in Communication (Abepec), the 1<sup>st</sup> Ordinary Assembly of the Latin American Federation of Faculties of Social Communication (Felafacs) in 1983, and it was a reference to the main theme *Comunicação para o Desenvolvimento* (Communication for Development) and the round tables “*Construindo uma nova ordem da Comunicação: papel das políticas nacionais de comunicação e informação*” (Building a new Communication order: the role of national communication and information policies) and “*A Pesquisa em Comunicação nos anos 80: temáticas hegemônicas e emergentes*” (Research in Communication in the 1980s: hegemonic and emerging themes), in Interco’s IX Course on Interdisciplinary Studies carried out in 1986.

In a 1984 memo distributed to branch offices by the Chief Minister’s Office of the SNI, NOMIC was to be considered a communist-inspired project implemented by Unesco



for the purpose of globally controlling the media and serving a Marxist ideology. It was implicated as a development of the International Communist Movement. This movement was officially represented in Brazil by the PCB, a Soviet cell which had penetrated union, student, religious, social, cultural and literary organizations and agencies such as the Forum for Debating on Union and Popular Issues; the Cultural Memory Center, the Brazilian Peace Movement; the International Association Against Torture; the Constitutional Movement; the Historical Archives of the Brazilian Workers' Movement; the Paranaense Research Institute and the Brazilian Society for Interdisciplinary Communication Studies (Figure 1).

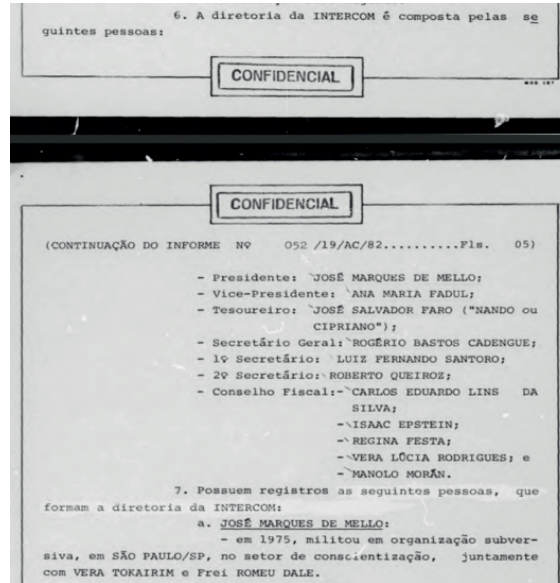
Intercom (founded by and led by Professor José Marques de Melo - Figure 2) was a member of the International Organization of Journalists - integrated with the international communist front, it was a founding partner of the left-wing Brazilian Association of Education and Research in Communication (Abepec) - conceived during the IV Week of Journalism Studies in 1972 at ECA, it was involved in raising awareness of subversive activities at the Vergueiro Pastoral Center - under the Archbishop of São Paulo and supporter of social movements in the suburbs of São Paulo - and dealt with individual medical records through the information community in the instances detailed below.

**Figure 1** – Intercom: PCB organization

CONFIDENCIAL			
ANEXO			
ORGANIZAÇÕES DE FRENTE DO PCB			
ORGANIZAÇÕES	ESTADO	TOTAL POR ESTADO	OBS
Instituto Astrogildo Pereira (IAP)	SP		
União Cultural Brasil-URSS (UCBU)	SP		
Centro de Memória Sindical	SP		
Associação Brasileira de Solidariedade ao Povo Mocambicano (ABRASSO)	SP		
Associação Cultural José Martí	SP		
Conselho Paulista de Defesa da Paz (CPDP)	SP		
Associação Cultural Bertoldt Brech	SP		
Associação Brasileira de Cultura	SP	17	
Sociedade Brasileira de Estudos Interdisciplinares de Comunicação (INTERCOM)	SP		
Empresa Gráfica Hoje	SP		
Livraria Técnico-Científica Ltda	SP		
Editora Novos Rumos	SP		
Editora Correio Sindical	SP		
Centro Cultural Oduvaldo Viana Filho	SP		
Editora Caetés Ltda	SP		
Empresa Tropic Representações Ltda	SP		
Movimento Pacifista Brasileiro (MPB)	SP		

Source: SNI File – National Archives.

Figure 2 – JMM: subversive activities



Source: SNI File – National Archives.

## Biography elegy

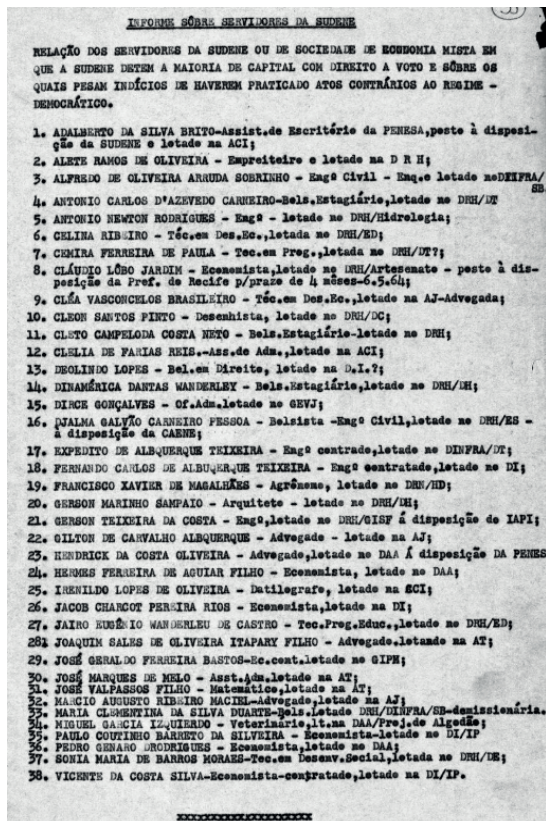
José Marques de Melo joined the Department for the Development of the Northeast in 1962 while studying law in the mornings at the Federal University of Pernambuco and journalism at nights at the Catholic University of Pernambuco. Under the request of Governor Miguel Arraes (dismissed from office by the military coup, arrested, and impeached under Institutional Act No. 1, April 9, 1964) he worked as head of the State Secretariat for Education and Cultural Affairs, nearing the Popular Culture Movement (MCP), an agency on the IPES list of subversive movements. Working for the Sudene and Arraes governments, together with his participation in student activist movements and financing manifestos published in the press, would lead to Marques de Melo's name being indexed in reports from the information community.

He would appear in several records from the General Commission of Summary Investigation for the Municipality of Recife as a university student who had signed the "Manifesto ao Povo", published in October 1962 in the *Jornal do Comercio*. By signing this manifesto, he was basically pledging solidarity to the Cuban nation, a country that, at the time, was under a lot of tension due to the possible outbreak of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union and the Russian ballistic missiles that were installed in its land. The manifesto demanded the Brazilian government uphold world peace and to take a non-interventionist stance against the U.S. threat to invade Cuba and remove Fidel

Castro. In a statement given in August 1964, we were indicted for being a member of the Pernambuco section of the Brazilian Communist Party and an organizer for the PCB camp in the university.

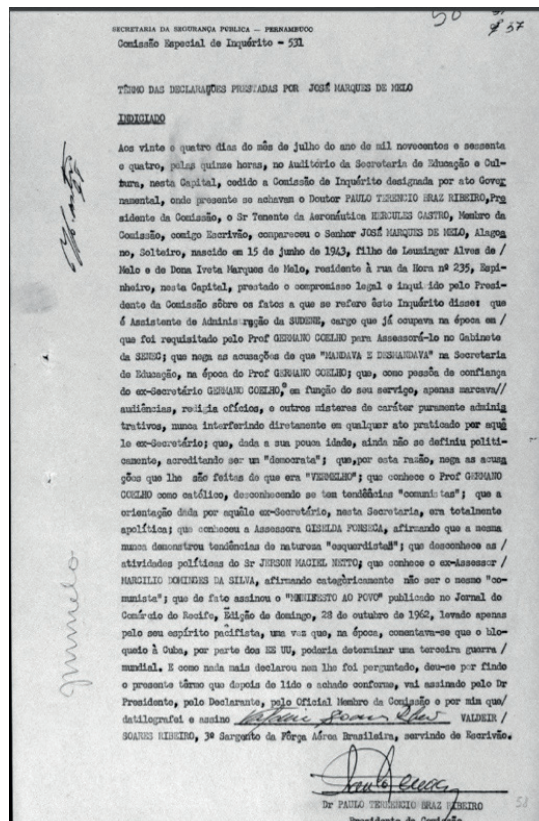
Before the Special Inquiry Commission of the State Secretariat for Education and Culture (Figure 3), a military commission formed to investigate the portfolio and the links with the Popular Culture Movement during the Miguel Arraes administration, Marques de Melo denied the “communist” label which was attributed to the group of advisers for secretary Germano Coelho (one of the founders and first president of the MCP, created in 1960 in Arraes’s first administration in the city of Recife) which he was a part of from February to October 1963. At 21 years of age, he was still too young to adhere to one political-ideological position, and he referred to himself as a democrat and a pacifist, which is why he supported the “Manifesto ao Povo”.<sup>1</sup>

Figure 3 – Secretary of Education Inquiry



Source: DOPS/PE File – National Archives.

Figure 4 – Potential Sudene Subversives



Source: DOPS/PE File – National Archives.

1 Indirect statement found on page 58 of the “Processo de Investigação Sumária na Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Educação e Cultura do município do Recife” - DOPS/PE File – BR\_PEAPEJE\_DPE\_PRT\_FUN\_0\_00793\_d0001de0001.pdf.

In Sudene's Military Police Inquiry, completed in October 1964, José Marques de Melo, at the time an administrative assistant in the advertising and publishing sector in the Technical Advisory, appeared on the "List of Sudene employees or mixed economy society in which Sudene holds the majority of the capital with the right to vote, which show signs of having practiced acts contrary to the democratic regime" (Figure 4). However, he was included in the group of employees suspected of resisting the "revolution", what they called the B Group: the "Employees who, although there is strong suspicion of having committed a crime, have not been penalized due to a lack of solid evidence". He was not included in the A Group: "Employees who have been criminally charged by the IPM"<sup>2</sup>.

Due to harassment at work, Marques de Melo moved to São Paulo. He arrived in the capital of São Paulo in 1966 where, after a few stints working in print, he decided to focus on teaching. He was hired to teach *Communication Theory and Research* at the Cásper Líbero Faculty of Social Communication and the *Introduction to Journalism* course at the School of Communications and Arts (ECA), University of São Paulo. As director of the ECA's Department of Journalism and Publishing, and organizer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Week of Journalism Studies, his invitation sent to the Minister of Justice, Alfredo Buzaid, to speak at the "Censorship and Freedom of the Press" event was covered at ASI University. Two years later, in 1972, Professor José Marques de Melo had his own file at SISNI due to the launch of the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of his booklet "Lead Technician", used in classrooms and for sale at the ECA Book Shop.

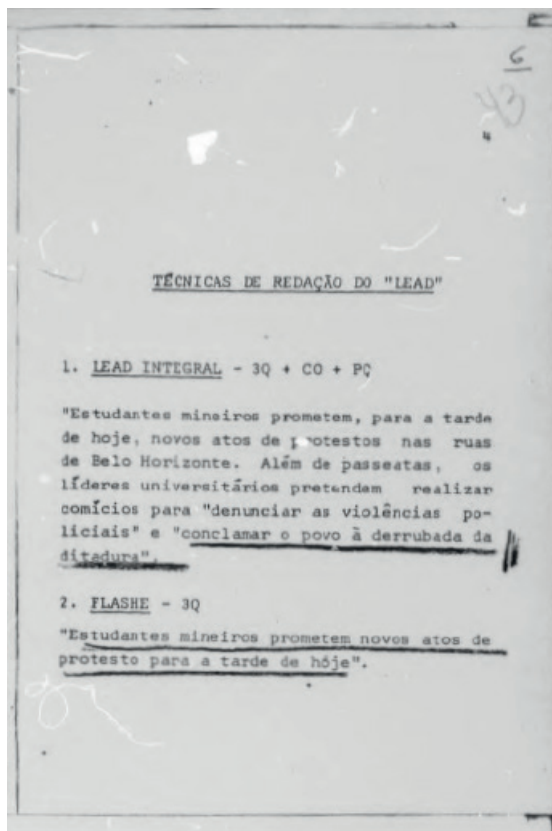
There was a total of 500 copies of this 20-page booklet, written in 1968, which was circulated among students of "Informative Journalism" and "Business Journalism". It contained the chapters *Lead Writing*, *Types of Lead* and *Valuing the main angle of the Lead*, most of which was based on material on the murder of student Edson Luís Lima Souto at the Calabouço student restaurant, in downtown Rio de Janeiro (Figure 6). This event sparked student demonstrations against the military regime throughout 1968 and led to labelling the Costa and Silva government as a dictatorship (Figure 5), claiming the DOPS was responsible for the student's death (Figure 8) and leading to the murder of former ally and civilian artisan of the 1964 coup, Carlos Lacerda, the former governor of Guanabara and organizer of the Frente Amplio re-democratization movement who was persecuted and arrested by AI-5 (Figure 7).

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2 References cited are from pages 77 to 79 of the dossier "Posse na Sudene" - DOPS/PE File -BR\_PEAPEJE\_DPE\_PRT\_FUN\_0\_08376\_d0001de0001.pdf.

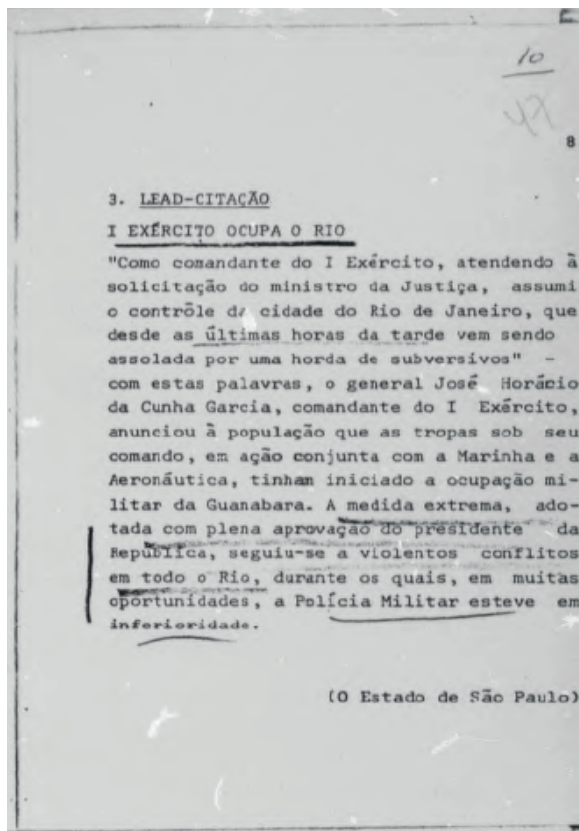


Figure 5 – Overthrow the dictatorship



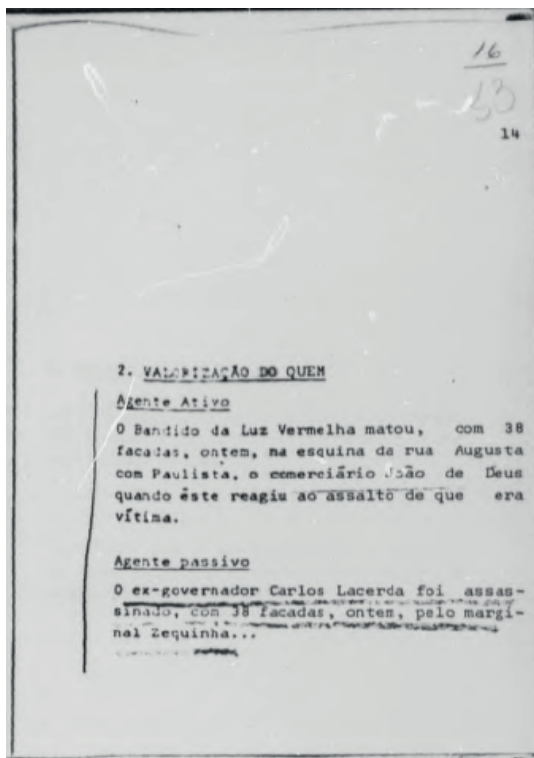
Source: SNI File – National Archives.

Figure 6 – President's full approval



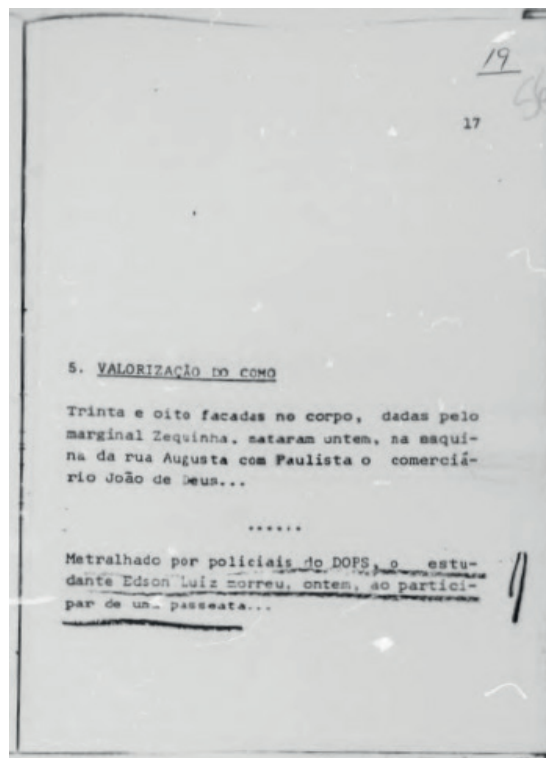
Source: SNI File – National Archives.

Figure 7 – Carlos Lacerda murdered



Source: SNI File – National Archives.

Figure 8 –DOPS police shoot student



Source: SNI File – National Archives.

The republication of de Melo's material led to a summary trial, initiated at the request of Dean Miguel Reale (an ideologist and one of the founders of the fascist organization Ação Integralista Brasileira (AIB) in 1932) under Decree-Law nº 477 of February 26, 1969 on the grounds of disciplinary offenses committed in public or private schools. The USP commission, chaired by the former dean of the University of Brasilia between 1965-1967 and director of the Faculty of Education at USP, Laerte Ramos de Carvalho, asked the DOPS and the São Paulo SNI agency for data on the respondent while also collecting statements from the ECA director, nine professors, and the department secretary. All deponents stated that the accused was unaware of the political-ideological position and highlighted his dedication to the department created in 1968, his effort to make the journalism course a national reference, and his thoughtfulness and impartial nature when handling conflicts, so much so that he even upset those students who stood in direct opposition to the military government in publications and events promoted on department grounds.

The commission, however, disregarded the statements of de Melo's colleagues and dismissed and prohibited him from teaching for five years in any educational establishment in the country, as is the punishment for anyone who violates items IV (the coordination, producing, printing, distribution or being in possession of subversive material of any

nature) and VI (the use or storage of material for the purposes of subversion or to practice any act contrary to morals or public order on school premises) of article 1 (a teacher, student, official or employee of a public or private education establishment who commits a disciplinary offense...) of Decree-Law No. 477. The ECA's director, Antonio Guimarães Ferri, was in opposition to the commission and requested an acquittal which was approved in September by Minister of Justice, Jarbas Passarinho. Expired in April 1974 the renewal for three years of the contract for organizing the *Technique and Practice of Newspapers and Periodicals*, the USP rector, pressured by the II-Armed Forces Command, dismissed Marques de Melo in October.

Three years after his leaflet on *lead* techniques and not even 12 months after being dismissed from USP, Marques de Melo was once again under suspicion of espionage. Directors of the journalism course at Cásper Líbero Faculty had dismissed nine teachers for indiscipline and insubordination at the end of July 1975. Among these teachers was founding partner and director of the far-right Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) and four founders and writers of the traditionalist magazine *Hora Presente*, launched in 1968 to draw attention to divergence from Catholic doctrine misrepresented by the progressive Church in collaboration with the integralist, proponent, and advisor of AI-5, the former Minister of Justice (1969-1974) Alfredo Buzaid. The reason for opposing the information community and the DSI's distribution of the report "Communist and subversive infiltration at Casper Líbero Faculty of Communication/São Paulo", which included José Marques de Melo's name was:

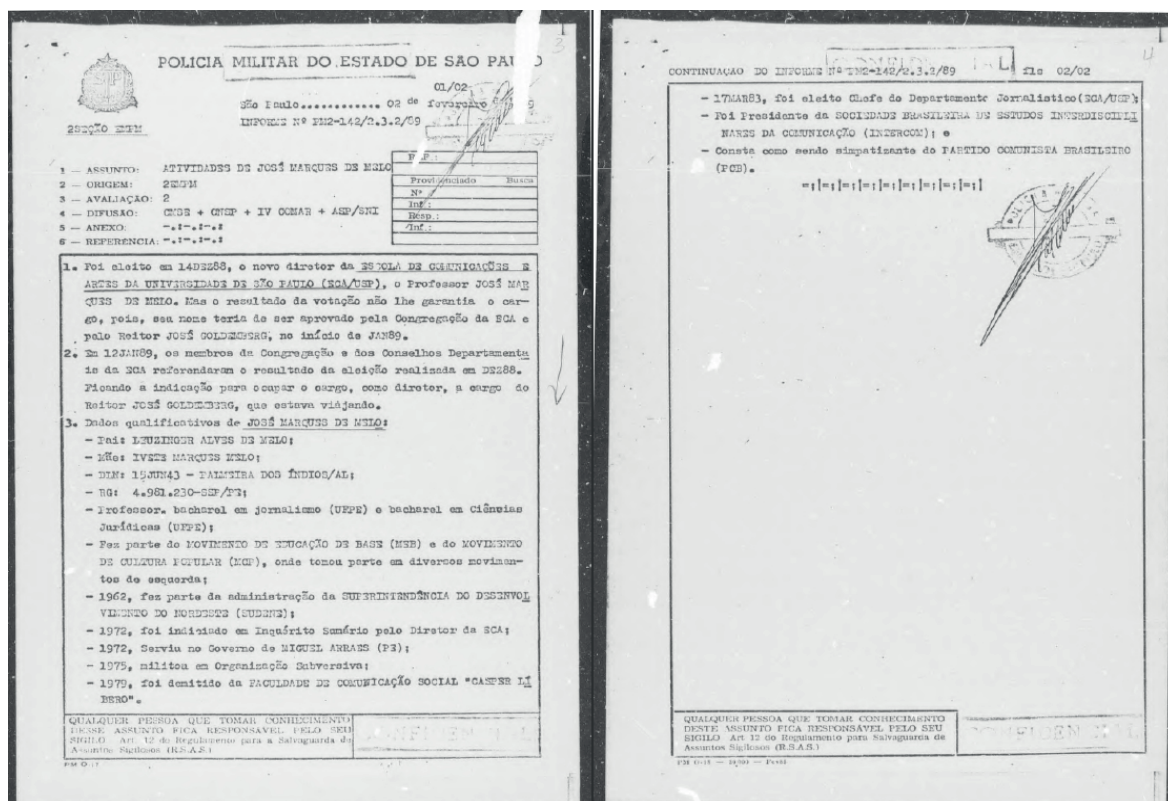
Thus, in order to end the improper conduct of two professor from the Faculty [...], former Director CLOVIS LEMA GARCIA [one of the dismissed] was forced to dismiss them from their teaching duties. This measure led JOSÉ MARQUES DE MELO, professor of "Scientific Foundations of Communication" at the time, (he was well-known in university circles, mainly the University of São Paulo's School of Communications and Arts, where he was ultimately dismissed under allegations of being an agitator and contestant of the Revolution) to cooperate with those two former professors, the first of whom, [...] a self-stated apologist of homosexuality, the Faculty had hired under recommendation by JOSE MARQUES DE MELO<sup>3</sup>.

The last dossier on José Marques de Melo was from the secret service of the Military Police of the State of São Paulo in 1989, when he was director of the ECA reinstated to USP in 1979 under the Amnesty Law and pressure from colleagues in a petition for the re-admission of professors who were on leave as a direct and indirect consequence of the Institutional and Complementary Acts. There are two pages (Figure 9) which summarize the

<sup>3</sup> Document 1 from the dossier "Faculdade de Comunicação Social Casper Líbero", pages 17 and 18. BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC. AAA.75095720 –SNI File.

activities for which Marques de Melo was being monitored by the information community since 1964: having participated in the Basic Education Movement (MEB) and Popular Culture Movement in Pernambuco as a member of the Miguel Arraes state government working at Sudene; indicted in an administrative proceeding at the ECA because of his “Lead Technique” handout; being an activist in the subversive organization Vergueiro Pastoral Center; being involved in the ongoing at Cásper Líbero; having returned to USP and subsequently elected head of the Journalism Department; supporting the PCB and the chair person at Intercom.

**Figure 9** – The last dossier on José Marques de Melo written by the information community



Source: SNI File – National Archives.

## Final Considerations

Whether in the communication institutions he developed or chaired (UCBC, Abepec and Intercom) or in the academic world of congresses and events held by scientific and religious associations and societies monitored by the information sectors, the documented journey of professor José Marques de Melo in the military dictatorship’s archives extends throughout the pivotal and inescapable issues of that time, even under Castro’s regime: internal



and external policies, educational and scientific policies in the wake of American approval; National Security Doctrine and Ideology used for institutionalizing torture and physically removing opponents by state repression; mass communication, media concentration, thematic restraint, lack of characterization of national culture, permissiveness with arbitration and disregard for freedom of expression and information, and the right to citizenship.

Marques de Melo was categorized in the information community because he was a proponent and defended against the institutional restrictions on the media's freedom of expression and because he took it upon himself to speak at an academic event held on censorship of the press and political persecution. Also because he spoke in his classrooms about the illusion of democracy which the military was portraying, recorded by the symbolic and effective degradations of even those who had brought about the sedition in 1964, in the case of ex-governor Carlos Lacerda, repression of all contesting manifestations to the military regime, especially the students, and to have in the repressive apparatus, DOPS and the like, the main way of dialogue with society.

Thus, studying the collection of 137 military regime documents in the National Archives in which Professor José Marques de Melo was mentioned enabled us to carry out a thematic reconstruction of the 1970s and 1980s, looking at similarities between the altercations and events of that time and those of contemporary times - from the resurrection of the international communist movement to praises of arbitrariness. We were also able to understand how an individual's biography can be recorded by the information community. After all, being considered leftist and subversive by a dictatorial, regressive and untrustworthy regime is, in biographical terms, commending anyone who, through individual actions and collective insertions, is opposed to it.

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- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.EEE.82013129 - xi congresso da união cristã brasileira de comunicação social. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.EEE.84016567 - xiii congresso brasileiro de comunicação social ucbc. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.EEE.83014853 - sociedade brasileira de estudos interdisciplinares da comunicação intercom. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.EEE.87019535 - simposio direito a informação, direito a opinião. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.EEE.81009582 - tecnica do lead. escola de comunicações e artes da usp. jose marques de melo. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.EEE.85017504 - viii ciclo de estudos da sociedade brasileira de estudos interdisciplinares da comunicação, intercom. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.AAA.84045578 - congresso nacional de comunicação e informação, concin. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.EEE.80003358 - movimento religioso periodo relativo a abril 80. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.AAA.86059052 - xiii congresso brasileiro de comunicação social. se121 ac. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.NNN.83004560 - iv encontro latino americano de faculdades de comunicação social e vii congresso da abepec. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.OOO.87013037 - iv encontro nacional de órgãos laboratoriais de jornalismo, enol, ss14 abh. - Dossiê
- BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.QQQ.82001110 - ii congresso brasileiro de ensino e pesquisa da comunicação 3.5.3. associação brasileira de ensino e pesquisa da comunicação abepec 3.5.3. - Dossiê

BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.RRR.82003777 - união cristã brasileira de comunicação social. - Dossiê  
BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.EEE.82012510 - associação de seminários teológicos evangelicos. - Dossiê  
BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.III.82003952 – edival freitas da silva. - Dossiê  
BR DFANBSB V8.TXT, AGR.DNF.178 - serviço nacional de informações: relatório discriminado (revalidação da massa d menos - 2a fase) de documentos destruídos, conforme termos de destruição n. 17 (não controlado) e 19 (controlado). doc - Dossiê  
BR DFANBSB V8.MIC, GNC.AAA.84042284 - propaganda adversa. atividades da nova ordem mundial de informação e comunicação, nomic. - Dossiê.

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