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TEXTS AND IMAGES ABOUT THE 1964 COUP AND THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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Abstract: This text investigates sensitive issues in school historical knowledge, through the analysis of didactic narratives (texts and images), in school history books, approved by the National Textbook Program, in the 2018 Notice, in use in Brazilian schools. For this purpose, didactic narratives about the 1964 Military Coup and its political and social consequences in Brazil are selected, based on the analysis of three didactic collections: History, Global History and History Workshop, aimed at High School, with the aim of focus on problematizing the historicity of this theme in materials for school use. Concepts from the field of historiography such as Narrative, Memory, Forgetting and History are mobilized in understanding the construction of didactic narrative and the field of education, dialogue is held with the perspective of the history of curricula and school subjects to understand the purposes educational issues, social disputes, around the shaping of school history.

Keywords: History Teaching; Didactic narratives; 1964 coup; Brazilian Military Dictatorship

INTRODUCTION

There are historical dates in the calendar of national events that are not suitable for celebrations, but which serve, above all, to reflect on their meaning and repercussion on the country's history. One of these dates is March 31, 1964, alluding to the civil-military coup that ousted President João Goulart and established a dictatorship in Brazil, which lasted 21 years (1964-1985) (Ricardo Oriá, 2007, p. 73).

The 1964 Coup is a historical event that has generated many controversies in Brazilian collective memory in recent years, because for a portion of the population the

dictatorial experience that began shortly after the overthrow of President João Goulart represented a major political, social, economic and cultural development in the course of the country's development, for another part of society, the presence of the military in command of the executive power, the absence of elections, among other arbitrary acts committed in the name of "maintaining order", were not that harmful. However, it is impossible not to note that this event altered Brazilian institutional normality, with the imposition of an authoritarian regime for twenty-one years.¹

The celebrations, or reflections, that marked the year 2014, 50 years after this traumatic event, pointed to the way in which the question of time related to the past of History and the present of that memory. We observed that right-wing extremist groups began to occupy the public scene, aiming to reframe the memory of the coup, by trying to construct a fantasy vision of reality, using media and social networks intensively.

In a way, this social environment led to the resurgence of violence and significantly affected the school institution, the teacher's practice, but it also affected the University and scientific thought, that is, knowledge and practices anchored in Science began to be denied, with the aim of delegitimizing knowledge construction processes.

The motivation for selecting didactic narratives in History books comes from our concern as a teacher and researcher in the field of history teaching, which notes a dispute surrounding the 1964 Coup as a historical event and the difficulties of basic education teachers in teaching certain themes considered sensitive or traumatic, understood as controversial subjects, because they are full of emotions, values and political interests.

1. The Military Coup in 1964 and its political and social consequences have been analyzed by different researchers, but not only these, as it is a subject that has gained significant space in the Brazilian press in recent years (FICO, 2014; 2020; MOTTA, 2020; VIEIRA, 2020).

We aim to contribute to the understanding of social representations and established values of a recent Brazilian past, in social dispute, seeking to instigate debate regarding the social roles of History teachers and also historians in the process of publishing historical knowledge to a wider public. Given this situation, we ask: What memories are in dispute about the 1964 Coup today? How is historical knowledge related to these memories? What conception of Democracy was blocked by the dictatorship? What is the role of didactic narratives in producing consensus around a critical view of this period in Brazilian History?

We know that such questions are challenging due to the degree of complexity of each of them, but they still need to be faced, as they directly or indirectly affect the actions of History professionals, regardless of their place of work. The documentary sources for this investigation are school history books, approved by the National Textbook Program, in the 2018 Notice.² For this purpose, didactic narratives were selected³ about the 1964 Military Coup and its political and social consequences, in Brazil, based on the analysis of three didactic collections: History, Global History and History Workshop, aimed at High School, with a focus on problematizing the historicity of such a topic in materials for school use. Concepts from the field of historiography such as Narrative, Memory, Forgetting and History are mobilized in understanding the construction of didactic narrative and the field of education, dialogue is held with the perspective of the history of curricula and

² This material is produced by many hands. It must be considered that there is an author endorsed in the academy due to his specialist title, but there are also didactic and pedagogical teams in publishers who are concerned with presenting didactic propositions in accordance with the educational and social purposes of education. Particularly, when it comes to visual presentation, there are teams of designers who create graphic projects. In addition to the selection of images, bibliographies and other complementary materials. All these elements make up the didactic narrative and give meaning to the temporal unit, classified as a chapter.

³ We understand historical didactic narratives as a set of discursive acts, engendered in a plot with the purpose of forming a thought about social and historical events. It is a language that produces a certain meaning in understanding the social environment. Our references are Paul Ricouer and Paul Veyne, in their studies on the construction of historical narratives.

school subjects to understand the purposes educational issues, social disputes, around the formation of school history, also analyzing the theoretical-methodological assumptions guiding the production of textbooks and their connections with the methodology of History, its teaching and learning.

WHAT STORIES ABOUT THE 1964 COUP AND THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY DICTATORSHIP DO TEXTBOOKS INTEND TO TELL?

Historical phenomena are complex. There are no simple facts. Good historical understanding is not comfortable, appeasing: it does not equate the past or give us definitive answers, but it makes us think (Carlos Fico, 2014, p. 8).

A first exercise to be carried out is to problematize a very consensual meaning in the collective memory that the 1964 Coup in Brazil was carried out without resistance from different social sectors and violence. For Carlos Fico, some themes about Brazil are marked by mythical visions, whose objective is to erase the various types of violence committed, such as arrests without warrants, violent interrogations, torture, among other arbitrary acts, highlighting that “the thesis of a coup aseptic and banal is related to the persistence of the myth of bloodless history and corroborates the reading according to which there would have been no torture in the first years of the military regime” (2014, p. 60-65). Fico, in his analysis of the 1964 Coup, clearly positions himself against “the appeasing vision” spread in the mass media and social media that in Brazil “there would

have been a 'dicta branda'.⁴

We know that in times of "crises of values" and "paradigms", collective memory is intensely disputed, due to its symbolic and consensual potential, becoming a privileged place for the analysis of the historian, who seeks to understand the relationship between present of this memory and the past, in the projection of a future of this past. In this direction, Rodrigo Patto (2020), when opposing denialist views regarding the 1964 Coup and the Brazilian dictatorship argues that the coup character of 1964 is expressed in the violent and disruptive action of overthrowing President João Goulart, even though this action was not just an initiative of the military.

The public positions of historian Marco Antônio Villa on the Brazilian dictatorship were also the subject of analysis by Caroline S. Bauer and Fernando F. Nicolazzi (2016)⁵, highlighting the "uses" that Villa makes of history and in which political environment such appropriations are anchored, drawing attention to the inseparability between thinking about the practice of history and its social purpose and the action of the subject who constructs it, or "the very social function performed by him". In this context, they argue that Villa's intervention,

(...) it can be thought of as something motivated by impasses and conflicts surrounding the memory of recent events in Brazil; His position falls within the scope of the memoirist vogue that, in recent years, has brought to political discussion in the country the question of what to do with the past, with memory and with Brazilian history in the second half of the 20th century. His writing of history, as well as his media performance, are also forms of public and, therefore, political use of the past. As such, it must be considered

equally in its performative character: it is another bid between the players who play in these clashes that are battles for memory (BAUER; NICOLAZZI, 2016, p. 831).

If historians have been faced with countless challenges in their work, in the field of taught history it has not been very different for history teachers who have faced questions about their work on a daily basis, often being asked about the stories narrated in their work. classes, with questions from students and even their families, due to a past that has repeatedly been questioned in the light of new social demands and even denialist views; these are clearly fueled by the problem of memory and political uses of the past.

The story about the 1964 Coup, as well as the Brazilian military dictatorship, is part of the basic education curriculum, at two moments in the students' formative journey. Generally, in the last year of elementary school (9th year) and also in high school, History teachers organize their classes using the textbook for that subject area as a reference in the synthesis of content, supplementing (or not) with information from other means, aiming to continue the transmission of a tradition, which is influenced by subjective issues of the present time.

Brazilian History textbooks on this topic in particular attempt, through a didactic, playful and scientific language, to narrate and explain to their potential readers (primary school students) the meanings and meanings of a controversial Brazilian event that involves numerous disputes. of narratives and their intersections with memory and history. From this perspective, the past is open and can be negotiated by different social groups, as highlighted by Mario Carretero (2010,

⁴ The most controversial and widely commented case at the time of its publication was the use of the term dictatorship by the newspaper "Folha de São Paulo", in 2009, to refer to the Brazilian dictatorship between 1964 and 1985.

⁵ To delve deeper into this subject, check out the complete article entitled The Forger and the Historian, in which these authors reflect on two distinct cases involving two historians with their controversial positions at the beginning of the 21st century. We chose to mention only one of the historians in our discussion, due to the established thematic focus.

p. 161) in his analyzes of the controversial relationship between memory and history in history teaching.

The didactic narratives constructed by textbook authors aim to show students that from the moment the 1964 Coup took place, Brazilian citizens began to be degraded in relation to their political rights, but not only these. Vainfas et al. (2016, p. 219), in the History textbook, presents the opening of the chapter, entitled `` *Brazil under the Military Dictatorship*, `` contextualizing, for example, that in today's society, it is possible to choose rulers through voting, there is freedom of opinion, the press is free and everyone can have the right to defense. This is a brief introduction that emphasizes the characteristics of a democratic society as opposed to those of a society that lives under an authoritarian government. The military dictatorship is narrated as a time of absence of rights, and portrayed as "a difficult period in the history of Brazil".

In seeking to raise student awareness of this period of extreme state violence in relation to civil rights, as well as practical torture by agents of the Brazilian State, the authors present the monument `` *Torture never more* ``, located in the center of Recife, in 1993, which was built to recover the memory of the victims of the Brazilian military regime, strengthening the feeling of democracy. Below is the image that "honors the dead and missing" during this period:

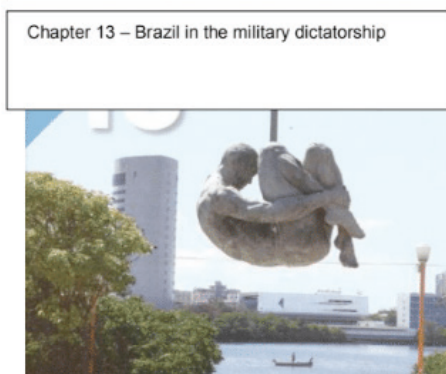


Figure 1: Monument

Source: Vainfas et. al 2016, p. 219

Gilberto Cotrim, in `` *Global History* ``, uses a very emblematic image of a ballot box (voting booth), announcing that democracy has been interrupted and freedom curtailed, as seen, namely:

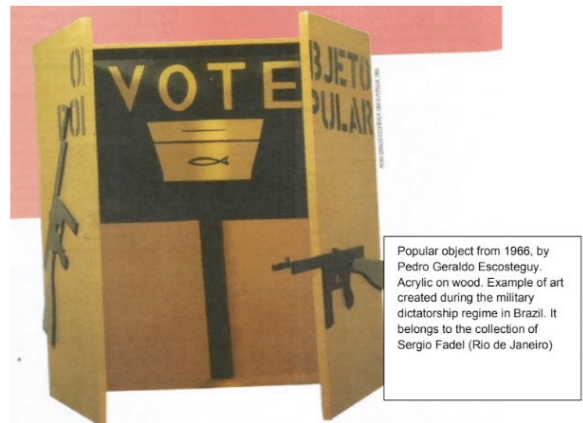


Figure 2: Voting Booth (Art Object)

Source: Cotrim, 2016, p. 237

This author titles the chapter that deals with the period from 1964 to 1985 as Military Governments. Although the author does not use the nomenclature Civil-Military Coup, in this part of his work, the issue of institutional rupture with the overthrow of João Goulart is evident in his first text. At this moment, Cotrim makes the choice to emphasize a hallmark of the military dictatorship, which is authoritarianism. To do this, he dialogues with the perspective of historian Boris Fausto to differentiate the representative system from a military regime.

Authoritarianism is represented by the total absence of participation by civil society and its representative bodies such as the National Congress and the Executive Branch. Governance began to be carried out by the top military leadership, its information bodies and the State's technical bureaucracy. The Institutional Acts (AI) are brought as a way of exemplifying how the military legislated and

carried out actions that restricted opposition to them. At this time, the issue of persecution, arrests and torture against all those who stood up against the military dictatorship is emphasized. Cotrim incorporates in his text the institution of the Truth Commission⁶ and its political role in elucidating the crimes committed during this period, as shown in the table below:

<p>Through so-called institutional acts, military governments restricted democratic freedoms, such as freedom of the press, by imposing censorship on the media.</p> <p>During this period, many Brazilians who opposed this situation were persecuted, exiled, tortured or killed by political repression bodies. According to the national truth commission, around 50 thousand people had their citizenship violated during the military dictatorship.</p>	<p>Institutional act: on a technical-legal level, a set of higher standards, promulgated by the federal public power, which even overlapped the federal constitution.</p> <p>National Truth Commission: institution created by law in 2011, with the aim of investigating serious violations of human rights that occurred between 1946 and 1988.</p>
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Figure 3: Authoritarianism in practice

Source: Cotrim, 2016, p. 238

The discursive strategy adopted by Flávio de Campos (2016) et. al, in *Oficina de História*, in the historical narrative about the 1964 Coup and then the installation of the military dictatorship is to present the process that led to the institutionalization of the military regime, its resurgence from 1968 and the armed struggle. The focus of the chapter that addresses the overthrow of João Goulart in 1964 is to show that the military intervention was announced by the Armed Forces as provisional, with a view to combating “communist infiltration”.

The term civil-military coup is used to demonstrate that the institutional rupture had the support of a significant portion of society. In the opening text of the chapter entitled

⁶ The role of the Truth Commission in Brazil is present in various teaching materials, as a way of highlighting the crimes committed by agents of the State, against opponents of the Brazilian military dictatorship, and, mainly, highlighting restorative justice.

Under the sign of Saturn, it is mentioned that João Goulart did not want to resist violently, through armed resistance, seeking refuge in Rio Grande do Sul and later, sought political asylum in Uruguay. Regarding the seizure of power by the military, the authors highlight that “the social forces that effected the constitutional rupture” set themselves the task of reorganizing the country” Campos et. al (2016, p. 170).

There is a concern to demonstrate to students how the military regime was institutionalized through its Institutional Acts. In the case of AI, n. 01 there was a strengthening of the role of the president, who could suspend political rights, revoke mandates and dismiss public officials. The authors sequentially list several actions that were developed with a view to materializing the military’s authoritarian project of power, among them the suspension of the 1965 presidential elections, the approval of a constitutional amendment that postponed the election until the end of 1966, in addition to the extension of Castelo Branco’s mandate until March 1967.

Campos et. al tries to highlight that tension between the various social agents became more acute after 1965, with restrictions and repression. These begin to gain strength on the social scene, being expressed in the process of indirect elections for the Presidency, in the context of approval of Institutional Act n. 02, which extinguished political parties and determined the format of presidential elections. It was also at this time that the impeachment of opposition politicians, as well as the persecution of left-wing intellectuals, trade unionists, artists, etc., intensified.

To create these didactic narratives, the authors mobilize the concepts of democracy and dictatorship to explain what the 1964 Coup was and its social and historical

consequences. At various times they seek to elucidate the dangers of living in an authoritarian society, whose citizens are deprived of their political and social powers. Through the teaching of this content, the aim is to foster an appreciation for democracy in students, as well as the defense of Human Rights. It is about encouraging them to think about all the practices adopted by agents of the Brazilian State, such as: political repression, suppression of the rights to freedom and institutionalization of torture.



Scheme 1: Contextualization of concepts

Source: author's construction

Considering that learning in History, as Circe Bittencourt (2008, p. 191) states, also involves understanding historical concepts, there is an investment in explaining historical contexts, categories of analysis, content and concepts. In this sense, there is a tendency for authors in these History textbooks to create discursive structures that aim for basic education students and their teachers to construct certain meanings about the importance of democracy for our country and the political and social meanings of a period considered as troubled, violent and sad in Brazilian republican history. By mobilizing images and various documentary sources to corroborate their arguments in relation to this historical event, they contribute this way, to fulfilling the educational purpose of the history taught, which is training for the exercise of citizenship.

Resistance actions are also evidenced in such narratives. The march of 100 thousand, which took place in Rio de Janeiro, on June 26, 1968, after the death of student Edson

Luís, aged 17, became a symbol of resistance being presented in the three books, as well as the artistic and cultural movements of protest. Flavio de Campos et. al highlights the role of journalists and newspapers opposing the regime. On page 169, the cover of Jornal Pasquim, from December 1969, is reproduced with the following caption: Cover of Jornal ``O Pasquim`` after the arrest of almost the entire Jornal staff, November 1969.

There is an image on the cover with the presence of two animals: in which one is represented with a darker color (shades of gray and black), taller which has the following statement attributed to it: Finally, a fully automatic Quibbler: Without Ziraldo, without Jaguar, without Tarso, without Francisco, without Millôr, without Flávio, without Sérgio.

Suspicious intellectuality

Homes of intellectuals, artists and civil leaders were invaded and searched. Any type of judicial authorization was no longer necessary for arrests and investigations. Many people were overcome by fear of repression, destroying or hiding books that could have been confirmed as subversive. Thinking and reading have become deeply suspicious attitudes. Perhaps with some excess, it is said that the police were looking for a communist philosopher called PLATAO and especially his master: SOCRATES; an engineering student was reportedly arrested carrying an obviously terrorist book: "Hydraulic Pumps". If such cases are true, they are nevertheless credible.



As Flávio de Campos et al. highlight that from the first year of the military dictatorship it was possible to identify a growing feeling of opposition to this regime. There were armed incursions in Rio Grande do Sul, students protesting across the country, above all, popular dissatisfaction with the economic results. In the political field, actions emerged, such as the Frente Amplio, which sought to resume redemocratization through institutional means. Particularly, this Broad Front had its project fail and was made illegal in 1968, as pointed out by Campos et al. in the excerpt, namely:

(...) In addition to being contradictory, the alliance between the old foxes of the populist democratic period proved to be ineffective. Brizola and Jânio refused to participate and Juscelino was reluctant to support his former enemy." The Frente Amplio was made illegal in 1968. At the end of the same year, Lacerda was arrested and had his political rights revoked. Bipartisanship would last until 1980 (p. 173).

In this context, the "armed struggle" acquires a significant space in the history of the Brazilian dictatorship, being represented as an action by opposing groups after the tightening of the military regime, with the decree of the Institutional Act, n. 05. According to the authors of these books, the justification for the emergence of the guerrilla movement is the resurgence of the escalation of violence, persecution and deaths under the military regime. It was at this moment that an intense network of political propaganda for the dictatorship was built with a strong jingoistic inspiration: "Brazil: count on me", "No one holds this country anymore", "This

is a country that is moving forward", "For the front Brazil".

We inferred that each author, in their own way, seeks to forge meanings regarding the consequences of the Brazilian military dictatorship, as if they aimed to provide an answer to the uncertainties of the moment in which they wrote their narratives in these books in 2016, a moment in which the elected president Dilma Roussef suffered an Coup d'état, articulated by his deputy, Michel Temer, due to the allegation of having committed "fiscal fraud", indicating the disputes that were at stake in this social scenario⁷. These authors, with their works, seek connections between present-day issues and the past, selecting elements, concepts and information aiming at communication and the possibilities of understanding History by students.

THE CHALLENGES OF HISTORY TAUGHT IN THE PRESENT TENSE

The teaching of history at school, in recent years, has undergone numerous transformations, both in its content and in its approach, increasingly incorporating the problematizations of the construction of historical knowledge and its relationships with social issues, with an emphasis on citizenship formation, the result of debates produced since the country's redemocratization (BITTENCOURT, 2008).

In a reflection we carried out on the purpose of school history, we highlighted that: "the teaching of history in today's basic schooling aims to value and respect sociocultural differences and create opportunities for

⁷ We will not deepen this discussion in this text, due to our object of study. Regarding this court ruling that acquits the former president of Brazil, see the decision of the Federal Regional Court (TRF-1), available at <https://jc.ne10.uol.com.br/politica/2023/08/15575336-dilma-rousseff-and-innocented-by-trf-1-for-fiscal-pedaladas-check-out-the-details.html#:~:text=O%20Tribunal%20Regional%20Federal%20da%201%2C%AA%20Regi%20%3A3o%20%28TRF-1%29,%20a%20pena%20>

individuals to perceive themselves in time and space as historical subjects, therefore contributing to the promotion of citizenship (CABRAL, 2018, p. 3)". It is a powerful place for students to exercise critical and contextualized thinking about the reality in which they are immersed, as they come closer to the procedures used by historians in the analysis of evidence and historical sources, grasp historical concepts, relating them in time and space, in addition to enabling shared experiences that lead to the production of subjectivities.

According to Carretero (2010, p. 36), school history is a specific form of representation of the past, which becomes quite effective due to the fact that it has a privileged space for its transmission, the classroom; in addition, vehicles for disseminating cultural content, such as books, which shape subjective processes. It is in the classroom that the space for presenting and legitimizing official content "from the experience of the common past" takes place, adding "a strong emotional charge designed to create identification", in addition to, "a feeling of loyalty and belonging".

In the Brazilian case, there are many challenges that arise for this teaching, among them the need to overcome the verbalist tradition present in expository classes, whose focus is on the transmission of dates and political events, subsequently, on verifying the accumulation of factual information about the past, through evaluations. In the midst of this discussion, new learning demands are brought to the debate on the renewal of practices that constitute school history, which have repercussions on the ways in which students and teachers deal with historical knowledge and its construction process.

Thus, we agree with the statements of Carmem Gil and Jonas Eugênio (2018, p. 141) regarding the need for other practices in History teaching, which overcome the

paradigm of "universalist history, centered on men, ethnocentric, elitist and concerned with the political objectives of events". For them, training for citizenship, which is the central objective of school history, involves confronting the historical experiences that "made racism, violence and inequality possible and, from this, allowing reflection on what configures us today as a nation."

In this context, the authors argue, "the school is called to teach trauma, injustice, prejudice and suffering so that students and teachers can encounter the debates that arise in the production of history". In tune with the issues of the Present Time, didactic production for school history gradually came into dialogue with sensitive themes in the field of historiography, memory and educational policies, transforming it into privileged material for teaching and learning historical knowledge school.

In these terms, textbooks, objects of attention of Brazilian public educational policy, but not only of them, are strategic materials in teaching and learning, because they are available to all students enrolled in Brazilian schools. By providing the dissemination of scientific knowledge and interpretations about society through education, becoming an excellent device for transmitting values to be passed on to future generations. This perspective points to the importance of understanding the paths taken by textbook authors in relation to the production of didactic historical narratives that articulate social expectations around what must be taught to children and adolescents and about History.

In our investigation, "sensitive themes", or "socially live issues" are understood as controversial subjects, full of emotions, values and political interests, being treated as places of social disputes between agencies and agents, in different temporalities, which affect

directly and indirectly to the representations, sensibilities and actions of citizens. Especially in the teaching of History, some investigations have sought to address sensitive issues in relation to the production of school historical knowledge, its educational practices of research and memory (ALBERTI, 2014; GIL & EUGENIO, 2018), showing a tune with the change's curriculum in basic education.

Regarding sensitive topics in History teaching, we chose the Military Coup in 1964 and its political and social consequences as the object of our attention, represented in the didactic narratives (ROCHA, 2017), as it is a subject that has gained significant space in the Brazilian press outlets in recent years (FICO, 2014, 2020; MOTTA, 2020; VIEIRA, 2020).

Faced with the fragility of democracy, it has been expressed in many ways, given the various demonstrations that took to the streets between 2014 and 2015 with the aim of demanding the return of the military to power, as pointed out by Juliana Pirola Balestra (2015, p. 250). This is why in a society like Brazil, marked by a dictatorial experience that occurred a little over 50 years ago, and which very recently has been experiencing the dilemma of part of its community not understanding the problems caused by the 1964 Coup and the dictatorship military, history taught at school needs to consider the denialist and distorted practices of our past.

We agree with Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior (2012) that it is up to the teaching of History to "make defects in memory", when it proposes the exercise of questioning the canonized and monumentalized versions of History. The history taught not only serves to produce subjectivities, but must have as its object of concern the formation of citizens who know how to coexist publicly, who are tolerant of other forms of values and existences.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

With the possibility of expanding themes and approaches in the field of history studies taught, we have seen a significant increase in investigations that choose sensitive themes as objects of study, based on the problems that arise in the classroom space. In this sense, we investigated the way in which the 1964 Military Coup and the Military Dictatorship between 1964 and 1985, in Brazil, are represented in textbooks, with an emphasis on the analysis of historical didactic narratives, organized in the format of chapters in such materials. We remember that the textbook has been present since the formation of schooling processes in Brazil at the beginning of the 19th century, constituting a privileged object in the transmission of school knowledge.

Throughout the history of education, it has acquired multiple functions in the educational sphere, such as the systematization of content selected for teaching, the presentation of certain social representations, the propagation of values and ideas, the institution of teaching and learning itineraries, becoming a powerful pedagogical device in culture selection. Specifically, in the teaching of History, the textbook for this subject became a decisive material in the construction of a national memory, from the second half of the 19th century, by articulating identity projects and learning paths within the scope of school curricula (BITTENCOURT, 2008; GASPARELLO, 2004; REZNIK, 1992).

In this sense, we recover the discussion regarding which historical contents were privileged in the process of transmitting school historical knowledge on the topic, aiming to understand which discursive strategies were carried out in the articulation between history teaching and everyday experience, considering the issues that enable transform contemporary and past events into historical problems to be studied by students.

We aim to explore the repressive nature of the dictatorship (persecution, torture, deaths and disappearances), resistance to the dictatorial government, economic issues and democratic opening were treated in these works, focusing on the causal and conceptual didactic connections internal to the chapters.

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