

The Globe and the Disputes in Scene: Brizola and the Creation of An Emblematic Acronym, the Democratic Labor Party

Marcelo Marcon*

Abstract: This article aims research the way the newspaper *O Globo* elaborated its speech in the process of dispute for the domain of the acronym PTB (Brazilian Labor Party) between Leonel Brizola and Ivete Vargas, and the consequent creation of the PDT (Democratic Labor Party). This happened in the process of political opening of the Brazilian military regime and party reorganization. The way that the newspaper elaborated its speech was analyzed according to the methodology proposed by Patrick Charaudeau. The analyze of the sources, the historiography and the methodology proposed, we understand that *O Globo* supports Ivete Vargas and invested in the politic disqualification of Leonel Brizola, once that the newspaper and the political from Rio Grande do Sul had different visions about the future of the politic in Brazil.

Keywords: Leonel Brizola. Democratic Labour Party. Brazilian Labor Party.

Introduction

This article aims to understand the discourse of the newspaper *O Globo* on the process of legal dispute between Leonel Brizola¹ and Ivete Vargas² by the acronym PTB, analyzing

* PhD student in History from the University of Passo Fundo. Master and Graduated in History also from UPF.

¹ Leonel de Moura Brizola was born on January 22, 1922, in the village of Cruzinha, which at the time belonged to the municipality of Passo Fundo, becoming part of Carazinho on the occasion of its emancipation in 1931. The son of José de Oliveira Brizola and Onívia de Moura Brizola, small farmers, he lost his father the year after his birth, who died in the Federalist Revolution in 1923 in the service of the maragatos (a group linked to Assis Brasil). He graduated in 1949 in Civil Engineering from the University of Rio Grande do Sul, and at that time he entered politics. Seeking something different from the traditional parties and away from the PCB, he went to the military by the newly created Workers' Party, the PTB, electing himself state deputy in 1947. During the 1950s, Brizola became one of the state's leading labor leaders. Brizola was re-elected state deputy in 1950, being leader of the bench and then appointed secretary of Works in Rio Grande do Sul. In 1954, he was elected federal deputy, and in 1955, mayor of Porto Alegre, a position he held until 1958, when he won the election for the state government. Leonel Brizola's national projection occurred in 1961, with Legality, a movement that defended the inauguration of João Goulart in the presidency of the Republic, at the time of the resignation of Jânio Quadros. In 1964, at the time of the military coup and dictatorship imposed he had to go into exile, remaining until 1977 in Uruguay, passing through the United States and Portugal, returning to Brazil in 1979 with the Amnesty Political Law. In 1980, he founded the Democratic Labor Party (PDT), and in 1982 he was elected governor of Rio de Janeiro, and for the second time in 1990. He ran in the presidential elections of 1989 and 1994, and died in 2004.

² Ivete Vargas, the great-niece of former President Getúlio Vargas, began her political life at the PTB, electing herself a federal deputy from São Paulo in 1950, and in 1958, she assumed the presidency of the PtB in São Paulo. He supported the government of Juscelino Kubitschek, and the Legality led by Brizola for João Goulart to assume the presidency when Jânio Quadros resigned. Ivete was re-elected federal deputy in 1962, this time for Rio de Janeiro. On the occasion of the civil-military coup in 1964, and the AI2 in 1965 that extinguished pluripartisanship, joined the MDB and served as deputy leader of the opposition, re-elected deputy in 1966. Hit

the way the newspaper created his speech during the battle in the TSE, the loss of Brizola's group of the acronym PTB for the group of Ivete Vargas, and the consequent creation of the PDT.

In 1979, the end of bipartisanship and the return of pluripartisanship in Brazil were authorized. The establishment of bipartisanship occurred in 1965 by Institutional Act No. 2, as a "solution to guarantee the government a stable majority in the National Congress" (RIDENTI, 2014, p. 35).

In 1979, with João³ Batista Figueiredo assuming power, ARENA was already destabilized and with several members trying to detach itself from the repression that occurred during the regime. So that the opposition united in a single party took advantage of the situation, which caused President Figueiredo in the same year to extinguish the bipartisan system and allow the parties to return.

The government believed that fragmented opposition in several parties would be more easily controlled than united under a single acronym. At the time, political leaders from expressed their dissatisfaction with the existing bipartisan system. With the return of pluripartisanship, some parties that already existed before were resumed, such as the PTB, and others created, such as the PMDB, PDT and PT.

In the context of the creation of the Democratic Labor Party, Leonel Brizola's action was fundamental, at a time when his speech and political action underwent changes. Consequently, the conception of Leonel Brizola's action in this period must be identified differently from his action prior to exile. Brizola's image in 1979 can be read in two ways: the first is that of those opposed to him, because they understand that he was the number one enemy of the military regime and therefore the greatest responsible for the political instability that led to the 1964 coup; and the second is the image that precisely because he was so hated by the military, he would be the legitimate representative of the fight against the dictatorship (SENTO-SÉ, 1999). It is from this second image that Brizola, after his return from exile, is seen by many, and by himself, as heir to the acronym PTB and the work of Getúlio Vargas.

by AI5, Ivete temporarily withdrew from public life. In 1980, he obtained control of the acronym PTB after waging a legal battle with Leonel Brizola. He died of cancer in 1984. Source: CPDOC - FGV. Available from: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/vargas-ivete>

³ João Batista Figueiredo was the 5th and last president of the military dictatorship. Son of military, he studied in military colleges, and served in the army cavalry. In the dictatorship, he served as head of the SNI. He took office as president on March 15, 1979, and was responsible for the process of political openness, within the lines already defined by former President Ernesto Geisel, in a "slow, gradual and safe" way. Source: CPDOC - FGV.

The Globe and the legal battle for the acronym PTB

At the turn of the year from 1979 to 1980, Leonel Brizola's group, composed of three Brizolist deputies, Lidovino Panton (RS), Getúlio Dias (RS) and Murilo Mendes (AL), students and parliamentary advisors, remained for 61 hours in front of the electoral court headquarters to be the first to require registration of the acronym PTB⁴. The newspaper *O Globo*, from January 3, 1980, reported the record with the title *After vigil, PTB de Brizola asks for registration*, stating that the brizolist group celebrated the turn of the year with sandwiches and soft drinks, without champagne, because "the PTB is the party of workers"⁵.

The next day, January 4, the newspaper published an editorial in which it attacks the brizolist group and criticizes it for preaching false support to workers. With the title of *To the health of the PTB*, the newspaper wrote:

In a vigil that took 61 hours, PTB leaders made duty at the door of the TSE to ensure primacy in the registration of the party acronym. The marathon went through the new year, celebrated with soft drinks but without champagne because, explained zealously the participants, "the PTB is the workers' party". Because there would be no drain if they had some bottles, which they could certainly finance. The best workers' party, be sure the petebistas proceres, is not the one who disdains champagne, but rather what struggles to put it within the reach of the workers⁶.

Thus, *O Globo* began its favorable position to the group of Ivete Vargas in the battle for the acronym PTB. The newspaper used the workers' defense speech to reject Brizola's group's commitment to its constituents, saying they should fight to get the champagne within the reach of the workers, rather than giving it up.

This editorial by *O Globo* was part of a political line adopted by the newspaper to weaken Brizola and his new political project. According to Charaudeau, "every discourse is constructed at the intersection between a field of action, a place of symbolic exchanges organized according to relations of force (Bourdieu), and a field of enunciation, the place of the mechanisms of language staging" (CHARAUDEAU, 2015, p.52).

Therefore, political discourse does not only result from "pre-constructed thought schemes that would always reproduce in the same way, whether on the side of the dominant or the dominated". For Charaudeau, the meanings of discourse result from a complex game,

⁴ The goal was to prevent former Congresswoman Ivete Vargas from making the request to found the party before Brizola.

⁵ *The Globe*, *After vigil, Brizola PTB asks for registration*, January 3, 1980, p. 04.

⁶ *The Globe*, *The health of PTB*, January 4, 1980, p. 03.

from a construction-reconstruction process, which operates according to the occupied place and the positioning of the individuals who occupy these positions. These positions, according to the author, result from different lines of thought, and from the power relations established by its actors (2015, p.52).

O Globo created its speech according to a political position, in a process that sought to destabilize political leaders who returned from exile and sought to create parties that opposed the regime. Among them, Brizola held a special position, being one of the main opposition names in post-1979. The newspaper, which supported the regime for practically the entire period of its duration, positioned itself favorably to Ivete Vargas's group in the dispute for the PTB, since Ivete was a personal friend of General Golbery, and Brizola represented a major force against the government.

Already on January 7, the newspaper published an article with the title *Ivete Vargas says Brizola offered to implode the MDB*, in which he reported a phone call that Ivete Vargas would have received from Brizola, in which he had asked how were the relations of the former congresswoman with Golbery. "I replied that they were doing very well, for there was the old family friendship. He then surprised me: 'Propose to him the implosion of the MDB. We would do that very well.'⁷

Following the article, Ivete reports that he began to enumerate the names that would integrate the PTB in the states, and that Brizola would have attacked them, calling them "old": "The worst, however, was his commitment, to move away from what he called old, forgotten that he himself is already quite mature. For the former governor, old people are outdated people. But he excludes⁸himself."

On this matter, two points are perceived. The first is Brizola's harsh speech, which, throughout his political life, seeks to disqualify his opponents. In a troubled moment, when he returned from exile, and realizes that he would have to fight judicially for the acronym PTB, Brizola created a speech of disqualification of Ivete Vargas and his allies, in an attempt to persuade the former congresswoman to give up the PTB.

The second point is *The Globe's* strategy in writing a story describing Brizola's phone call to Ivete Vargas, in an attempt to highlight a despair on Brizola's part. As previously seen, three days earlier the newspaper had already written an editorial attacking the brizolist group for preaching a false defense to workers, with the title *To the health of the PTB*, and

⁷ *The Globe, Ivete Vargas says Brizola offered to implode the MDB*, January 7, 1980, p. 06.

⁸ *The Globe, Ivete Vargas says Brizola offered to implode the MDB*, January 7, 1980, p. 06.

made it clear that in his opinion the health of the PTB depended on the victory of the group of Ivete Vargas over brizola's group in the judicial battle for the acronym.

According to Charaudeau,

The discourse of the journalistic commentary is, in principle, marked by an argument of weighting: a balanced dosage between pro judgment and judgment against, between favorable appreciation and unfavorable appreciation, between exposure of a given opinion or another (often contrary). This results in an argument in the form of a seesaw, which corresponds, in fact, to a refusal to choose between the terms of an alternative, between an opinion and its contrary (2015, p. 177).

Thus, we understand how the discourse of the press can position itself in a favorable way to one group over another, bringing facts and opinions that legitimize its idea and hiding those who contradict it. We do not believe in the idea of neutrality or impartiality of the press, but when a means of communication acts in order to influence the thinking of the population, and to deconstruct the image of a political leader, as in the case of *The Globe*, it does not fulfill its role of bringing all the facts so that the reader can build his own interpretation.

The newspaper began to create an environment of crisis within the brizolist group, while extolling the ruling party, PDS. On January 17, on page 5, the newspaper created a structure of articles that presented the following order of titles: *Couple of deputies of the former MDB joins the government party*; *Lysâneas' candidacy brings PTB from Rio to crisis*; and *Lucídio: PDS will be the largest party in Piauí*.⁹ Thus, the newspaper created a news structure in which it sought to show a superiority of the PDS in relation to the PMDB and the PTB. On the same page, the reader, reading the three news headlines, would have the impression that the opposition parties, newly redesigned, were in crisis, and that only the ruling party had a strong base and would remain the main Brazilian party.

With the titles *Couple of deputies of the former MDB joins the government party*, and *PDS will be the most party of Piauí*, the newspaper created a speech that during the process of party reorganization, the PDS would be an unbeatable party, which political leaders of other parties would be migrating to the acronym of the government.

⁹ *The Globe*, *Lysâneas' candidacy brings Ptb from Rio to crisis*. January 17, 1980, p. 05.

In the news entitled *Lysâneas candidacy leads PTB from Rio to crisis*, the newspaper said that an internal crisis in the PTB would be worsening, massive loss of important names to compose the party. According to Patrick Charaudeau, the "structuring of the social space depends on the information-providing instance that is obliged to build its purpose by managing the public visibility of the events it is about" (2015, p.142).

For the linguist, the media instance must then proceed to a division of public space into categories, in which actors are allowed to recognize, understand and react before them. Because they are aware that they are directed to an audience that is not homogeneous, the media, according to the author, proceed to a rationalization, in such a way that the public gets used to cutting out the social world as the media does (CHARAUDEAU, 2015, p. 143).

The way *O Globo* structured its news, it sought to create in the reader the idea of disprestige of the opposition political parties. The newspaper proceeded to the act of rationalization that described Charaudeau, making the public accustomed to, in the same way as the publication, cut the political space in a way that saw the PDS as a rising party, and the others as parties that were in crisis.

According to Sento-Sé, Lysâneas Maciel¹⁰ he had conceived the idea of "new work", and Pedro Celso Uchoa Cavalcante wrote, at Brizola's request, a document defining "democratic work as a guiding principle of the new party". However, former laborworkers from Rio de Janeiro, such as Paiva Muniz, Aarão Steinbruch and Bocayuva Cunha, resisted this idea, especially that written by Maciel (SENTO-SÉ, 1999, p. 95).

For the author, everything indicated that those who did not have their roots in work and "incorporated themselves into the project due to the possibility of organizing a modern mass party around Brizola shared to some degree a critical view of the old style petebista" (SENTO-SÉ [1999,96]). In this case, there was a dispute between styles, and labor still linked to the figure of Jango, although they recognized in Brizola his natural successor, they had reservations compared to the distinct style of his predecessor.

For *O Globo*, the internal crisis that would exist within the PTB brizolist worsened with the pre-candidacy of Lysâneas Maciel for the presidency of the provisional regional executive committee. In his work, Charaudeau analyzes how newspapers intervene in words in their original use, exemplifying and comparing two periodicals, one that brings as news The former minister left *France*, and The former *minister escapes french justice*. In these cases, we

¹⁰ Lysâneas Maciel eventually left the PTB and joined the PT, which was a candidate for the government of Rio de Janeiro in 1982.

perceive how the power of words makes a difference in the formulation of the news and in the consequent understanding on the part of the reader (CHARAUDEAU, 2015).

In the case of the newspaper *O Globo*, the newspaper chose to create a news that explains an environment of crisis within the brizolist PTB. Reading and analyzing the course of the newspaper's own news, we could think of other titles for the matter, such as: *Lysaneas candidacy generates divergences in the PTB*, or *Lysaneas candidacy is not unanimous among laborers*. The fact of choosing the word crisis to define the event is the result of the intention and position of the newspaper to generate in the reader the idea of crisis within the brizolist PTB.

On January 20, 1980, *O Globo* again brought statements by Ivete Vargas criticizing Brizola's speech that his group had the right to the acronym for having requested registration before Ivete's group:

The positioning demonstrates an impressive political ignorance, even in those who are not lawyers. That the desire to confuse public opinion is evident. He can not ignore that who effectively complied with the law with the utmost seriousness was our group, as later exposed to him former governor Gilberto Mestrinho, in a meeting they had in December – said Ivete Vargas.

Already on February 4, 1980, the newspaper published an article with the title *Ivete: Brizola wants to impress the government*, in which Ivete refutes statements that Brizola had made, that she would be trying to secure the acronym PTB through pressure stemming from the Superior Electoral Court. In the article, Ivete states that "The intrigue, in addition to other expedients that have been handing over, only covers up their own desire to try to impress the authorities, with the obvious purpose of obtaining their support"¹¹. The journal also seeks to refute an assertion that Brizola had said that Ivete's group was similar to malufism and chaguism, with Ivete saying that he only demonstrates lack of arguments or mental indigence.

The newspaper continued to bring statements that attempt to deconstruct the project of the PTB brizolist. This time, Senator José Sarney (PDS), who when asked about the PTB program, replies: "What program? The one who gives a liter of milk to each worker? Honestly, I prefer Zarur's Legion of Good Will. At the very least, your show¹² is much juicier."

¹¹ THE GLOBE, *Ivete: Brizola wants to impress the government*, February 4, 1980, p. 03.

¹² THE GLOBE, February 6, 1980, p. 02.

Patrick Charaudeau states that in the strategies of disqualification of the opponent in political discourse, the manipulation of irony is present. Thus, the newspaper sought from the speech of Senator José Sarney, one of the main leaders of the PDS, to mock and disqualify Brizola's project, stating that the PTB program offered one liter of milk to each worker. Thus, there is a debauchery of the senator and the newspaper to a bill that advocated labor rights.

In the same vein, on February 10, *O Globo* wrote, with the title *Ivete responds to Brizola and says that he does not deserve credit*, again a speech by Ivete criticizing Brizola's statements, without showing what these statements would be: "We have clean hands and a clear conscience. We are not political gigolos" - said yesterday former Congresswoman Ivete Vargas, in relation to statements by former governor Leonel Brizola, who refuses any understanding with her".

Ivete goes on to say that her group considers that Brizola does not deserve credit, until it explains the fate of ample resources it would have received abroad. Thus, the newspaper allocates spaces to Ivete's right to refute Brizola's statements, while not originally presenting these statements and does not grant Brizola the same opportunity. The newspaper stated that Brizola refused any understanding with Ivete and took the opportunity to state that the former governor received "ample resources from abroad", in a criticism of the fact that he would be linked to the Socialist International.

We observed, therefore, that the articles created by the newspaper continued to bring Ivete Vargas speeches in order to disqualify Brizola's political project. Although the newspaper makes greater references to Brizola's name, in quantitative terms, much of the news is created to generate in the reader the idea of political discredit of the former governor.

In an editorial on February 13, entitled *Marketing*, the newspaper wrote: "The dispute between Leonel Brizola and Ivete Vargas has become a matter of political marketing." He states that the two groups face off to win a party brand rather than a legend, assuming that their supporters and their voters are embedded in this brand, regardless of their "programmatic and ideological stuffing or the directions that the leadership of the moment prints on the party. It is not an episode that contributes to the renewal of the Brazilian party framework."¹³

In the editorial, *O Globo* sought to speak out against the dispute by the acronym PTB and show that it acted with neutrality. However, as we can see in the subjects, he explored Ivete's statements against Brizola, investing mainly in the disqualification of the former governor and his political project.

¹³ *THE GLOBE*, *Marketing*, February 13, 1980, p. 04.

On February 22, 1980, in a news article entitled *Ivete: Brizola explores the memory of Getúlio*, the newspaper continues its argument:

- The aggressions of the group led by Leonel Brizola show only that they want to exploit the memory of Getúlio Vargas, although in the background they are all antigetulists. The statement was made yesterday, by former Congresswoman Ivete Vargas, regarding the statement of Congressman José Maurício, that she had a political formation of the time of the Estado Novo, and therefore brought "dictatorial waste". Ivete also said that the words of the Fluminense parliamentarian were not addressed to her, "but against the memory of former President Getúlio Vargas". And he concluded:
- From now on, all getulists are knowing who the real PTB¹⁴."

For Patrick Charaudeau, in the political discourse, when there is a project that consists in the stigmatization of the origin of evil, it is also necessary to inscribe the strategies of disqualification of the opponent. The linguist stated that in the process of disqualification of the opponent, they can use the strategies of *disqualify ideas* of the adversary; show your *negative consequences*; the *opposing instance*; The *contradictions of the opponent* and its *manipulation project*.

Charaudeau exemplifies how these strategies occur, citing the case of a President of the French Republic, who invited the French to vote 'yes' in the first referendum on Europe, through the following speech: "Some urge you to vote 'no', prisoners who are of his doctrine, of his obstinate willingness to establish in France a totalitarian system. Useless to insist." According to Charaudeau, in this discourse, the ideas of the adversary ("prisoners of his doctrine"), the negative consequences for the people ("establishing a totalitarian system"), and the opposing instance are disqualified at the same time by a negative image ("obstinate will"). In this case, the discourse aims to reject the opponent's ideas, remembering the threat he represents (CHARAUDEAU, 2015, p.92).

The newspaper *O Globo* also sought, in the formulations of the news, to create strategies for Brizola's disqualification. Although it brings speeches from Ivete Vargas and other political opponents, the amount of news in which they criticize the former governor and his new political project, evidences an interest of the newspaper in disqualifying him. This is due to the strategy of combating the reestablishment of work in Brazil, as we will see

¹⁴ O GLOBO, *Ivete: Brizola explores the memory of Getúlio*, February 22, 1980, p. 03.

below, in editorials of *O Globo*, waging a battle against the parties that represented it, such as PDT, PT and PTB.

In the news above, Ivete stated that Brizola and his group wanted to explore the memory of Getúlio Vargas, when they would be in the background all antigetulists. Thus, *O Globo* appropriates Ivete's speech to *disqualify* Brizola's ideas (to resume Getulist workism), to show the negative *consequences* (from now on everyone knows who the real PTB is), and the opposing instance and *contradictions of the opponent* (the words were not directed at Ivete, but against the memory of Getúlio Vargas).

In the course of the news, Ivete stated that she obtained information that the group led by Brizola had forwarded only four of the nine regional commissions required by the new legislation and says that this demonstrates that "they have no political structure. They said we don't exist, but the party that has the commissions ready is ours."

On March 13, 1980, the newspaper published articles on Ivete and Brizola entitled: *PTB Ivete already has block in the Assembly*, and *Schiling: Brizola's prestige fell*¹⁵. We can see, with the titles, that the newspaper sought to spread the idea that the group led by Ivete would be growing, while Brizola would be losing his political prestige. The intention when reporting the two texts on the same page is to create this idea in the reader.

The next day, March 14, *O Globo* reported that the registration requests for the two PTBs, made in January, were filed by the TSE. According to the newspaper: "The Superior Electoral Court ruled yesterday, by a majority of votes, the filing of applications for provisional registration of the Brazilian Labor Party, both from the group of former governor Leonel Brizola, and the group of Ivete Vargas"¹⁶. Thus, both applicants had to apply for registration again from the Court.

According to the matter, the minister-rapporteur Aldir Passarinho said that none of the groups presented the list of provisional municipal steering committees in at least one fifth of at least nine states. The news brings only statements by Ivete Vargas, minutes before the trial, in which he said: "We proved that saying that we only exist on paper is a joke, because no one can, in the period we had, create the structure that we created, if we do not have, at the national level a presence".¹⁷

The group of Ivete Vargas renewed the application for registration on March 14, stating that it did so in such a hurry to believe, based on a statement by Minister Moreira

¹⁵ Paulo Schiling was an economist and former advisor to Brizola. Source: <https://www.sul21.com.br/tag/paulo-schilling/>

¹⁶ *The Globe*, "TSE files application for registration of the two PTBs", March 14, 1980, p. 02.

¹⁷ *The Globe*, "TSE files application for registration of the two PTBs", March 14, 1980, p. 02.

Alves, that completed the legal formalities, the political group to request his registration in the first place would be the winner¹⁸.

The next day, *O Globo* published a small note, stating that it would be a mistake to believe that Minister Golbery do Couto e Silva would be interested in handing over the PTB legend to Ivete Vargas, for the personal friendship between the two. According to the newspaper, because Golbery was committed to structuring the PDS, he would have no interest in assisting the formation of any party, so he did not intervene in the dispute between Brizola and Ivete and did not bother to stop talking to her during this period¹⁹.

On March 21, Brizola's group again requested registration by the PTB, and on the 22nd the newspaper reported the news, and brought statements from the PTB's brizolist lawyer, Célio Silva, who said that "organizing a party is not a gymkhana with distribution of tasks and all mu running to enter the first place", justifying that the criterion of being the first to renew the application would not influence the decision of the TSE.

On the same day, *The Globe* wrote under the title *Ivete under the fire of another PTB*, that rumors had arisen that the TSE had already decided in favor of Ivete in the dispute for the PTB, and that these rumors had prompt repercussion in Brasilia, with graffiti in the city that said "The PTB is of the people – outside Ivete". The newspaper says of the act: "it is a strange and useless way to interfere in the decision of the TSE, which soon will not define the issue"²⁰.

Thus, the newspaper sought to disqualify possible popular demonstrations if Brizola lost the acronym to Ivete. For countless times during the dictatorship, *O Globo* sought to fight demonstrations against the regime, discrediting the motives and actions of the protesters.

On April 4, he reported the visit of the Secretary General of the Socialist Party Portuguese (PSP) Mário Soares, exponent of the Socialist International, to Brazil. Soares was the mediator of Brizola's stay in Lisbon during the final period of exile. He was in the Dominican Republic representing the PSP at the first conference of the Socialist International in Latin America. Brizola received it at the airport, along with Darcy Ribeiro and other laborers.²¹

Mário Soares gave an interview to journalists at that time, and the main questions highlighted by the newspaper were those related to the rapprochement of the Socialist Party Portuguese with some Brazilian party, especially leonel's PTB Brizola. Brizola replied:

¹⁸ *The Globe*, PTB ivete has already renewed request and brizola renews until Tuesday, March 15, 1980, p. 02.

¹⁹ *The Globe*, *Politics today, tomorrow*. March 16, 1980, p. 02.

²⁰ *The Globe*, *Ivete under the fire of another PTB*, March 22, 1980, p. 02.

²¹ *The Globe*, *Mário Soares arrives in Brazil making the praise of the opening*, April 4, 1980, p. 03.

- Strictly, in Brazil there is no party affiliated to the Socialist International. We laborers have cultivated a fraternal relationship with her, particularly with the Socialist Party Portuguese, to whom brazilians who have been exiled in Portugal owe much. We have followed, as guests, the meetings of the Socialist International and we intend to deepen this relationship to the fullest. Membership of the International is a problem that we have not yet considered. It is a matter that should be the subject of a resolution of the party, after a broad debate, which will only be possible when we have reached our total internal organicity.²²

When asked what the PSP has to do with what is being organized by Brizola, Mário Soares replied that the two are friends, who were together in Brizola's exile and shared many ideas in common, such as the need to carry out reforms framework of democratic pluralism, respecting human rights and individual guarantees²³.

Throughout the month, the newspaper sought to spread Brizola's idea of connection with the Socialist International, and of the group's violation of the Organic Law of Political Parties, which prohibited the linking of parties with international ideological movements. This same argument was used by Ivete Vargas to try to challenge Brizola's PTB registration application on April 11.

Also, on April 7, Brizola's group had already requested the challenge of Ivete Vargas' group, on the grounds that the former congresswoman had not validly founded the party, for having done so in March 1979, when the Law of Party Reform was not yet in force.

Brizola and the loss of the acronym PTB: Speeches of *O Globo*

On April 29, the electoral attorney general Firmino Paz granted assent in favor of the PTB Ivete. According to him, the requests for challenge of the brizolist group were not valid, which had as an²⁴argument the fact that Ivete founded his party when the Law of Party Reform was not yet in force.

On May 1, *O Globo* published, with the title *Brizola admits that may lose acronym to Ivete Vargas*, which he stated that the decision of Firmino Paz could have been influenced by the government. The journal quoted journalist José Maria Rabelo, chairman of Brizola's PTB

²² *The Globe*, Mário Soares arrives in Brazil making the praise of the opening, April 4, 1980, p. 03.

²³ *The Globe*, Mário Soares arrives in Brazil making the praise of the opening, April 4, 1980, p. 03.

²⁴ *The Globe*, "Attorney gives opinion in favor of the PTB of Ivete", April 30, 1980.

provisional commission, who said there was no dichotomy, because Brizola's "PTB is the party and Ivete's is the anti-party. A maneuver that starts from the Plateau can not be in anything similar to our PTB".²⁵

Already on May 6, with the title *Brizola blames minister for the pro-Ivete opinion*, *The Globe* wrote:

Former Governor Leonel Brizola yesterday criticized the attitude of Justice Minister Ibrahim Abi-Ackel, who he said "called the opposition for dialogue, and then ordered the Attorney General of Justice to give a favorable opinion to the request for the registration of Mrs. Ivete Vargas". One party, Brizola said, is not made with papers. The PTB of Ivete Vargas is a deformation, which to date has not been able to gather half a dozen people.²⁶

For Ivete Vargas, "you can't believe these statements, because the Minister of Justice is part of the executive branch, and to affirm this means a disrespect to the judiciary"²⁷. On May 9, the newspaper reported that the prosecutor had granted, the day before, opinion contrary to the PTB Brizola, being the main argument used by Firmino Paz that the group of Ivete Vargas had first met the requirements.

Firmino Paz argued that the two groups met all requirements, but "the law focused on the facts that Ivete's group practiced, before focusing on the facts that the other group practiced. As there can be no record for each group, the right was born mutilated to the one whose legal fact was born later"²⁸.

The prosecutor also countered the arguments of Ivete's group on the fact that the PTB brizolist is linked to the Socialist International, stating that "there is no opinion, unequivocal evidence, unofficial or official, of this nailed link, or even confessor evidence. It is not enough, just for that, the news of the press, however respectable it maybe"²⁹.

Upon receiving the news, Brizola said that even if they took the legend out of the group, "they won't take away the social movement that work represents. This acronym has a lot of value, but within a context and supported by certain people. Out there will be three dead letters on a wall and on a piece of paper."

²⁵ *O Globo*, *Brizola admits he may lose acronym for Ivete Vargas*, May 1, 1980, p. 04.

²⁶ *The Globe*, *Brizola blames minister for pro-Ivete opinion*, May 6, 1980, p. 04.

²⁷ *The Globe*, *Brizola blames minister for pro-Ivete opinion*, May 6, 1980, p. 04.

²⁸ *The Globe*, *Prosecutor gives opinion against Brizola PTB*, May 9, 1980, cover, p. 02 and 04.

²⁹ *The Globe*, *Prosecutor gives opinion against Brizola PTB*, May 9, 1980, cover, p.02 and 04.

In the same news, *O Globo* stated that the group led by Ivete "always came out ahead, because it was created on December 20, 1979, and Brizola on the 21st of the same month and year, and for having requested registration with the TSE on March 14, 1980, while Brizola did so on the 21st³⁰.

Also, on May 9, the newspaper reported that Senator Leite Chaves, Brizola's group, and Congressman Jorge Cury, of Ivete Vargas' group, traveled to São Paulo with the aim of discussing an agreement to unite the two PTBs in only one party. According to the journal, the basis of agreement would be the division of the national commission into five vacancies for Ivete, five vacancies for Brizola and one to be filled by name around which the two competitors composed³¹.

The agreement, however, was not well seen by Brizola, who did not want to "share the command of the PTB" with Ivete Vargas. For the newspaper, all alternatives to Brizola, if they lost their acronym, would be uncomfortable. It was considered the possibility of joining the PMDB, but it is believed that Brizola's leadership would clash with others. The newspaper, which previously argued that if Brizola lost the acronym would join the PTB of Ivete or the PMDB, now also begins to discuss the possibility of creating a new party.³²

The next day, brings the news: *Executive PTB Brizola repels negotiation with Ivete*, in which Brizola and the provisional commission of his PTB decide unanimously reject any kind of agreement with Ivete's group. Brizola then presents the formula considered by him to be ideal for solving the issue: to defer the provisional records of the two PTBs and distribute party membership forms to both groups, and with a period of 90 to 100 days to decide, with the votes of the base, control of the party³³.

The result came out on May 12, when the TSE decided, by five votes to one, to grant the provisional registration of the PTB to the group led by Ivete Vargas. The Court argued that the request made by the group met all the requirements, and in examining, secondly, Brizola's group's request, it decided to reject it, claiming that the acronym had already been won by Ivete's group³⁴.

According to the newspaper,

Former governor Leonel Brizola had two reactions to hearing the result in the TSE. Locked in apartment 1604 of the Ambassador Hotel with the main

³⁰ *The Globe*, "Prosecutor gives opinion against the PTB of Brizola", May 9, 1980, cover, p. 02 and 04.

³¹ *The Globe*, "Prosecutor gives opinion against Brizola PTB", May 9, 1980, cover, p. 02 and 04.

³² *The Globe*, "Prosecutor gives opinion against the PTB of Brizola", May 9, 1980, cover, p. 02 and 04.

³³ *The Globe*, "Executive of PTB Brizola repels negotiation with Ivete" May 10, 1980, p. 04.

³⁴ *The Globe*, "Ivete wins in the TSE acronym of PTB. Brizola cries" May 13, 1980, cover. p. 03.

leaders of his party, he hit the phone through which Congressman Lidovino Fanton transmitted to him from Brasilia the news and said: -Now, we will have to start all over again. [...] Moved, without saying a word, just responding to the greetings, he went to the 17th floor, a small convention center that had been given to him by former Congressman Márcio Moreira Alves, advisor to the hotel's board. He was applauded by the 200 people who were waiting in vigil for the Decision of the TSE and shouted his name in choir. At one point, he took a sheet of paper size craft, pulled the ballpoint from his shirt pocket and drew the acronym PTB very large. Brizola raised to the audience the letters he had drawn. For a few seconds he was silent, looking at the acronym and ignoring the first questions of the journalists. Then dramatically, Brizola tore the paper with the acronym, to applause, as to symbolize that from then on she let to exist. And he did not hold back: he broke down in tears, hiding his face with his hands.³⁵

According to the matter, Brizola made his "most inflammatory speech". In Ivete's speech after the victory, the former congresswoman stated that her party would be opposed, and that she did not deny being friends with General Golbery, stating that he was one of the main promoters of the opening, and that if it were not for him, Brizola would not even be in Brazil ³⁶.

Then the newspaper published a table with the names of the brizolist bench and the alternatives for them. Of the 24 components, 1 senator and 23 deputies, the newspaper said that 6 should go to the PMDB; 5 would follow Brizola in any case, 5 would await the decision of the labor leaders in Bahia; 4 would either go to the PMDB or accompany Brizola; 2 advocated the union of a left front formed by PTB, PMDB and PT; 1 defended the union with the group of Ivete Vargas and 1 should go to the PP or follow Brizola.

According to João Trajan Sento-Sé, Brizola, by tearing up the acronym PTB, said: "they destroyed the PTB but they will not silence us." He also said that Brazil's main political leaders declared disbelief with the justice's decision. For Sento-Sé, in the brizolist perception, the loss of the legend was the first blow suffered by Brizola in the post-exile. Trajan Ribeiro, one of his main collaborators, analyzed that the PTB was an overwhelming acronym in Brizola's hands, but that with another party things changed: "The PTB came with

³⁵ *The Globe*, "Ivete wins in the TSE acronym of PTB. Brizola cries," May 13, 1980, cover, p. 03.

³⁶ *The Globe*, "Ivete wins in the TSE acronym of PTB. Brizola cries," May 13, 1980, cover, p.03.

people and with all the historical load it had. It had terrible firepower. Without it, people took another course, even by uncertainty about what would happen" (SENTO-SÉ [1999],96).

The decision of the TSE to grant the acronym to Ivete Vargas caused a revolt in much of the opposition, and also in other social sectors, such as the artistic and intellectual class. The poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade, in his column in *Jornal do Brasil*, on May 15, published the following poem, under the title "I saw":

I saw a man cry because they deny him the right to use three letters of the alphabet for political purposes.

I saw a woman drink champagne (*) because they gave her that right denied to the other. I saw a man tear up the paper on which the three letters were written, which he loved so much.

As I have seen lovers tear portraits of their loved ones, in the impossibility of tearing their own loved ones.

I saw murders that were not practiced but were authentic homicides: the gesture in the air, without consequence, testified to the intention.

I saw the power of my fingers. Even without pulling the trigger, even without a trigger to pull, they consumed death in thought.

I saw passion in all its colors. Wrapped in different robes, adorned with distinct complements, it was the same desperate core, the living flesh;

And I saw dances celebrating the defeat of the adversary, and chants and fireworks.

I saw the ambiguous meaning of every party. There's always an antiparty next door, which doesn't make itself felt, and it hurts inside.

Politics, I saw the impurities of politics covering its theoretical purity. Or the other way around. If it's gambling, how can it be pure... If it is aimed at the general good, why do you feed on combinations and even fraud.

I saw the speeches.³⁷

Drummond de Andrade's poem portrayed how sectors of society received the news of the TSE's decision, and how this society recognized Brizola's "love for the PTB", as the poet describes. Writing "I saw the impurities of politics covering its theoretical purity," and "if it targets the general good, because it feeds on combinations and even fraud," Drummond stated that Ivete got the acronym through arrangements, and even fraud.

³⁷ ANDRADE, Carlos Drummond (2009). *I saw*. *Jornal do Brasil*, May 15, 1980. Available in: <http://www.pdt.org.br/index.php/brizola-chora-ao-perder-a-sigla-ptb-e-drummond-escreve-eu-vi/>

It is known that the government, through General Golbery, with whom Ivete had easy transit (SENTO-SÉ, 1999, p. 89, influenced the decision of the TSE, in the search to politically weaken Brizola. Ivete posed less danger and less opposition than the former governor. In addition to Sento-Sé, other historians, such as Thomas Skidmore, defended the government's influence on the acronym's decision.

For this author, Brizola had "good credentials" to obtain the right of the acronym, because it was "political product of Rio Grande do Sul, birthplace of Getúlio Vargas and PTB [...]. But the electoral authorities, probably at the suggestion of the government, granted the legend to Ivete Vargas, a secondary political figure." According to Thomas Skidmore, Ivete was well connected with Golbery, and granting the acronym to her was the general's strategy (1988, p.428).

Brizola, in speaking after the loss, and writing and tearing up the acronym PTB, demonstrated a dramaticity in his speech. According to Charaudeau, as emotions correspond to social representations, they can trigger sensations or behaviors that can be used to try to seduce, threaten, terrorize, in short, attract an interlocutor or an auditorium. For Charaudeau,

A discourse can produce an emotional effect in an auditorium according to the way three factors are combined: (i) the nature of the universe of belief to which the discourse refers (life/death, accident, catastrophe, massacre, love, passion, etc.). (ii) the discursive staging that may itself seem dramatic, tragic, humorous or neutral, (iii) the positioning of the interlocutor (or the public) in relation to the universes of belief summoned and the state of mind in which he finds himself. Thus, the subject who speaks must know how to choose universes of specific beliefs, theme them in a certain way and proceed to the given staging, all depending on the way he imagines his interlocutor or his audience and depending on the effect he hopes to produce in it (CHARAUDEAU, Political Discourse, 2015, p. 90).

In his speech, Brizola sought to cause a strong emotional effect, as he proceeded throughout his career. In it, he made use of the nature of the discourse, the belief to which the discourse refers, to giving an idea of the death of the acronym PTB, of the catastrophe that this would cause in the history of the party, and of the passion he had for it; he also made use of the discursive staging, emphasizing the tragic nature of the Court's decision, and for

the dramaticity with which he treats the episode himself; and finally, the positioning of the interlocutors and the public, stating: "they destroyed the PTB but they will not silence us".

According to Leite Filho, "Brizola was magnified in the episode. His hard-hitting note, the gesture of tearing and saying goodbye to the acronym, the tears, moved the country" (LEITE FILHO, 2008, p. 387). Milk Son, however, was wrong. Brizola was weakened by losing the acronym for which he had drawn up an entire project of reinvention, in addition to losing several deputies and a senator.

In this case, it is necessary to take into account the symbolic power that the acronym PTB represented. According to Pierre Bourdieu,

Symbolic power as a power to build the given by enunciation, to make us see and make believe, to confirm or to transform the vision of the world and, thus, action (sic) on the world, therefore the world; almost magical power that allows to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained by force (physical or economic), thanks to the specific effect of mobilisation, is only exercised if it is recognised, that is, ignored as arbitrary. Symbolic power, subordinate power, is a transforming form, that is, unrecognizable, transfigured and legitimized, of other forms of power: one can only pass beyond the alternative of energy models that describe social relations as relationships of force and the cybernetic models that make them communication relations, on condition that the laws of transformation governing the transmutation of different species of capital into symbolic capital are described (2002, p. 15)

Symbolic power, therefore, represents a central act in social relations, in which it exercises a power that exists only if it is recognized before others, legitimized and transforming. In the case of the loss of the acronym PTB, it represented for Brizola the necessary stimulus for the reconstruction of his political strength in the post-exile. It represented an acronym that still had considerable symbolic value in the memory of the population, of a nationalist-developmental project, and above all, labor.

The loss of the legend was the first blow suffered by Brizola in the post-exile. In March 1980, the PTB led by Brizola had 23 deputies and one senator. After the verdict of the TSE, the PDT was with 10 deputies, a number that then fell to nine, and no senator.

Brizola and the creation of PDT: Speeches of *O Globo*

On March 14, *O Globo* stated that Brizola became more critical after the loss of the acronym, with a more forceful language against the regime. In the interview, Brizola quoted the PTB only once, to say that he had died. Brizola stated that he and his group had been misled, but that the evil they thought of doing them fell much less on them than on the Brazilian people, "discrediting the process of openness, polluting the environment, increasing mistrust".³⁸

On the 16th, the newspaper discussed a possible alliance of Brizola's new group with the Workers' Party, stating that the two main proposals that would be presented the next day and on Sunday for discussion at the national workers' meeting linked to former governor Leonel Brizola, in the Tiradentes Palace, would be of a new acronym or merger with the PT.

The speech continued in the following days, on May 18, the newspaper published a news article entitled *Charisma of the acronym against Brizola's strength*, in which he states that the acronym PTB under Ivete was called "three dead letters", but were in fact "three magic letters, capable of attracting leaders who would not feel at ease in the shadow of Leonel Brizola himself"³⁹. The next day, 19, the newspaper announced that the new acronym of Brizola and his followers would be called PTD – Democratic Labor Party (name given to the party provisionally and which was soon changed to PDT – Democratic Labour Party)⁴⁰.

Thus, the newspaper continued reporting the loss of deputies of Brizola's new party, predicting a "stampede" for the PTB Ivete. On the 20th published "Brizolist Group loses six federal deputies", stating that just one day after the creation of the PTD, Brizola's group had lost Senator Leite Chaves and six other federal deputies, because deputies claimed lack of space. In the same article, *O Globo* brings statements by Ivete Vargas in which she promises to challenge the PTD and sue Brizola, for the statements of the former governor that he would have documents that confirmed the involvement of the PTB's Ivete with the government⁴¹.

The next day, 21, the journal published a story under the title "Ivete takes stock and provides for PTD stampede", in which the former congresswoman claimed that several congressmen linked to Brizola would leave his new party and leave for the PTB. Throughout

³⁸ *The Globe*, "Brizola becomes more critical," May 14, 1980, p. 04.

³⁹ *The Globe*, "Charisma of the acronym against the strength of Brizola, May 18, 1980", p. 08.

⁴⁰ *The Globe*, "Democratic Labor Party will gather followers of Brizola", May 19, 1980, p. 03.

⁴¹ *The Globe*, "Brizolist group loses six Deputies", May 20, 1980, cover, p. 03.

the news, it is highlighted that the PTB was expanding its caucus, and that Brizola's party would be losing even more members.⁴²

Already on May 27, *O Globo* published the news *Brizola launches another acronym: now it is PDT*, in which he writes that Brizola tore the day before (26), its second acronym, the PTD, reversing the letters and creating the PDT - Democratic Labor Party. For the newspaper, Brizola's justification was that the previous acronym was difficult to pronounce, but the real reason would be to facilitate a merger with the PT, because the acronym PDT could also mean Democratic Labour Party⁴³.

In the following days, May 28-31, the newspaper continued to deal with the possible merger of the PDT with the PT, highlighting on the 28th that Lula sent to Brizola metallurgical t-shirts, and stating that this was the first effective sign of the approach of the two⁴⁴. Already on the 30th, he states that Brizola and Lula would be drawing up a common action plan, forming specialized committees to examine the proposals of each one in the face of the political, economic and social issues of the country⁴⁵.

The next day, 31, *O Globo* publishes the following editorial, entitled *No work*:

BRIZOLA and Lula seek an approach, after starting apart and even becoming surprised. In PRINCIPLE, really, nothing more logical than an alliance between workers and workers. BUT POLITICS is not usually just in the recitals. In terms of finally, programmatic and partisan work in Brazil has taken paths that are not always relevant with doctrine or cause. REST, the mismatch continues. Brizola's work is that of Vargas' letter of will, and Lula's, that of the strike. All that's missing is work-based work⁴⁶

We noticed how the newspaper continued to fight Brizola's labor leadership and, in this case, also Lula's, by stating that Brizola proposed the work of Vargas and Lula the strike, and that only lacked work based on work. Throughout this period, the newspaper *o Globo* invested in the process of weakening and deconstruction of Brizola.

With the PDT, Brizola restarted his labor project, in what Sento-Sé calls brizolist work. For this it was necessary, in addition to incorporating the new themes, especially those

⁴² *The Globe*, "Ívete takes stock and predicts PDT stampede", May 21, 1980, p. 03.

⁴³ *The Globe*, "Brizola Launches Another Acronym: Now It's PDT," May 27, 1980, p. 04.

⁴⁴ *The Globe*, "Lula sends to Brizola the t-shirts of metallurgists", May 28, 1980, p. 05.

⁴⁵ *The Globe*, "Brizola and Lula study common action plan", May 30, 1980, p. 04.

⁴⁶ *The Globe*, "No work," May 31, 1980, p. 04.

related to minorities introduced by the approximation with social democracy, to promote a return to the memory of the work of 1945-1964, and to be the true heir of this work.

Thus, it is necessary to understand how memory was used in the reformulation of the labor project, based on the very concept of memory. According to Jacques Le Goff, memory is the "property of conserving certain information, a property that refers to a set of psychic functions that allows the individual to update impressions or past information, or reinterpreted as past" (LE GOFF, 1994, apud SILVA, 2009, p. 275).

In the labor case, the memory they sought and tried to recover in the opening process should be understood as a work of invention of a tradition, a reinvention of the labor tradition. By invented tradition, according to Eric Hobsbawm, a set of practices, of a ritual or symbolic nature, is understood, in which one tries establish a continuity with an appropriate historical past (HOBSBAWN, 1984, apud SENTO-SÉ, 1999, p. 99).

Therefore, the memory that the laborers sought, and which Brizola and the brizolists disseminated exhaustively throughout the 1980s is understood by Sento-Sé, and also in this work, as a discourse of reinvention of work, taking advantage of the fact that he it has never been formalized as a political doctrine or even as an articulated ideology.

In addition to Sento-Sé, other authors also use the expression "from work to brizolism", to explain the process of reinvention of work under Brizola's command in the post-1979. This is the case of Ronaldo Vainfas, who uses the concept of dark socialism to explain this process. For this author, Brizola's political discourse remained basically the same as the Lisbon Charter, synthesized in the idea of this dark socialism, a Brazilian socialism, a term created by Darcy Ribeiro in the 1982 state campaign (VAINFAS, 2007, p. 497).

Dark socialism, as stated earlier, should be the expression of "our people", and its fundamental programmatic principle was the proposal to unite social justice with democracy and freedom. In addition to the defense of minorities and the oppressed, the new brizolist project should be to strengthen fundamental education, based on the Integrated Centers of Public Education, the CIEPs (the most successful experience of the Brizola governments in Porto Alegre mayor, and in Rio Grande do Sul as governor) (VAINFAS, 2077, p.497).

This was the main differential in relation to the other opposition parties in the party reformulation. While the PMDB had the transition and strengthening of democracy, the PT supporting workers, and Ivete's PTB of a vague resumption of Getúlio Vargas' work, the PDT established itself as a party of minorities, committed primarily to the Education.

Also, in relation to the idea of dark socialism, or socialism to the Brazilian, it is necessary to affirm that the new party had as emphasis the non-classist character, should be a non-Marxist left party. In the economic issue, it should, if it achieved the objective of conquering federal power, recover the emphasis on the protection of national wealth and the vocation of the State as a driving agent of productive activity. (SENTO-SÉ, 2007, p.437).

These flags were taken up as their own work of 1945-1964, "through a discourse that associated the entire period of the Republic of 1945 with a supposed ancestry of the work of the so-called Vargas Era in the decision-making processes of that time".

Both in relation to the defense of the excluded of all hues as well as the promotion and defense of national wealth, the figure of Getúlio Vargas functioned as a fundamental reference. It was, by regaining the labour tradition, to update the myth, the statesman, the founder of the party and its main historical leader. The labor legacy personified in the figure of Brizola made him, at the same time, the successor of the founding hero of this tradition and the new conductor of the current that, organized partisanly, would resume Vargas' undying work, interrupted by the military coup, but kept alive in popular memory. This memory should be reactivated with greater strength, in order to achieve its virtuous realization in the new democracy to come (SENTO-SÉ, 2007, p. 438).

It was in this way that we sought to reinvent the brizolist tradition, from the memory of laborers who had in Vargas and Jango their main political references. It was intended to resume the labor project under Brizola. However, labor should accept the reformulations and differences of the new project, which included aspects related to social democracy, especially the issue of minorities.

Brizolist socialism should therefore be linked to the democratic issue and the strengthening of representative institutions, and the action of the State is responsible for humanizing capitalist relations within Brazilian society. The option for democracy is the main difference of dark socialism, proposed by the group led by Brizola in relation to a socialism linked to Marxist ideals. The rejection of the abolition of private property and the refusal of the armed revolution to come to power are still characteristics that differentiate the two models.

Final Considerations

In this article, we analyze the process of dispute of the acronym PTB between Brizola and Ivete Vargas and the creation of the PDT, through the analysis of the publications from January to May 1980 of the newspaper *O Globo*. The period was chosen because the party's registration application began in January, and the decision process of the Superior Electoral Court lasted until May, followed by the creation of the PDT.

We observe how the newspaper positioned itself in a favorable way to Ivete Vargas, creating news, editorials and bringing the critical opinion of other politicians to Brizola. During the months studied, the newspaper's speech followed a line that sought to disqualify Brizola's political project. Even if I didn't praise Ivete Vargas, *The Globe* focused criticism and disqualification strategies on Leonel Brizola.

The Globe supported the 1964 coup and remained favorable to dictatorial government for virtually its entire period. At various times, the newspaper disqualified labor party projects, criticizing the right to strikes, the expansion of labor rights. The newspaper followed a neoliberal line, supporting privatizations, encouraging the entry of private sector capital. Brizola, on the other hand, advocated the valorization of state enterprises, labor rights, agrarian reform, among others. Brizola's speech was the opposite of that advocated by *O Globo*, and the newspaper's support for Ivete Vargas in the process of dispute for the PTB occurred in an attempt to weaken Brizola politically.

To understand the discourse created by the newspaper, we resorted to the analysis of the discourse, through Patrick Charaudeau. The author exemplifies the strategies created by the media to compose his discourse, evidencing how he composes the titles of the news and the techniques used to disqualify an opponent in the political scenario. These techniques were proven in the research and the discourse analysis allowed us to understand how the newspaper elaborated its own discourse.

Finally, writing history through the press allows us to have an understanding of the need for the approximation between history and journalism in historical research. The way the press selects and writes its contents at a given time deserves to be the target of historical research for the importance it has in the development of political events. Finally, it is worth remembering that there are countless possibilities of research through the press in the historiographic field, and in particular, the relations between media and power relations, which should continue to gain space in the future scenario.

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