

PORTUGAL DEMOCRÁTICO: An exiles' newspaper¹

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ABSTRACT – The purpose of this article is to present the newspaper *Portugal Democrático* (Democratic Portugal) through its history, its style and format. It is a periodical publication produced in São Paulo by Portuguese exiles during the dictatorship of Antônio Salazar (1926-1974). The newspaper began to circulate in 1956 and came to an end in 1975, a year after the Carnation Revolution that occurred on April 25, 1974. Fighting the Salazar dictatorship outside Portugal was the reason for the creation of the newspaper in Brazil, where it also had the collaboration of Brazilian journalists and intellectuals. This paper analyzes the newspaper *Portugal Democrático* both in its political aspect and in its editorial feature and concludes that the paper played a greater role than informative. It was an important part of the international opposition movement and resistance to Salazar's dictatorial regime.

Key words: press, exile, Portugal, intellectual.

PORTUGAL DEMOCRÁTICO: um jornal de exilados

RESUMO – O objetivo deste artigo é apresentar o jornal *Portugal Democrático* através de sua história, de seu estilo e formato. Trata-se de uma publicação periódica produzida em São Paulo por exilados portugueses durante a ditadura de Antônio Salazar (1926-1974). O jornal começou a circular em 1956 e chegou ao fim em 1975, um ano depois da Revolução dos Cravos ocorrida em 25 de abril de 1974. Lutar contra a ditadura salazarista fora de Portugal foi o motivo da criação do jornal no Brasil, onde contou com a colaboração de jornalistas e intelectuais brasileiros. O trabalho analisa o jornal *Portugal Democrático* tanto em seu aspecto político quanto em sua feição editorial e conclui que o periódico teve um papel maior do que informativo. Ele foi parte importante no movimento internacional de oposição e resistência ao regime ditatorial de Salazar.

Palavras-chave: Imprensa; exílio; Portugal; intelectual.

PORTUGAL DEMOCRÁTICO: un periódico de exiliados

RESUMEN – El objetivo de este artículo es dar a conocer el periódico *Portugal Democrático* a través de su historia, de su estilo y formato. Se trata de una publicación periódica producida en São Paulo por los exiliados portugueses durante la dictadura de Antônio

Salazar (1926-1974). El periódico comenzó a circular en 1956 y dejó de publicarse en 1975, un año después de la Revolución de los Claveles el 25 de abril de 1974. La lucha contra la dictadura salazarista que se llevó a cabo fuera de Portugal fue el motivo de la creación del periódico en Brasil, en la que colaboraron periodistas e intelectuales brasileños. Este trabajo analiza el periódico tanto en el aspecto político como en el editorial. Una de las conclusiones principales es la gran relevancia que el periódico tuvo más allá de su rol informativo, formando parte del movimiento internacional de oposición y resistencia al régimen dictatorial de Salazar.

Palabras clave: prensa, exilio, Portugal, intelectual.

1. Introduction

Portuguese exile, press and memory. These are the topics that guide this research on the Portuguese exiles in Brazil during the Salazar dictatorship and its newspapers. The Portuguese authoritarian regime was one of the longest dictatorships of the last century. It lasted from May 28, 1926 to April 25, 1974, and its central figure was Antônio de Oliveira Salazar. He became president of the Council of Ministers in 1932 and left the Government in 1968. Marcelo Caetano was his substitute. This regime - which called itself New State - lasted almost five decades; it was considered an authoritarian nationalism. This nationalism was linked to colonial ideology and to the notion of empire. Salazar period was characterized by a repressive police state, which prevented modernization, critical reflection and maintained high levels of illiteracy in Portugal. Within this context, the space for opposition was very restricted and many of its members decide or are even obliged to leave the country.

This article has as main objective to analyze the newspaper *Portugal Democrático* through its history and its editions. It is part of a research project on the publications produced by Portuguese exiles in Brazil, which includes: the analysis of the most important newspaper - *Portugal Democrático* - and interviews² with Portuguese exiles. The main activity of these opponents of the Portuguese regime was to disclose the authoritarian and repressive government and fight for its end at a distance. The journals they created are one of the forms of

struggle. In this work I use the expression “opposition” without distinguishing ideological currents, political projects or even worldviews, which will certainly be held later.

The journal had 205 issues over three decades. A survey of library editions in Brazil and Portugal was carried out followed by a first reading of the entire collection. Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon, Portugal, has the complete collection of the bound journal and available for research. A portion of its editions are now available for reading on the internet. After many searches, it was possible to locate in *Jorge de Sena* Chair at the UFRJ Language Department, another collection, almost complete, in its file. For this work, a selection of eight significant editions with prominent topics, historical dates and reports and relevant signed articles was made. They were: the first issue of the July 1956 newspaper, the one in May 1959 covering Humberto Delgado's arrival in Brazil, the April 1964 publication to evaluate the presence in Brazil, from the military coup on, the September 1970 edition that comments on Salazar's death, the Colonial War treatment in the October/November issue of the same year, the end of the dictatorship and the Carnation Revolution in May 1974 edition and the newspaper's last two issues of March and April 1975, when the Revolution completed one year.

In my view, this research is relevant in many ways. Firstly, due to the lack of knowledge about the periodicals produced by Portuguese in exile in Brazil and France, as it is the case of the newspaper *Alarme* (Ferreira, 2016). In Brazil, there were several newspapers but none had the duration and importance of *Portugal Democrático*. It was a newspaper of the Portuguese intellectuality expression and Brazilian as well, as we will see later. It circulated practically uninterruptedly - it had a brief interval of less than a year between 1957 and 1958 -, it managed to keep circulating even after the Brazilian military coup. The newspaper's longevity and its specificity contribute to broadening the reflections on the so-called “alternative” press and its particularities. And, finally, *Portugal Democrático* can also be studied as an interesting Portuguese dictatorship portrait from the point of view of a group of Portuguese in Brazil, as well as a document of the press history produced by Portuguese afar, by its editorial proposal, its format, its headlines, its staff, its graphic design and its language.

2. Exile and emigration

To think of exile is to think about distancing. Intellectual Edward Said (2003), in his reflections on exile, states: “Exile compels us strangely to think about it, but it is terrible to experience. It is an incurable fracture between a human being and a native place, between self and his or her true home: its essential sadness can never be overcome” (p. 46).

For Said (2003), even with personal adaptations, “exile achievements are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever.” He goes further, emphasizing that, “modern Western culture is, to a large extent, the work of exiles, emigrants, refugees” (p. 46).

Historian Bruno Groppo (2002), an exile researcher in Europe, says that the phenomenon has changed over time and gained specificity in the twentieth century.

For him

political exile is seen as a component of a much broader phenomenon, that of refugees, which reached a spectacular development from World War I on and which, after being an essentially European problem in the first half of the century, became, then a world problem, remaining as such to this day. (p.70).

In his view, exile is a form of migration that is distinguished from the so-called economic migration by their forced character: “Exile is an involuntary migration of the one who would have dreamed of staying in his country, but who was either deprived or had to leave it to escape persecution or serious threats” (Groppo, 2002).

Its purpose is to save the life and freedom and it is the result of authoritarian and dictatorial regimes. And although one can speak of plural exiles, the experience of exile is lived in a personal and subjective way. This is visible in the very relationship they establish with the host country.

The exiled individual is defined by the anthropologist Douglas Silva (2007), who investigated the Portuguese as “a person engaged in collective activities of cultural and political intervention abroad, destined to have their own exile” (p.16). It is worth mentioning that exile differs from other migratory processes because of the close and intense relationship that exiles maintain with their origin country. Permanence in exile is lived as temporary. And, therefore, being a political exile is distinct from being an emigrant.

For historian Mauricio Parada (2015) another important point of distinction between the emigrant and the exile is the impossibility of returning. “His or her trajectory depends on situations that they do not control, in a condition of perpetual instability lives and negotiates his or her experience with the other” (p.93). The experience of exile will bring about strangeness and specific uprooting, as well as the possibility/need to create solidarity networks. Exiles’ testimonies in different contexts explain this. (Rollemberg, 1999; Barcelos, 2009).

3. Being a refugee

Zygmunt Bauman, a Polish sociologist, said in 2002 that “refugees do not move places; they lose their place on the land.” (p. 10) He recalls that in the two hundred years of modern history, the refugees, “people without place”, were the responsibility of the host country. The refugees, in his view, are between two fires: expelled by force from their country and having the entrance denied in another.

In 1951 a “Refugee Statute”³ was established by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which states:

“anyone who, due to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country” can be considered a refugee.

Grosso (2002, p. 99) points out that the notions of exile, refugee and emigre are difficult to define satisfactorily. But we can establish contact points between refugees and exiles; the United Nations Statute gives the former a specific and distinct place from the exiles.

4. Portuguese emigration

The history of Portuguese emigration to Brazil is quite complex. It should be thought of as a process that did not begin with Independence, but shortly after the “discovery” in the sixteenth century, and it has many nuances. “From the nineteenth century until 1930, it was seen as a threat to Brazilian nationality; From 1930 to 1945, during the Vargas era, it assumed the role of strengthening

nationality in the face of the fascist threat “, according to researcher Andrea Telo da Côte (In: MARTINS, 2013, p.39) Brazil was the country that received most Portuguese emigrants between 1900 and 1967 (ESCUADERO, 2007). It was a mass of citizens who arrived in the former colony in search of work, a better life and often fleeing from hunger. Most of these emigrants had low schooling or were almost illiterate. Brazil emerged as a place of hope and possibilities.

For the historian Maria Luisa Paschkes

The Salazar government was undoubtedly the first in Portuguese history to directly and systematically encourage emigration. On the one hand, the economic policy orientation towards the secondary and tertiary sectors stimulated the exodus from the countryside to the city. On the other hand, the subsequent implementation of an employment policy has led the government to have a greater control of the needs of the domestic market and the surplus. (PASCHKES, 1985, p.58)

During the first 22 years of the regime - from 1928 to 1950 - the migratory flow did not stop. In 1929, for example, there were 36,893 emigrants who went mainly to Brazil. According to Paschkes, “the Salazar government will realize its curse: labor market begins to become unbalanced by ‘external factors’ or by ‘extra-economic phenomena’, in allusion to the attractive European market and the colonial war.” (PASCHKES, 1985, p.59)

5. Portuguese press in exile

Researcher Heloisa Paulo (2007, 64) divides opposition journalism in Brazil into three phases:

- The first from the early 30's, whose newspaper *Portugal Republicano* is the strongest representative. Bernardino Machado, Raul Proença, Ramada Curto wrote in it. Besides the newspaper, notes published in the Rio de Janeiro press make up this stage.

- The second, which began in the 1940s, is characterized by the presence of opposition members to the Salazar regime in the country's newspapers. The main participants of this phase are: Lúcio Pinheiro dos Santos, Jaime de Moraes, Novais Teixeira, Sarmiento de Beires, Thomas Ribeiro Colaço. Still in this phase, some of them stop acting in the press and new ones appear such as: Francisco Cachapuz (pseudonym Paulo de Castro) and Miguel Urbano Rodrigues. The

main newspapers that published exile texts were: *Última Hora*, *Diário Carioca*, *Diário de Notícias*, *O Jornal*, from Rio de Janeiro and *O Estado de São Paulo*, from São Paulo.

- The third and last phase is characterized by the appearance of the opposition periodicals produced in the late 1950s, such as *Portugal Democrático* and *Portugal Livre*, which express the vision of distinct groups opposing the regime. The first one was created by men linked to the Communist Party such as Vitor de Almeida Ramos and Manuel Ferreira Moura and Republicans such as João Sarmiento Pimentel. *Portugal Livre* arises in 1959, officially directed by Cláudio Abramo, who was working at *O Estado de São Paulo*. The newspaper was idealized by some exiles dissatisfied with the *Portugal Democrático's* editorial line such as Humberto Delgado. The journal was short-lived with only sixteen editions from November 1959 to March 1961 and counted on the participation of Henrique Galvão, Victor da Cunha Rego, João Santana Mota, João Alves das Neves, Joaquim Ribeiro Bastos, Paulo de Castro, Pedroso Lima and Miguel Urbano Rodrigues.

Still in third phase, in the late 1950s, the periodical *Colônia Portuguesa*, directed by Joaquim Duarte Batista, appeared in São Paulo and Gonçalves Paratudo was the editor. Its characteristic was to be a newspaper directed to the Portuguese colony but with an opposition profile. Also from São Paulo, already in the 70s and by the same director, the publication *Semana Portuguesa* is created. In the early 1960s, the newspaper *Oposição Portuguesa* appeared in Rio de Janeiro and Brazilian journalist Seraphim Porto was the director. This is a publication of General Humberto Delgado's followers in Brazil. At the end of the same decade, the periodical *Duas Bandeiras* was created. Fernando Queiroga, its idealizer, and Roberto das Neves write in it. With its critics to the Salazar's government, it draws attention of the Portuguese and Brazilian dictatorships at that moment.

6. *Portugal Democrático*: an overseas newspaper

In the survey of publications edited in Brazil by Portuguese exiles, one newspaper stood out: *Portugal Democrático*. It was the most important newspaper edited by the Portuguese exiles in the country. It was produced in São Paulo and circulated monthly from July 7, 1956 to

1975, being the edition number 205 of the year XIX the last one, with no precise date. During the two decades of its existence it faced several financial and circulation difficulties, both in the Portuguese community and in the Brazilian society, which led to a brief interruption of its publication between August 1957 and May 1958.

Portugal Democrático ends its activities in April 1975, a year after the Carnation Revolution and the end of the dictatorship. According to Silva (2006, p. 94), what made the journal's longevity viable was the fact that it had national and international networks that allowed its existence and circulation, since the journal had practically no penetration with the Portuguese emigrants in Brazil, since much of this universe comes to the country in search of work, fleeing from misery and is largely Catholic and Salazarist. That is, it has a very distinct profile of the exiles, both in terms of intellectual formation and political vision.

The view of historian Heloisa Paulo (2006/2007) on the relation of the two Portuguese groups in the country reinforces this idea. She comments:

During the whole period of dictatorial rule in Portugal and the oppositionists' activity in Brazil, the biggest reaction against the oppositionists comes from the Salazarist emigrants themselves. In the colony's unofficial newspapers, the published articles show an "aversion" to any and all actions taken by opponents against the Lisbon regime ... Concerned about a possible advance by oppositionists in the colony's organs, they will denounce and "conspire" for the segregation of political emigres. (p. 133).

The history of *Portugal Democrático* can be divided into two phases: the first one lasting two years - 1956 and 1957 - when it has a small circulation, and the second from 1958 when it becomes a medium-sized newspaper, with an average circulation of 4 thousand copies. It is released with eight pages, with monthly frequency, becoming later weekly. It said on the first page, "It goes out on the first Saturday of every month." At first, it is read only in São Paulo and over time circulation becomes national. Its format is tabloid, with two-color cover and then changes to standard with color on the inside pages. The director in charge until 1970 was Brazilian Octavio Martins de Moura. Until 1958, the newspaper had its headquarters at Rua Líbero Badaró, 561, room 506, in São Paulo. Later, it started to operate at Rua Conselheiro Furtado, 191. From 1971, Edison Rodrigues Chaves, also Brazilian, became director until 1975, when the newspaper stopped circulating.

The newspaper's creators were Vítor Almeida Ramos and Manuel Ferreira Moura who acted throughout its history until the 25th of April. The group that founded the periodical had great political diversity. There were Republicans, socialism sympathizers but most were communists, members of the Portuguese Communist Party such as Miguel Urbano Rodrigues, Augusto Aragão, historian Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, and sociologists Antonio Bidarra da Fonseca and Joaquim Quitério, who collaborated with the newspaper in different phases. Carlos Assumpção Neves and Joaquim Duarte Baptista came from the former Portuguese Republican Center; João Sarmento Pimentel and Jaime Cortesão were liberal republicans and writer Thomaz Ribeiro Colaço monarchist. According to Leitão (2015), Pimentel was “a leading figure in the struggle against Salazarism and one of the newspaper's founders, having arrived in Brazil in 1927, shortly after the military coup of 1926” (p. 280).

For researcher Douglas da Silva (2006) the newspaper was more than an informative periodical. It was part of “an international movement to challenge Salazar regime and the Portuguese New State” and it brought together a very diverse set of political positions (p. 33). It is worth remembering that with the end of World War II and the return to democratic governments in Brazil, the country became a place to welcome the opponents of the Salazar regime.

The group that worked in *Portugal Democrático* gathered intellectuals, journalists, writers, artists, lawyers, engineers, workers, merchants, among others. Without forgetting the militants and volunteers, there were more than 50 collaborators. Journalists Miguel Urbano Rodrigues, Victor da Cunha Rego, João Alves das Neves, Carlos Maria de Araujo and João Sant'Anna Mota worked in the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* and collaborated on *Portugal Democrático*. Writers Adolfo Casais Monteiro and Maria Archer have been active in the newspaper since the beginning, so have Maria Antonia Fiadeiro, Sidônio Muralha, Veiga Leitão, Fernando Correia da Silva, Mario Henrique Leiria and Manuela Gouveia Antunes and the essayist Eduardo Lourenço. Plastic artist Fernando Lemos participated in the newspaper from 1958 until the end and he was part of the Editorial Board in two moments. In addition to these, Jorge de Sena, journalist Paulo de Castro (pseudonym of Francisco de Barros Cachapuz), Manuel Sertório, Francisco Vidal, Álvaro Veiga, Alexandre Ferreira, and others collaborated.

For researchers Matos & Gonçalves (2014, pp. 235-236), several Brazilians among intellectuals, diplomats and journalists supported the newspaper in distinct ways, as was the case of ambassador Álvaro

Lins; sociologists Florestan Fernandes, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Octavio Ianni; literary critic Antonio Candido; writers Graciliano Ramos, José Lins do Rego, Murilo Mendes, Rubem Braga, Fernando Sabino, Lygia Fagundes Telles and Raquel de Queirós, poets Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Manuel Bandeira and Vinícius de Moraes; historians Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Caio Prado Júnior and Carlos Guuilverme Mota; journalist Claudio Abramo; intellectual Sérgio Milliet and editor Ênio Silveira. Brazilian lawyers and engineers also collaborated such as Octávio Martins Moura, Edson Rodrigues Chaves and Sylvio Band occupying direction positions in the newspaper, not forgetting Dulce Ramos, Vitor Ramos' wife, who owned the periodical during a short period.

Therefore, the newspaper spoke in the name of a specific, democratic Portugal even though its members were from different currents, from republicans to monarchists, with a majority of members or sympathizers of the Portuguese Communist Party.

Figure 1 –First page of the first edition of *Portugal Democrático* - July 7, 1956



The first number - # 1 year 1 - opens its edition in red and black with a text in editorial format presenting itself to the reader. Its slogan explains its reason to be: to take “the truth about the new Portuguese

reality". Its intention was not to be a newspaper for Portuguese in Brazil. This statement demonstrates how prolific the journalistic production for this community in the country was. Its mission was to produce a newspaper that imparted the truth with independence. Its readership was made up of Portuguese and Brazilians seeking information about Portugal.

We are absolutely integrated in our democratic forces union in Portugal. (...) and which is the safest guarantee of victory. (...) Certainty that the Portuguese of Brazil, above all, want the progress of our country, within a democratic and dignified system. (...) Our eyes are always focused on the interest of Portugal. (Democratic Portugal, year 1, n. 1, page 1)

And he concludes: "Facing the future, aware of the realities of the present and proud of the greatness of the past, here the Portuguese of Brazil have their newspaper, *Portugal Democrático*." (Portugal Democrático, ano 1, n. 1, p. 1)

In its first edition of eight pages, all the material, articles and columns are dedicated to the fight against the Portuguese dictatorship. The first page brings an article about the forbidden letters of historian Antonio Sergio on Goa to the Overseas Minister. In it, it is clear that the colonies are part of the issues that concern the opposition. Next to it, there is a story about the concentration camp at Tarrafal where dozens of Portuguese were arrested. It is evident the vehemence of the periodical when associating Salazar government to Nazism and the persecution and extermination of Jews in World War II.

Portugal Democrático was a newspaper without funding, with almost no publicity - only in the last years it appears - produced by sympathizers of the cause, all of them volunteers, Portuguese or Brazilian. This fact is explained in the file of the first issue of the newspaper and published on page 2:

This newspaper accepts any and all collaboration aimed at serving '*Portugal Democrático*' with truth and independence. There is no subsidy. Its life depends on Portuguese who, despite being emigres, want a true democratic regime in their homeland. The most immediate way to help is to subscribe to an annual subscription CR\$20,00 or a special subscription Cr\$ 100,00. (Democratic Portugal, year 1, n. 1, page 2)

On the first page, the red stamp warns: "This number was not endorsed by the Censorship Commission in Portugal". It is a way of explaining the censorship in force in that country and inform the reader that the newspaper had not suffered any restriction in its publication. This stamp will appear in several editions to inform the reader. It is a

warning that gave the reader confidence about the content of the texts and their credibility, since several newspapers kept in the “colony” were mere repeaters of the Salazarist press. *Portugal Democrático* was very emphatic in its statements even allowing to be affirmed that it was an editorialized newspaper, since all its texts had a common focus: the end of the regime in force in Portugal. Although its target audience was not the Portuguese colony - mostly sympathetic or partisan of the Portuguese New State -, in the first issue of the newspaper a note titled “Immigrants in Brazil” is highlighted.

Only through *Portugal Democrático*, many of us can take notice of this movement that is gaining public opinion in our country. Perhaps it will cost the Portuguese admirer of Salazar to accept the existence of such a cruel repression in his homeland. “(...)” without renouncing its conceptions, do not hesitate to claim our compatriots’ liberty, persecuted, martyred and imprisoned. (Democratic Portugal, year 1, n. 1, page 1)

Figure 2 – Headings of the newspaper *Portugal Democrático*



7. The newspaper's edition: the text and its pages' look

In reading its copies, one can highlight some important aspects. *Portugal Democrático* remained faithful to its objective from the beginning to the end of its history: to fight against Salazar dictatorship. That was the reason for its creation. Its pages bring information from Portugal, but not only politics, although these occupy most of the space. There are also notes on soccer championships, on the health issue in the country and inflation. Poetry is also on its pages. In the first issue there is the poem “*Adeus à hora da largada*” (Goodbye at the time of the start) by Agostinho Neto, presented as a “young poet from Angola, currently imprisoned in the metropolis”. He was the leader of The People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola and became President of the country in 1975. Here we can relate this poem not only to the newspaper’s cultural aspect, but to the colonial issue that will explode with the Carnation Revolution. In the first issue, there is an article entitled “Colonial Issues,” signed by Adelino Amaral, where he affirms that these peoples without citizenship rights are being exploited and enslaved. Over the years, this theme will often occupy the first page and will be analyzed in reports and articles.

The newspaper was built with articles signed by collaborators, Portuguese in their majority and also Brazilians. In these there is a more personal tone and, depending on the author and the occasion, it will be more emphatic and critical regarding the Portuguese dictatorship or more ironic, as, for example, the article by Fernando Lemos (1956) entitled “Portugal, hurt anyone who hurt ...” In it the artist talks about the discovery of Brazil. “And behold, turning the spell upon the sorcerer, the Indian discovered the discoverer” (p. 8).

There were also fixed columns such as “Unsuspected Opinion” by Sarmiento Pimentel and “The Salazar Obscurantism” by Barradas de Carvalho, often accompanied by drawings and caricatures. In a small note in the May 1959 issue, the paper states: “[...] the signed articles we publish in our columns reflect the authors’ personal opinions. Only the comments and unsigned notes reflect *Portugal Democrático* ‘Drafting Committee’s’ opinion. “This observation shows that there was divergence between staff and Editorial Committee.

The articles of the Portuguese newspaper, written by volunteer collaborators and sympathizers of the cause, were not

edited and went through the newspaper with internal pages bringing together the continuation of four or five texts, which produced a visual effect of miscellaneous of writings and authors. According to Ribeiro (1950), Brazil, it is in the 1950s, the decade of the creation of *Portugal Democrático*, that newspapers begin to adopt the lead, the first paragraph of the news that seeks to answer basic questions about the subject. The fact that almost all the texts of the Portuguese newspaper continue in other pages, without major concern of editing, refers to this phase of Brazilian journalism. Until then, the editors chose not to cut or reduce the text to fit the page. Therefore, this way of editing the newspaper was not a peculiarity of do *Portugal Democrático*, it was a common practice at the time.

The newspaper headlines are often “flashy” and can be understood as a narrative resource used for its legitimation (Albuquerque 2000). Two headlines exemplify this observation: “Brazil received Humberto Delgado Triumphantly” (May 1959) and “The animal died, the poison did not die “. The first refers to the arrival in the country of General Humberto Delgado, candidate of the opposition to the Portuguese presidential elections. The other news was Salazar’s death. The title of the article signed by the Editor is strong and treats the ruler as an “animal” and emphasizes that his death does not end dictatorship, defined as venom or poison. However, I do not think they can be considered sensationalist. As Márcia Amaral (2005) states, sensationalism is a wandering concept. It is associated with the popular press and the use of devices that would not be acceptable to journalistic ethics. *Portugal Democrático* is not a popular newspaper, on the contrary, it is a vehicle destined to a specific, politicized public, part of an intellectual elite. And if the titles are debatable, in particular the second one, by their exaggeration and intensity; they cannot be criticized for spreading false information.

During the almost 20 years of existence, *Portugal Democrático* did not change its political profile. However, its format has been changing. There have been many changes in visual and graphical terms. But the discreet red in its first edition remains until the last issue of 1975 and occupies the entire first page in honor of the Carnation Revolution. The logo has changed over the years as well as the size of the newspaper.

Figure 3 – *Portugal Democrático's* first pages



In the early years, the photos are few and small. The texts occupy most of the newspaper, as is the case of the first issue that brings three small photos and some drawings. In some issues, the photographs serve as a complaint. This is the case of the April 1964 issue where there is a photo on the first page titled “Students Against Salazar!” and shows a demonstration of Portuguese students held on Student Day in Lisbon streets against fascism. Another example is the cover images from the October-November 1970 issue of the newspaper. It features photographs published in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* taken in Mozambique and shows the atrocities of the Portuguese colonialist army against a guerrilla from FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique).

Drawings, illustrations and cartoons were present throughout its existence. The first edition features a drawing by a saleswoman by Portuguese artist Lima de Freitas. The text presents the young realist artist and it nevertheless stresses his concern to show the contradictions of Portuguese society. The newspaper of May of 1959 brings a cartoon with two men participating in a demonstration, one of them with a photo of Francisco Craveiro Lopes and another with a sign written “Viva Delgado”. The first was Salazar’s candidate for the election and the second, Humberto Delgado, of the opposition.

The diffusion of the newspaper in Brazil was through subscriptions sale and then, with its growth, in newsstands in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Subscriptions were an important part of the newspaper’s support, and in order to survive, it had the support of many volunteers at various stages of its production, such as financial support, topic selection,

invitation to collaborators and newsroom. There were also those who took care of the graphical part, text correction and revision and those that acted in the diagramming, expedition and distribution of the copies. Miguel Urbano talks about the editing process (Matos & Gonçalves, 2014):

Usually there was an agreed date for the 'closing' of the newspaper and a designated member to coordinate the collection and organization of the material to be published. There was a first meeting to define the background topic and the special issues to be addressed in the edition, the choice of collaborators (...) There was an element that made the connection with typography. (...) (p. 237).

In the May 1959 issue, there are notes that address the issue of selling, subscription, and distributing the newspaper, including out of the country. In them, the newsroom informs that, for issues related to the newspaper such as subscription, donations, suggestions, you should contact Mr. Jorge Silveira through the address provided. On the last page, there is a note that says: "To all Portugal Democrático subscribers, whether from Brazil, Portugal or abroad, we request that they pay their subscription in debt as a matter of urgency." Reports like these demonstrate the newspaper's circulation scope - international - and how much it financially depended on the sale of subscriptions to keep itself.

Advertising on its pages is almost non-existent until the early 1970s. In the May 1974 issue, for example, ads for lawyer services and insurance agencies emerge. The last two issues of the 1975 newspaper are already filled with the most diverse ads. These are printers, photoliths, publishers, soviet books⁴, insurance brokerage, transportation companies, a radio, a Portuguese program on TV Tupi, a trade union newspaper, among others. These issues feature more pages as well.

8. Final considerations

The idea of this article was to present *Portugal Democrático* and the first data of a research about the Portuguese press in exile in Brazil and how the exiles worked in it. It was clear that the Portuguese presence in Brazil was great and the transatlantic movement intensely bringing emigrants and exiles throughout the twentieth century. *Portugal Democrático* had as its main reader the political exiles and the Brazilian intelligentsia opposed to the Salazar dictatorship. The latter, besides being a reader, also collaborated as it was the case of: Antonio Candido, Florestan Fernandes, Caio Prado Júnior, Álvaro Lins,

Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Ligia Fagundes Telles and participated in movements and campaigns against the Salazar government.

The newspaper produced in Brazil is an expression of an international movement against the dictatorship that has acted in several European countries, mainly France and Spain, establishing a network of solidarity and support to the exiles, divulging the atrocities of the Portuguese regime and fighting abroad for its end. According to Matos and Gonçalves (2014, p. 236) through the collaboration of several opponents of the regime, the journal arrived in Portugal thanks to varied strategies, such as being sent along with other newspapers, through ship crews sympathetic to the cause and also by mail. This also affected the exiled anti-salazarist public in Canada, Venezuela, Uruguay, Argentina, the United States, England and France. As researcher Gilda Santos (2005, p. 59) affirms, the newspaper was not an “isolated phenomenon in Brazil, in São Paulo.” In its pages, it is possible to find the presence of similar organs existing in other countries as associations, committees and groupings in Canada and France.

If on one hand the print was produced by Portuguese and Brazilians and having international circulation, it is relevant to highlight the absence of Brazil in its pages. There is virtually no news or column about the country. The newspaper is totally focused on Portugal issues and Brazil appears as headquarters. The texts do not deal with issues of the country, even in dramatic moments such as the military coup of March 1964. As it is known, the censorship to the press in Brazil still had not gained the force that would have in the years following the coup, especially since 1968 with the AI-5. I want to draw attention to this observation that, throughout the reading of its editions, it was evident that the newspaper's focus was not Brazil. In periods prior to 1964, in more democratic phases of national life, the topics of the country did not occupy the pages of *Portugal Democrático*. Certainly, after 1964 this omission has another reason to be: the preservation of the journal itself.

The vehicle can be seen as a channel of expression of this community that sought in another country and, fleeing censorship in Portugal, fight for its cause. Produced with rare frequency - monthly and for 19 uninterrupted years - the newspaper is an exemplary case to think about the relationship between exile and the press. Italian exiles during fascism, as well as Brazilians during the military dictatorship, also produced newspapers and magazines with the aim of publicizing the situation in their country and mobilizing the international community (Rollemborg, 1999).

Finally, I would point out that this is the first production of an

ongoing research that besides studying the newspaper, in a second stage, we will conduct interviews with Portuguese political exiles about their life stories and their vision of this important political periodical.

*This paper was translated by Audrey Frischknecht

NOTES

- 1 A preliminary version of this article was presented at the XXXIX Brazilian Congress of Communication Sciences - Intercom, in São Paulo in 2016.
- 2 The second stage of this project is the conducting of interviews with Portuguese who exiled in Brazil during the Salazar dictatorship. They will also include Portuguese who did not act directly in the newspaper.
- 3 Available at: http://www.refugiados.net/cid_virtual_bkup/asilo2/2eacnur.html Accessed on July 24, 2017.
- 4 General Humberto Delgado was assassinated on February 13, 1965, in Spain, by a PIDE agent - International Police and State Defense.
- 5 It is an advertisement with the acronym CT that announces technology, medicine and literature books in Spanish, English and French sold by postal reimbursement and the address is from São Paulo, There is no reference to the titles of the works, nor their authors. It is worth remembering that many of the journal's employees were members of the Portuguese Communist Party. General Humberto Delgado was assassinated on February 13, 1965, in Spain, by a PIDE agent - International Police and State Defense.

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