

# CHAPTER 4

# **BRAZILIAN COUNTERCULTURE THROUGH THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS - THE COLUMN UNDERGROUND (1969- 1971), FLOR DO MAL (1971) AND ROLLING STONE (1972-1973)**

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**B**razilian counterculture is analyzed through the production, diffusion and reception of the alternative press, in particular, the column Underground (1969-1971) in the weekly magazine *O Pasquim* (1969-1991), the newspaper *Flor do Mal* (1971) and the Brazilian edition of the magazine *Rolling Stone* (1972-1973). Their contents referred to art, behavior and the need for an alternative space for the production and dissemination of information. Although they had no defined ideological stance, within a Marxist concept, these representatives of the alternative press gave rise to a countercultural situation in contrast to texts prepared by mainstream newspapers and magazines (Bueno, 1978). References ranged between mysticism and messianic cult to data on the US underground through Oswald de Andrade's *Anthropophagy*, *Psychoanalysis* and *Tropicalism*, among the many horizons revealed by the Counterculture. A certain ideological struggle may be perceived by their experimental, a-systematic, non-aligned and non-profit attitudes. Even though they did not go directly against the dictatorship, they formed a dissent against the Brazilian military regime and introduced new ways of being, feeling and thinking in Brazil.

**Keywords:** magazines, alternative press, counterculture, Brazil.

## **4.1. Brazilian provocations by the alternative press<sup>45</sup>**

Counterculture sources in Brazil will be investigated by the product of the so-called alternative press, in particular the column Underground (1969-1971) in the weekly magazine *O Pasquim* (1969-1991), the newspaper *Flor do Mal* (1971) and the Brazilian edition of the magazine *Rolling Stone* (1972-1973), published in Rio de Janeiro by the journalist and philosopher Luiz Carlos Maciel. The production process, dissemination and reception of these newspapers and magazines in Brazil will be discussed. They were generically nicknamed underground, post-Tropicalist, marginal, dwarfish, non-aligned, emergent and several other terms, with a host of connotations and contradictions used as synonyms for independent literary productions (Miccolis apud Mello, 1986: 61). According to César (1993: 123), the above-mentioned type of press represented a counter-media, featuring wayward behavior by accepting marginality not as an alternative condition but as a threat, as an aggression and a transgression against mainstream attitudes within the context of the Brazilian military dictatorship with its inherent hedging of freedom of speech. We shall call this type of counterculture-related press as Brazilian provocations, inspired by the Dutch title *Provos* (provocations), a pioneer Counterculture movement. The *Provos* program was the politicization of daily experience through non-conventional discourses and activities, dealing with themes such as ecology and freedom, critique on the encroaching technocracy of life and a search for the humanization of the person and of physical space (Guarnaccia, 2001). The movement, among so many others established within this

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<sup>45</sup> This chapter is the result of the oral communication presented at the Kismif Conference (2015) and is an English-language version of articles on the subject in Brazilian journals

context, was called Counterculture by the american social media and has been characterized by non-systematic resistance and experience in several places around the globe, albeit featuring local tones. Counterculture is the search by young people for an alternative lifestyle translated into several exotic types of behavior which were considered dangerous, illegal and taken on the spur of the moment. It became highly visible in the USA through the integrated struggle for negro, homosexual and feminist civil rights, the insertion of young people as relevant social agents, pacifism, ecology and other new proposals which had not been included in traditional policies. Hall remarks:

*[...] We may deal with the growing politicization of the Underground from the integrated struggle for civil rights, through rebellions on the university campus, to the separatist militancy of Negro power and the white New Left. First, a critique of the system was established: poverty in the midst of richness, power of the military-industrial complex, obscenity of war and US imperialism on a global scale, the great lie of the manipulation of mass media, the growing absurdity of many segments of American youth, mistaken and compulsive education of students in the huge and impersonal structures of corporative-dependent multi-universities. Second, as problems widen and become complex, a new style of political activism has been shaped: marches for freedom, the organization of communities, campus occupation, teach-ins, mass manifestations, city uprisings involving looting and torching, the several modes of confrontations. Within such a matrix, a whole generation, a continent, an era of political conventionalisms, evasions, ideologies and groupings, were thawed (Hall, 2002: 56-57).*

The above does not boil down to a replacement of capitalist by a socialist society, both industrialized and based on technocracy, but questions the presuppositions of industrial civilization and its central paradigm: instrumental rationality (Bueno, 1978:14). The whole idea was to decentralize the paradigm, opening to other possibilities and facing a new existential praxis without strings and strictures in a society of experts (Bueno, 1978:15).

Counterculture was seen by many as the last breath of the romantic movement in the 20th century, a utopia which was experienced and spread by minorities and which reached Europe and Latin America in a specific way. Luiz Carlos Maciel, considered the main interlocutor of counterculture in Brazil, states that:

*[...] marginal culture, free from streamline acknowledgement. It may be defined anti-culture within a university milieu. It complies with de-classified instincts in academic quarters. Understanding the Counterculture phenomenon presupposes the suppression of the bias that has been placed within us during childhood. In other words, our specific culture and its forms are higher and better than those of others, past or future.*

*It is a stubborn illusion foregrounded by all institutions, ranging from the university to politics. Counterculture's first action, truly positive and genuinely revolutionary, was denying it.*



*It was a spontaneous act. The rise and development of the so-called Counterculture were not foreseen by the world of knowledge that forms our culture. It was actually and only understood due to distortions.*

*Its source was the fundamental magic of reality, its everlasting capacity to create, rebellious to all types of rationalizations. It is the main historical originality of counterculture. It tends more to magic than to any reasonable process (Maciel,1982: 19).*

By the end of the 1960s, magic, characterized by Maciel, himself the Brazilian Counterculture source, concocted a resistance discourse in the wake of dictatorial repression and provided different and ironic responses to the issue of nationality, the cause of terrible clashes. Initially it became visible through Tropicalism<sup>46</sup> understood as an exotic movement, a foreign stance, a bourgeoisie fashion, a true peril for Brazilian society due to its disrupting concepts of family and society. Rogério Duarte comments:

*[...] Tropicalism was essentially a loving desire of modernity towards Brazil. It was a suppressed point of view (and still is) and which, at that precise historical moment, one could disseminate. It was an ecstatic instance, a moment of true creativity, which sustained the country, and still does. It was perhaps the most modern movement in Brazil since it was a movement locked to contemporary civilization; a mass movement, without qualms, without any commitment or ideological strings with leftist or rightist parties. It was Brazilian intelligence visible within an instance of awareness, clearness and passion for one's country. It was a moment in which the whole Brazilian capacity became evident to all. When I deal with Tropicalism, I insist that it was not a movement but Brazilian art. Modernism had precisely the same characteristics. This is Brazil's vocation. It is our discourse. It is our identity. Superficial visions may exist but this Brazilian vocation is actually everywhere: in our struggle, in our passions, in the Brazilian universal identity (Duarte, 2003:138).*

Counterculture manifestations were also called visionary. The orthodox Left involved in guerrillas tagged it an immature, subjective and individualist movement. Its followers were labeled deserters of the revolutionary cause, Marcuse's children, alienated people and crazy boys due to their valorization of intuitive, sensorial and imaginative processes.

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<sup>46</sup> Tropicalism was a cultural movement which flourished in the late 1960s. It catalyzed the concerns and dead ends of the post-1964 situation by enhancing an aesthetic renewal and by ushering new possibilities for the Brazilian identity issue. Really it was a colorful and noisy phase, albeit short, with almost immediate signs of wear and tear within the context of the military-built structure (Barros, 2000:100).

*[...] several people from the 1970 generation – which does not exclude people from other generations as well – failed to acknowledge political militancy as an ideal of life. Adopting liberality proposed by the Counterculture movement, they embraced visionarism as a sign of rebelliousness and denial of revolutionary projects and, up to a certain point, the current situation (Gonçalves, 2008:39).*

Maciel refuted the criticisms made about counterculture, affirming the positive aspect of 'swallowing', according Oswald's anthropophagy<sup>47</sup>, of what he calls transplantation of culture:

*[...] If no bad intentions are extant, transplantation of culture is the natural and spontaneous phenomenon since it boils down to a datum that feeds the cultural process already in the making in a developing country such as Brazil. It is a datum from a developed country. I surmise that absorption occurs naturally. It is positive; it fecundates the process it adopts and imports. No principles are necessarily involved; there is no such thing as subjection and subordination to a foreign culture. No colonized relationship is involved. This is what they used to say on all foreign influences, especially US ones before the ushering of Counterculture. Brazilian culture is not autonomous; it arose from European culture: French, Portuguese, British. Initially the transplant occurred naturally (Maciel, 2020: 17)<sup>48</sup>.*

The themes discussed in the printed media were as varied as possible, ranging from Candomblé to Psychoanalysis, from the new Rolling Stones record to the deterritorializations propitiated through backpacking and lysergic acid travels, from the orientalization of the West to the repression of the military dictatorship, finally, to a range of subjects related to the lived context and by a new subjectivity that emerged and desired the effective transformation of the world. New forms of expressing resistance were established through interlocution with counter-culture, not only in new discourses, paraphrasing Macluhan, in 'messages', but also through the perception of the 'medium' as communicator of experimental forms and languages.

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<sup>47</sup> Oswald's concept of cultural anthropophagy was remade by Tropicalists in a playful and liberal way, as Oswald had done: to see reality with free eyes. Such a carnivalized and anthropophagic vision of the world was foregrounded by a movement that aggregated the fragments of the modern world by transforming the different universal data into a culturally diversified Brazil (Barros, 2000:80).

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Luiz Carlos Maciel on 7/9/2005, Leblon, Rio de Janeiro present in the published book intitled *Transas da contracultura brasileira* (Barros & Rost,2020:17).

## 4.2. Counterculture in Sunny America & Brazilian alternative production

So that we may deal adequately with the production process of the above-mentioned magazines and their relevance, the political and social contexts of the 1960s and 1970s must be understood. In fact, the late 20th century has been characterized by relevant paradigmatic changes in all ways of social and cultural life, in which Counterculture movements budded as a response to capitalism and technocracy. It is a period easily remembered by models of young people's rebelliousness and contestation to the establishment. It was a watershed, a transition period, a deconstruction of the main paradigms of modern society, providing a new vision of contemporariness. Contestation manifestations mainly occurred in several Late Capitalism downtowns, with developments throughout Europe, US and some South American countries. Brazilian alternative press was an important communication vehicle to inform the common reader on what was happening throughout the world. Production acquired traits which were specific to the experienced conditions of life, based on experimentalism, from the early stages of production to their diffusion and reception. North American Counterculture and the New Journalism affected the movement due to their approach on behavioral and social issues, such as the new vision open to world transformations (Kucinski, 1991). New contents and forms appeared. They disrupted the objectivity patterns of traditional journalism and enhanced subjectivity and the experience of situations throughout the entire process of production (Kucinski, 1991).

The introduction of the offset printing method in the USA triggered the rise of the underground press in the 1950s and 1960s, with its small quantities of low-cost printed copies produced at the press plants of streamline newspapers which ceded printing machine idle time to third parties (Kucinski, 1991:8).

The Brazilian Editora Abril acquired off-set printing machines in the 1970s and provided a country-wide distribution of magazines. In fact, it enhanced the appearance of alternative newspapers, filled with national projects, with a circulation of 25.000 copies. It did not aim at competitiveness and big sales but at decreasing costs, underscoring the political rather than the market stance of the alternative press (Kucinski, 1991:8). The ethical and political model of the alternative press intentionally discarded such issues as management, organization and commercialization. Spontaneity was the hallmark in press offices, without the least concern for pre-established programs, revisions, hierarchies and conventional forms. There was no defined graphic project for the magazine *Flor do Mal*, and the proposal of the art producer Rogério Duarte was that texts should be handwritten by a team of calligraphers, as in the Middle Ages (Maciel, 2005). Excessive concern with deadlines and continuity of themes was anathema and thus production and circulation tended towards the ephemerality and limitations.



*explain the subject matter so heartily proposed by the causality of the badly reputed character by real people, the devil. (Luiz, A. A Flor do Mal. Flor do Mal, no.3, O Pasquim Empresa Jornalística, Rio de Janeiro, 1971: 5).*

Countercultural experiments frequently remained on the plane of ideas, exemplified by the project of the magazine *Kaos*, proposed in 1974 by Luiz Carlos Maciel, Rogério Duarte, Caetano Veloso and Jorge Mautner. The magazine was inspired by Mautner's movement KAOS with a K, with its underlying subversion and contestation of the current political, economic and social values, but mainly moral, psychological and existential ones (Maciel, 1996: 251).

*Kaos is anti-rosy-color  
It is Marx + Nietzsche  
It's the arrival of the irrational  
In an economically satisfied world  
On a day of economic fullness  
The great heyday of blood and sex will flood the earth  
It will surge once more  
The savage madness of the Dionysus-Exu songs in ancient Greece  
And of other Asian gods.  
There will be no gods; man will be the god that will anguish in his search of the great remaining mystery: death.  
(...) Kaos = creative strife. Kaos = constant upheaval, a tragic and dynamics stance for death  
Heraclitus and Heidegger, the greatest of thinkers who gave man his terrible dimension.  
(Mautner, 1985: 31-32).*

A press release of the idea was given by recording an informal chat on their main suggestions and forwarded to other newspapers and magazines. The project was rejected by all and stereotyped as a hippie initiative plus madness without any serious proposals (Maciel, 1996:251).

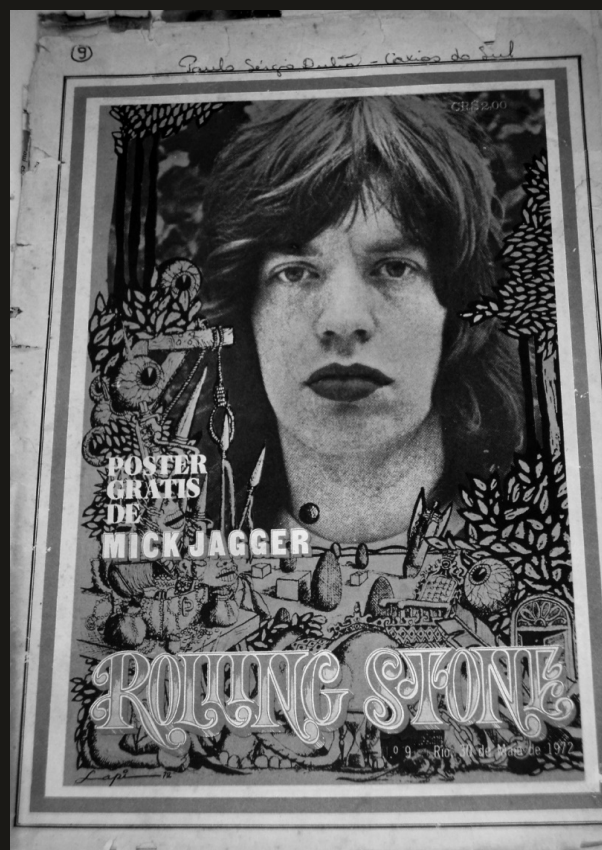
Doing nothing within the Counterculture perspective was so important or more important than doing. Maciel remarks (1996: 251): "Our true proposal was a type of Taoist spontaneity, to which we remained faithful. The project filled out days with happiness and life: we had lot of fun while we conceived it." The participation of collaborators from several fields, such as musicians, poets, artists and others, was one of the specificities of this kind of journalism. Through their several jargons, they contributed and renewed the journalistic experimentations which frequently were genuine works of art, as in the case of the magazine *Navilouca* (1974). The magazine was subtitled *Almanaque dos Aqualoucos*, intentionally with a single edition, but graphically well-prepared, very different from the precariousness and improvisation of other Counterculture magazines.



Torquato Neto, Rogério Duarte, Duda Machado, Ivan Cardoso, Augusto de Campos, Décio Pignatari, Haroldo de Campos, Hélio Oiticica, Lygia Clark and other artists formed a team within the proposal of a new and experimental artistic language in the fields of poetry, cinema and plastic arts.

Prior to the Navilouca issue, but related to Counterculture proposals, Luiz Carlos Maciel launched in February 1972 the first Brazilian edition of the musical and behavior magazine Rolling Stone, featuring the same title as its US counterpart. The magazine disseminated information on the great international and national pop artists but also discussed literature, cinema, philosophy, behavior, sexuality, drugs and other subjects related to alternative movements. At first Rolling Stone was published monthly focusing on rock and Counterculture, but quickly became weekly and kept on till the 36th issue.

The magazine, a huge success in the USA, started in 1971 when Maciel was invited by Michael Killingbeck to obtain the Rolling Stone copyright and start publishing it in Brazil. In November 1971, the first experimental issue was launched.



**Figure 4.2 Rolling Stone, 1972, No.9, Rio de Janeiro.**

Permisson: Author (personal collection).

The Brazilian Rolling Stone edition was initially administered by the Englishman Michael Killingbeck and by the US manager Theodore George who signed an agreement to pay for the materials. The payment was laid off and after two months the material for the magazine failed to arrive. Rolling Stone was thus a pirate magazine from the very start. Its target readers were rock fans linked to Counterculture movements which were not so numerous in Brazil as to ward the magazine free of financial difficulties. The first issue had 25.000 copies, but copies of the following issues continually went down till they reached 10.000. Even with numberless fans, it stopped on the 5th January 1973 and did not have the commercial success of the US counterpart. It was actually a Counterculture experience with very limited culture due to bias and to lack of information on the published themes. Stones that rolled away in the Brazilian Years of Lead.

### **4.3. From the beaches to newspaper offices: The circulation and reception of the alternative press**

The huge correspondence from the Underground was a sign that manifested itself in the life of many, and in my own life. It was the country's and the world's concrete situation, or rather, the real situation of mankind's development that required, at that moment, that something must happen. Anything that would belie the whole structure of contemporary civilized life; that would say that this was an untruth; anything that would rupture the varnish of our civilization. A sort of return to a more direct vision of things and a more primitive way of living. A sort of return to Nature (Maciel, 1982: 76).

The dissemination of Counterculture alternatives was concentrated in the big Brazilian urban centers, such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Salvador. However, printed material frequently reached the hinterland, even though in limited numbers. At that time, there was a common circulation system which occurred by word of mouth and through exchange by readers-collectors. Many people resorted to selling and buying advertisements due to the irregularity of production and producers. In fact, issues often became rare immediately after publication. The launch edition of the Brazilian version of the magazine Rolling Stone in 1972 was already rare by the time it was issued, without any low-price deals. On sale: Number Zero of Rolling Stone, new, for CR\$ 100.00, without any counteroffer (Sciarretti, C. A. Classificados de Graça. Rolling Stone, Rio de Janeiro, no.19, 05/09/1972: 23).

The magazine was frequently distributed on the beach, in theaters, musical halls, bars, and where alternative young people hung out. In several issues, readers could participate as collaborators by sending reviews of LPs, books and others. Below is an invitation for readers of the magazine Rolling Stone, from the section Service, Number Three Issue:

*[...] Reading this magazine means that you are a different reader. Perhaps more intelligent? Rarer? More dangerous? Well, this has been our trip; it's time for undertaking yours. Send us material on the music who liked and on things happening around you. You send and we will publish it (Serviço. Rolling Stone, Rio de Janeiro, no.3, 29/02/1972: 27).*

The reception of readers in the Readers' Column is another aspect that should be highlighted, albeit in a general way. In fact, hundreds of letters were posted to the offices of the alternative press which, although struggling for survival, tried to maintain a sort of periodicity. The section Correspondence and Sentimental Counseling (till Issue no. 9 when it was transformed into a section called Letters) of the magazine Rolling Stone reveals the acceptance of proposals by the Brazilian Counterculture. Most were favorable to the ideology but others referred to the editions as a US attack on Brazilian culture (due to its dealing with Rock music) coupled to other critiques.



**Figure 4.3 Rolling Stone, 1972, No.24, Rio de Janeiro.**  
Permisson: Author (personal collection).



Sir:

*I had the unhappy opportunity of handling Number Zero of the Rolling Stone. I shall not discuss the commercial efficiency of the idea. Culturally it is a typical colonialist initiative. Once more the metropolis tries to press its products on the colony (LPs in this case) under the mask of a scandalously and clearly cultural distortion and maneuver. My condolences. (Correspondências & Consultório Sentimental. Rolling Stone, Rio de Janeiro, no.1, 01/02/1972: 3).*

Sir:

*A pretty magazine, but I fear it's in the wrong hands. Enough of imperialism in Third World countries! We need an authentically Brazilian press. Go back to roots, I say. (Correspondências & Consultório Sentimental. Rolling Stone, Rio de Janeiro, no.3, 29/02/1972: 3).*

Sir,

*We are aware that many people have sent letters and articles to the RS, and they have been bypassed due to entirely inoffensive material, with no contents at all. We are aware that Brazilian underground is basically a dummy underground, featuring only an ego-cult. Besides, will the RS become a "mere musical" magazine, with the alienation of the already contradictory, unhappy and confused national counterculture? (Cartas. Rolling Stone, Rio de Janeiro, no.11, 27/06/1972: 21).*

Sir,

*I may initially praise the journal and then attack it so that I may valorize myself and then degrade you. On the contrary, I would like to boost your work, even though I am aware that you are the same bastards of the Pasquim, Flor, Bondinho and Presença team, with streaks of intelligence within the mediocrity of Maia-Maia society. (Cartas. Rolling Stone, Rio de Janeiro, no.11, 27/06/1972: 20).*

The weekly magazine Pasquim (1969-1991) was one of the alternative magazines that lasted longer. Even though initially it was part of the Counterculture press, it nevertheless provided space to the main discussions. Tarso de Castro was the editor-in-chief of the first period of the weekly magazine and made available two pages to Luiz Carlos Maciel to discuss his ideas on alternative movements which were hatching worldwide. It was the spawning of the notorious column Underground.

In fact, Maciel furnished texts, data, suggestions and theories strictly linked to the ideals of the Beat Generation, eternalized in the 1960s by Rock Festivals, hippies, underground movements and their like in Brazil. Due to his pioneer work, Maciel was the person who received more letters from readers. He provided a type of information that relieved many people, sexually in the main. This experience tagged him as the guide of Brazilian Counterculture.

*[...] Oh! You say I can? It was a general desire for greater sexual freedom. It motivated and stimulated all: the spouse that desired to be free from her husband; the young man who desired to be gay; the girl who wanted to be lesbian. It was this type of sexual freedom. It was the great appeal of people who wanted to attain sexual liberty and find happiness since they were externally and internally repressed. Many complained of external repressions; others complained of internal ones which did not allow them to do what they earnestly desired. I think it was the big impact, or rather, transformation in the sexual field was deepest at that time. Up to this Counterculture phase, sexual habits were completely repressive! A woman would not marry if she weren't a virgin – it would be a scandal! Several things without any importance today were an overwhelming load! It was really a freedom movement that relieve many people (Maciel, 2005).*

Existential, affective and sexual issues emerged and prognosticated the rise of a new conscience within the interlocution of readers provided with due information:

#### *Aware of things*

*I am looking for someone who, like myself, is trying to find oneself and become more aware of things. I would like him to be intelligent, sensitive and earnest. I'm 26 years old, I like reading, the Arts and Nature (Janis, São Paulo). (CARTAS. Bondinho, São Paulo, 02/03 - 15/03/1972: 3).*

#### *Abysmal depths*

*I need friends that speak my language, who appreciate Back and Bethânia, who have contemplated Bosh and Renoir, and who have at least tried to understand Nietzsche and Vinícius de Moraes, who greatly like the theater and the cinema, who have flown beyond the mountains of the horizon, who have composed a tiny poem, and who, above all, respect and try to understand and love the strange sadness of the nebulous abysmal depths of their soul (F. Joseph, Curitiba). (CARTAS. Bondinho, São Paulo, 02/03 - 15/03/1972: 3).*

According to Bueno (1978:46) there was a concern in disseminating, discussing and contrasting texts which are strictly related to data derived from the countercultural emergence with the Brazilian political and social situation. It was not Maciel's priority to discuss the contingencies of a dependent culture in a capitalist and underdeveloped country, even though the issue was not discarded (Bueno, 1978:40). The article *Questão Teórica* published in the column *Underground* in 1970 reports:

*[...] They say that there is no authentic superstructural manifestation disengaged from its own infrastructure. From such a point of view, Counterculture is a useless import. In my view, the links lie in the deliberate ignorance of the complex interactions that actually exist between the different national cultures due to the efficiency of modern means of mass communication. The colonial complex causes passive and a-critical assimilation, but foreign influence and the hybrid cultural products it produces, even the worst ones, are unavoidable. Within an international framework still dominated by imperialism, the global village, referred to by McLuhan, is a monstrous thing. However, it is here to stay. Any aspiration for a national culture, as conceived by Gramsci, will be a flop (Maciel, 1973:77).*

References to mysticism, as a kind of solution that should be experimented, emerged in most publications. This was due to the asphyxia experienced during repression. Texts spoke of catastrophes, flying saucers, the birth of mutants, magic, cabala and astrology, alchemy and God's ways (Bueno,1978:47). According to Bueno (1998:47) mysticism and its enormous range of options work as a hallucinogen for the middle-class minority who, within the context of political and ideological dictatorship, started seeing enchanted kingdoms outside History, as in a Messianic vision. According to astrologers, the Age of Aquarius started. It corresponded to the desire for a rebirth of the Earth.

*In the Age of Aquarius there is a rebirth in everything. It is Rebirth. Earth becomes more demanding with regard to the Bomb. Pollution, Chemistry and even Physics should be abolished. And don't let anyone place you underneath. Without any exception, newspapers will be outworn. Language is no more. Say things with the eyes, with your hair, with colors, with your slang, with a joint, with macrobiotics, with a smile, with incense and grace [...] The Age of Aquarius has begun ... (Vicente, Gil. Ser criança, namorar, passear. Flor do Mal, Rio de Janeiro, 1971: 9).*

With regard to the driving force of alternative productions, Maciel describes the feeling between those excluded by consent, forming what he called "groups-in-fusion":

*[...] We thought that being marginal, going against the stream, was beautiful. Not merely to be against but not to participate in what was established – it's the main idea of Counterculture, the invention of one's own means of expression. This is where the alternative press should be underscored. The underground press that we were proposing also suggested brotherhood, a necessary item, because we were few and we wanted a change in traditional living modes. We proposed new ways of living and a group in fusion is characterized by brotherhood. The group in fusion precedes an organized one, as in the French Revolution. It unites because it has an enemy and a common cause. That is why they fuse and there is brotherhood in a group-in-fusion. It boils down to a need of preservation, of defense (Maciel, 2020:22).*

The so-called groups-in-fusion revealed the rise of other ephemeral press initiatives which succumbed to financial vicissitudes and to the misunderstanding of the themes discussed. Over time, the emptying of the hippie ideological contents, its folklore and adaptation to the capitalist system became notorious.

Even if the Counterculture of the 1970s had been incorporated to the system that produced it, it left a legacy of freedom to the new generations and a new concept of journalistic praxis. In the following generations, it consolidated the proposal of political resistance by the dissemination of counter-information against mainstream information and guaranteed the visibility of marginalized social movements and new horizons investigated.

## **4.4. Reinventing existence by Counterculture**

The current chapter endeavored to analyze the production, dissemination and reception of the alternative or counterculture press and the modalities it acquired in Brazil within the context of the worsening conditions during the military dictatorship. This type of press, generically tagged as Counterculture Press started early in the 1970s and covered the whole decade, with new possibilities for resistance and expression far beyond Leftist and Rightist Orthodoxies. The discourse of Counterculture may be found neither in the middle stance nor basking on the wall, but on the margins of capitalist and technocratic society, beyond the material issues placed by the traditional Leftist Parties. It vied for a new understanding of the world and of human beings. The possibilities of re-inventions of existence were opened; likewise, for a new type of politics starting from the person (People are political), for the insertion of marginalized minority groups with mainstream History. Many thought it was the last breath of the Romantic Movement in the 20th century. A new subjectivity and several differentiated forms of political resistance would be born. The press thereby born ventured subjectively in its experience and problematized the neutrality and objectivity inherent to conventional journalism. New forms and contents were produced through the influence of the New Journalism and national artistic experiences, especially Tropicalism.

Huge amounts of printed underground material were produced from the beaches to newspaper offices, albeit not necessary in that order, to pass on the message and give voice to (or several voices). These messages and voices were highly dissonant for most Brazilians who failed (and still fail) to understand their proposals. Even those who in one way or another identified themselves with the hippie ideals did not completely understand what they heard or read in the conventional media (which distorted the Counterculture proposals and frequently demonized them) or even in the marginal one. In Counterculture, oral transmission was a must for the understanding of the ideas born from the new conscience and each one interpreted the information differently. The number of messiahs increased; likewise, gurus and hippies, who foresaw a sudden cataclysm in a world threatened by the Atomic Bomb and Military Dictatorship. Interpretations ranked absurd and fanatic, only equaled to that of conservatives, such as members of the Christian

tradition, who strived against them.

In the wake of the waywardness of Counterculture in Brazil, most journalists and artists heartily discussed the introduction of alternative plans of production and dissemination of information. The legacy of this type of press, off the mainstream, may be observed nowadays in digital reality, with its innumerable blogs, sites and social networks which vie with each other to make visible subject matters not available in mainstream press fabricated by and restricted to commerce and politics. Production, dissemination and reception of material broadcasted by the Internet thrust the new social movements and warrant the democratization of information and true social transformation.

**Acknowledgements:** This chapter is dedicated to João, Jucilene, Diógenes (in memoriam) and to all who lived intensely during the “lead and flowers era” in Brazil.

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