

SANDRA REIMAO

Repression and resistance:
book censorship under the military
dictatorship

Translated by: Juliet Attwater

SANDRA REIMAO

Repression and resistance:
book censorship under the military dictatorship

Index

Introduction

I - Military dictatorship and book censorship - Brazil, 1964-1985

1. Culture, books and censorship - a brief overview
2. Book censorship - Brazil, 1968-1988
3. National Authors and censorship
 - Theatre in books
 - Non-fiction books
 - Erotic/pornographic books
 - Novels, short stories, poetry
4. Culture, books and censorship - a general note

II - Two censored books: *Feliz Ano Novo and Zero* [Happy New Year and Zero]

III - Aguinaldo Silva, a censored writer: the book *Dez Estórias Imorais* [Ten Immoral Tales]

IV - Books and prisons - the case of *Em Câmara Lenta*, [In Slow Motion] by Renato Tapajós

V – The short stories “Mister Curitiba” and “O Cobrador” [The Collector] in the short story competitions by the magazine *Status*

Conclusions

Bibliography

Attachments

SANDRA REIMAO

Repression and resistance: book censorship under the military dictatorship.

Introduction

One of the first steps taken by the majority of authoritarian regimes is to censor freedom of expression and opinion, as this is a way of quashing, restricting and eliminating dissenting voices.

Over the prior censorship period legislated for in 1970 in Decree 1077/70¹ for "books and periodicals, (...) entertainment and public performances, and radio and television broadcasts," any actual commentaries on censorship were problematic. On 4 June 1973, the Federal Police published a clear statement:

It is expressly forbidden to criticise the system of censorship, its foundations or its legitimacy. In addition, it is forbidden to make any report, criticism, or commentary, whether written, spoken or televised – that directly or indirectly criticises any censorship body, censors, or censorial legislation².

The existence of newspaper censorship was, however, well known amongst the more aware parts of the population: "The existence of prior censorship in the press was seen by the regime as something that could not be mentioned. As it was something well-known amongst a very limited public, it set pact that was kept secret but was not entirely hidden"³.

Prevented from reporting that anything had been censored, the newspapers resorted to measures that included publishing "strange" and "incomplete" reports in the spaces left by the reports that had been removed. The newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* published various poems in place of censored material, and as of 26/07/1974, it began publishing

¹ In the article "'Prezada censura'; Cartas ao Regime Militar" [Dear censors; Letters to the Military Regime"] Carlos Fico tries to emphasise that the ruling was clearly aimed at "morals and decency" and in addition, according to the writer, was particularly focussed on books, magazines, radio, television, and newspapers.

² Paolo Marconi. *A Censura Política Na Imprensa Brasileira (1968-1978)*, p.37. In her study of the archives of censored material in the magazine *Veja*, in *Veja sob Censura - 1968-1976*, [Veja under censorship - 1968-1976], Maria Fernanda Lopes Almeida notes that the issue of censorship was the second most censored in the magazine.

³ Beatriz Kushnir. *Cães de Guarda*, [Guard Dogs] p.42.

extracts from Camões' *The Lusíads*, something that happened more than 600 times⁴. On 10 May 1973, the same paper printed an "advertisement" on the front page by Radio Eldorado with the slogan *Agora é samba* [Now it's Samba] next to a "Reader's letter" about the lack of blue roses - the spaces had originally been reserved for news about the resignation of the Minister of Agriculture. One should remember that this censorship was often made after the paper had already organised its layout, and having to redesign everything to accommodate the spaces left by the censored texts entailed extra expense and time.

O Estado de Sao Paulo, 10 May 1973 (top half of the front page). The advert for the "Agora é Samba" [Now it's Samba] programme on Radio Eldorado replaced the report covering the request for the Minister of Agriculture Luis Fernando Cirne Lima to resign, and that criticised the government.

Signalling the gaps left by censorship, the *Jornal da Tarde* published recipes, *Veja* magazine printed pictures of demons, *A Tribuna da Imprensa* in Rio de Janeiro, left blank spaces (a strategy that was frowned-upon by the censors) and the weeklies *Opinião* and *Movimento* printed black banners⁵.

⁴ See the booklet that accompanies the facsimile edition of Camões' *Os Lusíadas*, published by Ed. Takano in 2002 on the launch of edition number 7 of *A Revista*.

⁵ See *Idem*, p.13.

O ministro vai à escola

Quando o coronel Jarbas Passarinho, 54 anos, deixar o Ministério da Educação, no próximo dia 15, para aproveitar o tempo livre que não será inteiramente preenchido pelo exercício do mandato de senador, pretende entrar para um curso de direito, com o laudável propósito de "aprimorar a formação cultural". O ministro não está decidido apenas quanto ao curso a escolher: se a Universidade de Brasília, que lhe dará aulas matinais, ou o Centro Universitário de Brasília, com aulas noturnas, mais convenientes à sua condição de homem ocupado.

Para chegar ao título de bacharel, Passarinho, que já tem nove títulos de doutor "honoris causa", concedidos por universidades brasileiras, deverá passar pelo vestibular, como qualquer principiante, pois seu último curso de nível superior — a Escola de Comando e Estado-Maior do Exército — foi concluído há mais de dez anos. Mas isso não o atemoriza: ele está disposto a cumprir todos os deveres dos estudantes e a usufruir de todos os seus direitos, inclusive o de se candidatar à presidência de um diretório acadêmico, "para representar os interesses da classe estudantil". Assim, teoricamente seria possível que no futuro o acadêmico Jarbas Passarinho comandasse uma campanha pela revogação do decreto 477, o mesmo que o ministro Jarbas Passarinho usou por vezes para manter a disciplina nas universidades.



Captada pela nossa objetiva, uma das últimas aparições do demônio

22



A nova estrada Belém—Brasília, sem onças...

INAUGURAÇÕES

2000 km de asfalto

O espírito da verdadeira aventura desapareceu da legendaria Belém—Brasília desde quarta-feira da semana passada, quando o asfaltamento da estrada foi inaugurado pelo presidente Emílio Garrastazu Médici. Diante do patife armado a 100 quilômetros da capital do Pará, onde a Belém—Brasília encontra a Belém—São Luís, inaugurada no mesmo dia, e cercado por uma pequena multidão de governadores, ministros e outros convidados, Médici descerrou as placas comemorativas que, ao contrário do usual, não fazem referência aos nomes dos que iniciaram ou concluíram a obra.

Ao longo dos 2 058 quilômetros do que é agora uma rodovia de primeira classe, as ledeiras escorregadias e baicadas lamacentas sobrevivem apenas na memória dos motoristas de caminhão, até há pouco seus mais fiéis e quase solitários frequentadores. Em suas margens, novas churrascarias e muitos motéis com ar condicionado antecipam certamente a sua transformação em autêntica estrada turística. Até lá, a nova e moderna Belém—Brasília, inteiramente reconstruída em longos trechos, antecipa expressivos dados estatísticos que aparentemente justificam os 950 milhões de cruzeiros gastos na sua pavimentação. Os 100 000 brasileiros que habitavam a sua rota em Goiás, Maranhão e Pará em 1948 são hoje 2,5 milhões. Em 1971, o movimento comercial de Belém por rodovia já era três vezes maior que por via marítima. E nos últimos doze anos a população da capital paraense aumentou em 50%.

• Hoje tem 650 000.

O melhor exemplo — Revelando o mesmo entusiasmo demonstrado na entrega do último trecho da Transamazônica, duas semanas antes, o ministro dos Transportes, Mário Andreazza, único a discursar, reconheceu o caráter pioneiro da rodovia e sentenciou: "A Belém—Brasília constitui o melhor exemplo da função integradora e colonizadora cumprida pela estrada de rodagem".

Em 1929, essa função foi vislumbrada pelo engenheiro e ex-secretário dos Transportes de Goiás, Jalles Machado, autor do primeiro estudo sobre a ligação de Belém a Anápolis, em Goiás, perto do atual Distrito Federal. Contudo, foi a decisão de se construir a estrada simultaneamente com a nova capital, que garantiu seu nascimento. "Como no começo nãoinha-



Beelzebu e Asmedeu no tempo em que reinavam

VEJA, 20 DE FEVEREIRO, 1974

Veja magazine, 2 February 1974, p. 22. The pictures of demons fill the spaces of censored texts. Captions: "Imprisoned by our aim, one of the latest appearances of the devil"; "Beelzebub and Asmedai at the time of their reign"

During the military dictatorship (1964-1985) in Brazil, the State's official censorship of films, theatre, music, concerts, posters and public performances was in general the responsibility of the Justice Department, notably via the *Serviço de Censura de Diversões Públicas* (SCDP) [the Public Entertainment Censorship Service], and the *Divisão de Censura de Diversões Públicas* (DCDP) [the Public Entertainment Censorship Division]. From 1970, books and magazines were also examined by the SCDP/DCDP.

This study will look at the official censorship of culture and the arts, and, more specifically, at novels by Brazilian authors written during the Brazilian military dictatorship.

Looking at censorship in relation to books allows one to define some of the characteristics of the mechanics of censorship and to reflect on the repercussions of censorship within the umbrella of Brazilian cultural production as a whole.

Censorship here is understood as being part of a wider tool-kit of oppression and repression that had a huge impact on citizenship and culture.

*

The first chapter, "The military dictatorship and censorship of books in Brazil (1964-1985)", offers an historical overview of censorship by the military governments in relation to culture, the arts and books in general. This chapter will also identify some of the other books written by Brazilian authors that were banned by the censors.

The framework of Chapter One will also be used in following chapters to look more closely at specific cases of censorship of fiction by Brazilian authors.

The theme of the second chapter is the censorship of the books *Feliz Ano Novo*, [Happy New Year], by Rubem Fonseca, and *Zero*, by Ignacio de Loyola Brandão, which took place in the mid-1970s. Both are excellent examples as they were the objects of complaints - something commonplace at the time.

The censorship of the book *Dez Estórias Imorais* [Ten Immoral Tales], by Aguinaldo Silva and published in 1967, is the subject of the third chapter. This was a particularly unusual case, as the SCDP's investigation into the book, and the concomitant decision to ban it took place a full nine years after it was first published. The reasoning behind this is that Aguinaldo Silva's later collaborations with publications that were openly hostile to the military dictatorship and his advocacy for minority rights thrust the author into the political view and drew the attention of the SCDP.

Chapter Four focuses on the censorship of Renato Tapajós' novel *Em Câmara Lenta* [In Slow Motion] (published in May 1977 by Editora Alfa-Ômega), which is the only case of an author being actually imprisoned by the military dictatorship for the contents of a book.

Finally, the fifth chapter looks at the different reactions of the magazine *Status* in response to the ban on publishing the short stories "Mister Curitiba", by Dalton Trevisan in 1976, and Rubem Fonseca's "O Cobrador", [The Collector] in 1978, which make it possible to analyse the different stages of censorial activities during the Brazilian military dictatorship. The fact that these stories were not allowed to be printed in a magazine, but were allowed in book form, is a concrete example of the inconsistencies of censorship

during the military dictatorship, not only in distinct time-frames, but also in approaches to different methods of communication.

I have presented and discussed related areas in this field with students on numerous occasions over recent years – and I would like to thank them all. I would also like to thank my colleagues who have given constructive criticism through discussion and debate, and through their sharing of materials. I would also like to thank my colleagues from the Brazilian Society of Interdisciplinary Communication Studies - who contributed with their comments on the work herein presented.

Without the support and assistance of the staff at the Brasilia National Archives, and in particular of Carlos Marx Gomide Freitas, this book would not have been possible.

I have also to thank several friends who contributed hugely to the development of this study: Aníbal Bragança, Antonio de Andrade, Dorothee du Bruchard, Helena Bonito Couto Pereira, Joana Puntel, João Elias Nery, José Antonio Pasta, Maria Otilia Bocchini, Mônica de Fátima Rodrigues Nunes and Wilson Merege.

This book is dedicated to Ricardo and João Marcelo.

This research was funded by FAPESP - *Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo* [the São Paulo State Research Grant Foundation]; with a grant from the CNPq - the *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico* [National Science and Technology Development Council]; and with the support of the University of São Paulo.

I. The military dictatorship and book censorship – Brazil, 1964-1985

1. Culture, books and censorship - a brief overview

The military coup of 31 March 1964 took place after a period of democracy that had lasted for approximately twenty years. This pre-1964 period seems to have helped to consolidate a left-leaning attitude that can be seen in many of the cultural and artistic endeavours of the time.

"Much to the surprise of everyone", when the military regime took control of the government "to protect the capital and the continent from socialism", they did not seem to bother trying to combat this left-wing cultural production. This led to the paradoxical coexistence between 1964-1969 in Brazil of a staunchly right-wing dictatorship and a range of left-leaning cultural production. As Roberto Schwarz set out in his classic study "Cultura e política 1964-1969" [Culture and Politics 1964-1969]: despite the right-wing dictatorship, there appears to be kind of left-wing cultural hegemony in the country"⁶. It is this period that Elio Gaspari called the "ditadura envergonhada" [the embarrassed dictatorship].

Therefore, the first four years of military dictatorship saw a "right-wing" dictatorship concomitant with works that were openly critical of this same regime, and that were found in cinemas, theatres, performances and bookshops.

On 21 May 1964, a team led by Millôr Fernandes launched the magazine *Pif-Paf*: In the facsimile edition of the journal, Jânio de Freitas wrote, "*Pif-Paf* magazine was the first publication to question the arbitrary nature of the police-state regime (...)". As the magazine itself promised, "There will be talk of Freedom in every issue of *Pif-Paf*. This is the subject that is most-important."

In July 1964, the launch of Carlos Heitor Cony's *O Ato e o Fato* [The Act and the Fact] also became an act of resistance "in addition to having beaten the record for the number of autographs with 1600 signed copies, and the first edition having sold out in the first few weeks"⁷.

In 1965, soon after the publication of *O Ato e o Fato*, Nelson Werneck Sodré commented in an article published in the first issue of the journal *Civilização Brasileira*

⁶ From the book *Pai de Família e Outros Estudos*, [Family Father, and Other Studies] p.62. The quotes at the beginning of this paragraph are also from this text.

⁷ Elio Gaspari. *A Ditadura Envergonhada*, p. 143.

that Cony's collected stories "had huge repercussions"⁸. In the same article, the author also stated that, "in Brazil, chronicles hold a special place, as many of our best writers use the genre".

There were two novels of note published between 1964 and 1968 that analysed and criticised the current system: *Quarup*, by Antonio Callado, published by *Editora Civilização Brasileira*, and *Senhor Embaixador* [His Excellency, the Ambassador], by Érico Veríssimo, published by *Editora Globo de Porto Alegre*.

According to Roberto Schwarz, the military government's basic strategy for cultural production between 1964 and 1969 was to "preserve cultural production" and at the same time "limit its contact with the working-classes"⁹.

Clearly, one cannot consider the broad range of political and cultural production post-1964 as a confirmation that censorship encouraged creativity, as what actually happened was the exact opposite: "the cultural movement of the time was a kind of late flowering - the results of two decades of democracy", wrote Roberto Schwarz.

In reality, from 1964 to 1968 between the military coup and the AI-5 legislation, censorship of books in Brazil was inconsistent and multi-faceted, and was marked by a lack of clear criteria, police raids, confiscations and physical coercion.

Seizures were basic, improvised and carried out by people who had not been trained for such operations, yet who justified the need to protect national security and moral order. The aim was to remove any material that could be considered *subversive*, against the regime, or *pornographic*- i.e. against family and moral values¹⁰.

An editorial in the *Jornal do Brasil* of 22 January 1966, questioned the lack of any clear criteria for book seizures, as they seemed to be transforming this kind of action into "models of ignorance"¹¹.

President Castello Branco "sought to ensure freedom of expression, and to respect the established press and cultural protest"¹², but he did little to combat the far-right groups that were responsible for anti-communist violence. "Any efforts made by Castello Branco's relatively moderate group to present itself as a different kind of military regime from that of the other *Banana Republics*, in that they seemed to respect institutions, grew weaker at

⁸ N. Werneck Sodré. "Prosa brasileira em 1964: balanço literário". *Civilização Brasileira*, number 1, pp.159-60.

⁹ Roberto Schwarz. "Cultura e política 1964-1969" from the book *Pai de Família e Outros Estudos*, p. 63.

¹⁰ Alexandre Stephanou. *Censura no Regime Militar e Militarização das Artes*, p.215.

¹¹ *Apud*, Alexandre Stephanou. *Censura no Regime Militar ...*, p. 214.

¹² Elio Gaspari. *A Ditadura Envergonhada*, p. 229.

every one of the disastrous interventions by these soldiers, who were called 'guerrillas' by the left"¹³.

The main target of random repression regarding the seizure, coercion and censorship of books was the publisher Enio Silveira, who owned the publishing house *Civilização Brasileira*. Enio Silveira, who at one time was publishing a book and a half a day (or rather - 45 books a month)"¹⁴, was arrested several times, appeared in court on numerous occasions and saw his publishing house *Civilização Brasileira* raided and its publishing rights withdrawn.

In May 1965, Silveira's arrest led to a petition signed by over one thousand people from the creative industries. Enio Silveira was held for nine days, charged with having protected the ex-governor of the state of Pernambuco, Miguel Arraes, who had been expelled by the Military Regime. "The arrest, approved by Colonel Gerson de Pina, was designed to intimidate"¹⁵. Prior to this, in June 1964, Silveira had already been the target of an investigation to see if any monies from the deposed government had been transferred to his personal account or to any other "left-wing" international organisation.

Elio Gaspari describes President Castello Branco's response to Enio Silveira's arrest in May 1965:

Castello (...) sent General Ernesto Geisel four handwritten pages on the subject (...). He asked his Military Cabinet Chief: 'Why have you arrested Enio? Just so he can testify? There can only be negative repercussions for us (...) Book seizures. This has never happened in Brazil. Or only of a few (!) immoral books. The consequences for us can only be the worst possible. This is cultural terrorism.

The expression "cultural terrorism" was created by Tristão de Athayde (the pseudonym used by Alceu Amoroso Lima) and was "ridiculed by the government and by the intellectuals who supported it"¹⁶

In May 1966, in a courageous and consolidated act of resistance against the military government, the publisher *Civilização Brasileira* stood up to the *Departamento Federal de Segurança Pública* [the Federal Department of Public Safety] and questioned the government's policies of book seizures. These seizures had been done illegally and without any police investigation. The document begins by questioning the legality of the proceedings:

¹³ Inimá Simões. *Roteiro da Intolerância*, p. 87.

¹⁴ Jerusa P. Ferreira (org.). *Editando o Editor. [Editing the Editor] Enio Silveira*, p. 105.

¹⁵ Alexandre Stephanou. *Censura no Regime Militar ...*, p. 227. For the rest of the paragraph, see p. 226.

¹⁶ See Elio Gaspari. *A Ditadura Envergonhada*, pp. 231, & 96-7 & 220.

The question is whether the government has the right to confiscate books that it considers - absurdly or not - illegal, and in short, questions whether the revolution of 1964 ushered in an era of censorship, intolerance, tyranny and oppression¹⁷.

The mandate sets out three potential categories for the seizure of books: 1) "those seized incorrectly" - misunderstanding the title or illustrations; 2) "those seized due to their Marxist links" and 3) "those seized because they mention the April revolution or political persecution". Included in the latter (books that would have been considered as criticising the 1964 revolution) are Mário Lago's *Primeiro de Abril* [April the First], *O Golpe de Abril* [The April Coup], by Edmundo Moniz, *O golpe Começou em Washington* [The coup started in Washington], by Edmar Morel, and Nelson Werneck Sodré's *História Militar do Brasil* [The Military History of Brazil].

After presenting a series of arguments about the illegality of the books' seizures Mandado concludes:

The respective department (that authorised the seizures) is seeking to justify its actions through mere allegations that the works are subversive. Claims such as these are not supported by any sense of conviction, as they can easily be disproven by anyone of even rudimentary intelligence and culture, who has had access to the banned books.

Many years later, Enio Silveira recalled these fears:

In total, they seized over thirty of our titles, which alone was enough to take a severe toll on the business. They raided our warehouse, went to the bookstores, seized books and took them away. I started court proceedings against the government (...) It was a terrible time. We were attacked from all sides and placed under siege: subjected to intimidation in bookshops and at the printers, and with books being seized¹⁸.

Another extreme episode of right-wing cultural terrorism against publishers and the press took place between 1964 and 1968 with a series of actions by the Education Minister Flávio Suplicy de Lacerda, who "personally organised the purging of libraries, burned books by Eça de Queiroz, Sartre, Graciliano Ramos, Guerra Junqueiro, Jorge Amado,

¹⁷ This has been reprinted in the magazine *Civilização Brasileira*, number 9/10, pp.291-7.

¹⁸ Jerusa P. Ferreira. *Editando o Editor. [Editing the Editor] Enio Silveira*, p. 71.

Paulo Freire, Darcy Ribeiro"¹⁹. According to Elio Gaspari, Flávio Suplicy de Lacerda was "the most calamitous Education Minister in the nation's history"²⁰.

Among the Right's many "clumsy" attempts to intimidate those they called "communists", some have become almost legendary. One of these, in the world of publishing, was the seizure of copies of the encyclical *Mater et magistra* by Pope John XXIII at a book fair in Niterói.²¹

Stanislaw Ponte Preta, the pen-name of Sérgio Porto, managed to humorously record and transcribe these "'disasters' by the Right" in his columns in the newspaper *Última Hora* and in his books. His *FEBEAPAS - Festival de Besteira que Assola o País*, [Festival of Bullshit Attacking the Country], 1 and 2, from 1966 and 1967 respectively, showed how absurd the inconsistencies were. Werneck Sodr  wrote about Stanislaw's columns, saying, "Underneath the irreverence and malice is a hard-hitting seriousness and depth of thinking"²².

Another example was in October 1966, when Castello Branco's Justice Minister, Carlos Medeiros Silva, issued a declaration that prohibited the publishing, distribution and sale of Nelson Rodrigues' novel *O Casamento* [The Wedding], and ordered its seizure. The book had been published the previous month by Alfredo Machado's publishing house, Editora Eldorado, and had sold 8,000 copies in the first two weeks of September, "on a par with Jorge Amado's new novel *Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands*, which one of Machado's other publishing houses had also just published"²³.

Nelson Rodrigues responded in an interview with the *Jornal do Brasil*:

This is a despicable and illiterate measure (...) I will contest it with all my might, because we do not live in the Wild West, and there are still laws in Brazil that must be respected. I believe that the Courts will allow the work to be put on sale in bookstores. I also hope that, in spite of everything, I will never have to watch a public burning of my book as seen in Nazi ceremonies²⁴.

Ruy Castro commented:

In addition to being a blatant constitutional violation, the prohibition of *O Casamento* was made worse as it set a precedent: from then on, it enabled any

¹⁹ Alexandre Stephanou. *Censura no Regime Militar ...*, p. 223

²⁰ Elio Gaspari. *A Ditadura Envergonhada.*, p. 225.

²¹ Elio Gaspari. *Idem*, p. 221.

²² N. Werneck Sodr . "Prosa brasileira em 1964: balan o liter rio" *Civiliza o Brasileira*, p.159.

²³ Ruy Castro. *O Anjo Pornogr fico. A Vida de Nelson Rodrigues*, p. 350.

²⁴ Interview reported in Ruy Castro. *Idem*, p. 351.

administration (...) to feel it had the right to prohibit and seize books that it felt were offensive. Moreover, as stated, all this in contravention of the law.

Despite the order's arbitrary nature, it was still carried out. "DOPS' agents took to the streets and the book shops of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Brasília, Curitiba and Porto Alegre seizing copies of *O Casamento*. However, they didn't manage to seize many, because the first two editions, with a total print-run of three and half thousand, had already sold out. The publisher decided at the time not to go ahead with the planned third edition. Nelson Rodrigues took the case to court, alleging the illegality of the act that prohibited the publishing, distribution and sale of his novel. The result was that in April 1967 the Federal Court of Resources upheld his appeal and considered that "the action taken by the Department of Justice was illegal". *O Casamento* was free again"²⁵.

In 1963, shortly before the 1964 coup, the Juvenile Court prevented Nelson Rodrigues' soap-opera *A Morta sem Espelho* [The Dead Woman with no Mirror] from being aired at half-past eight, and insisted it be broadcast at half-past eleven instead. *A Morta sem Espelho* was the first daily soap opera to have been written by a Brazilian, as all previous ones had been penned by foreign authors. The soap-opera *25499 Ocupado* [25499 Line Busy], which was the first national daily soap, had started in the middle of June 1963 on TV Excelsior, and was based on a script by an Argentine author. Its director, Titus Di Miglio, was also Argentinian²⁶.

In 1964, in the city of Natal, Rio Grande do Norte, Nelson Rodrigues' play *Toda Nudez Será Castigada* [All Nudity Will be Punished], was cancelled, despite its earlier success in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre and Salvador. This was just one more episode in Nelson Rodrigues' complex and dysfunctional relationship with the post-1964 military government.

In 1968, according to Elio Gaspari's calculations, seventeen attacks, fourteen explosions and a bank robbery were attributed to right-wing terrorism. Publishers and bookstores were among the targets and included Editora Tempo Brasileiro, Editora Civilização Brasileira and the bookstore Livraria Forense²⁷.

Although books, publishers, and booksellers were the targets of right-wing vandalism, in the first few years following the 1964 military coup there appeared to be no single censorship system. This lack of censorship regulation in relation to books enabled

²⁵ Ruy Castro. *Idem*, p. 351 (for censorship) and p. 367 (for release).

²⁶ Ismael Fernandes. *Memória da Telenovela Brasileira*, [Memoirs of Brazilian Soap Operas] pp. 36 & 39.

²⁷ See Elio Gaspari. *A Ditadura Envergonhada*, pp. 328 & 301.

the publication of national left-wing classics such as Celso Furtado's *Um Projeto para o Brasil* [A Project for Brazil], and international erotic fiction like the Hindu physiological and sexual treatise on morality the *Kama Sutra*, de Sade's *Philosophy in the Bedroom*, and Henry Spencer Ashbee's *My Secret Life* - an account of a collector of erotic art²⁸.

2. **Book censorship in Brazil, 1968-1988**

In May 1961, the then president Jânio Quadros used the earlier 1946 legislation that gave the Federal Police the right to censor films, plays, records, concerts, posters and public entertainment in general to bestow State departments with the same rights.

"This decree created confusion (...) some films were banned in São Paulo, but allowed to be shown in Guanabara, and vice versa. The result was a battle of injunctions, security warrants...."²⁹

April 1965 saw the inauguration in Brasília of a new building for the Federal Public Safety Department, and the headquarters of the SCDP - the *Serviço de Censura e Diversões Públicas* [the Public Entertainment and Censorship Service]. This building was a sign of the federal government's desire to centralise all censorship activities. "Legally, censorship was under the jurisdiction of the Federal Police Department; however, in practice, all military security bodies felt they had the right to exercise it (...) different authorities, from the highest to the lowliest civil servant, sought to veto cultural and artistic productions"³⁰. The 1967 constitution made the centralisation of censorship as a Federal Government activity in Brasilia official. Law number 5.536 of 1968 included television soap operas in the material that could be investigated by the Higher Censorship Council.

The decree of Institutional Act Number 5 meant that censorship was finally centralised within the Federal Government.

There were two large public protests in Rio de Janeiro against the military regime prior to the AI-5 decree: the demonstration "Culture against Censorship" in February 1968, in which members of the theatre world voiced their indignation about the prohibition of eight plays³¹; and then another a few months later that became known as the "March of the One Hundred Thousand" on 26 June 1968³².

²⁸ See Sandra Reimão. *Mercado Editorial Brasileiro*, pp. 43-50.

²⁹ Alexandre Stephanou, *Op. cit.*, p.269. See p.261 for the start of the paragraph,

³⁰ Alexandre Stephanou. *Idem*, p. 293. For the rest of the paragraph, see p. 244.

³¹ Ruy Castro. *Op. cit.*, p.370.

³² See Zuenir Ventura. 1968, *O Ano que não Terminou*, pp. 155-165.

Friday 13 December 1968. In the name of "true democratic order based on freedom, on respect for human dignity, on fighting subversion and ideologies that go against the customs of our people,"³³ President Costa e Silva made changes to Institutional Act Number 5 - AI-5. These changes made it possible to revoke mandates, suspend political rights, and suspend individual guarantees, and it created the conditions for censorship of the dissemination of information, free speech, and cultural and artistic production. This was the start of the period known as the "anos de chumbo" [the leaden years], or to use Elio Gaspari's term, the "ditadura escancarada" [flagrant dictatorship].

In Zuenir Ventura's memoir *1968, O Ano que não Terminou*, [1968, The year that never Ended], she writes that at the beginning of the year it was impossible to have thought it was the start of one of the darkest periods in the country's recent history:

There was a sense of optimism and there seemed to be good reason to hope for a positive '68. The creative buzz of '67 had also been a positive contribution. *Terra em transe, Quarup, Tropicalismo, Alegria, alegria, O rei da vela*, were perhaps just the beginning. In addition, the student movement (...) had been regrouping (...).³⁴

Another of the special moments of 1967 was the 3rd Brazilian Popular Music Record Festival, where the winners were: *Ponteio*, by Edu Lobo (1st place), and *Roda Viva*, by Chico Buarque (3rd place), and *Domingo no Parque* by Gilberto Gil, and *Alegria, Alegria*, by Caetano Veloso (who came in 2nd and 4th places respectively) - the last two are now considered as the "birth certificates" of the musical movement known as *Tropicalismo*.

On 1 January 1969, President Costa e Silva used radio and television broadcasts to explain the need for AI-5 to maintain order and security. Then

Fifteen days later, he revoked 38 legal mandates and suspended for ten years the political rights of 28 federal deputies, two senators and a councillor. He also forced the retirement of three ministers from the Federal Supreme Court and one from the Supreme Military Court, and in addition suspended the rights of the director of the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *Correio da Manhã*; two months later, he then oversaw the removal of over 95 members of parliament.³⁵

The year of 1969 was a year of
(...) mass oppression, tight controls over worker and student movements,
the resurgence of censorship, the imposition of the death penalty and life

³³ Observation from AI-5

³⁴ Zuenir Ventura. *Op. cit.*, pp.19-20.

³⁵ *Visão Magazine*, 11 March 1974, special "Assim se passaram dez anos," [And so, ten years later] p.46.

imprisonment for political crimes, and also saw the first kidnappings by urban guerrillas in the country. (...) Cultural activities began to be strictly monitored, and nationally renowned artists (...) felt obliged to leave the country.³⁶

The number of arrests following the introduction of AI-5 are too many to count, but Zuenir Ventura estimates that hundreds were arrested and imprisoned: "several hundred academics, students, artists, journalists (...) were detained in the cells of the DOPS, the Military Police, and in the Army, Navy and Airforce barracks all over the country"³⁷.

On 12 December 1968, General Jayme Portella de Mello "ordered the Federal Police to prepare to silence the radio and TV stations and send the censors into the newspaper headquarters in Rio and São Paulo"³⁸. In Brasília, the journalist Carlos Castello Branco was arrested, as was Osvaldo Blomfontein, the editor of the newspaper *Correio da Manhã*³⁹ in Rio de Janeiro. On 13 December 1968, the censors raided newsrooms all over the country, including those of the *Jornal do Brasil* and the *Correio da Manhã*. The arrests "were acts of violence intended more to ensure the success of the coup than to ensure the permanence of the regime". From 13 December, there was heavy censorship of the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*, and between 1972 and 1975 there were censors permanently stationed in the newsroom⁴⁰; and for the next ten years, the same thing applied to the offices of the newspaper *Tribuna da Imprensa*.

In December 1969, the magazine *Veja* was ordered to submit a pre-print copy every week for inspection by a member of the military, who would either permit its release or suspend circulation of that particular issue⁴¹.

This press censorship was mirrored by the growth of the alternative press – known as the *nanica* [micro] press. "The two magazines printed on newspaper with the widest reach were *O Pasquim* and *Opinião* (...), and sold around 100 thousand copies, almost all from news-stands. They sold more than the magazines *Veja* and *Manchete* together"⁴².

³⁶ *Idem*.

³⁷ Zuenir Ventura. *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

³⁸ Elio Gaspari. *A Ditadura Escancarada*, p.211 – 219. *Idem* for the rest of the paragraph.

³⁹ Less than a year later, in September 1969, due to a lack of other options, the owner of the newspaper, Niomar Moniz Sodré Bittencourt, was forced to relinquish control of the paper, and to subcontract it.

⁴⁰ The newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* 31/03/2004, p. H8. Caderno Especial "Março de 64".

⁴¹ Elio Gaspari. *Idem*, p. 169.

⁴² Elio Gaspari. *Idem*, p. 219.

Gradually, the presence of censors in newsrooms was reduced from most newspapers, and pressure was placed more directly on the owners of the vehicles of communication.

The gag imposed on the press from December 1968 was confused, omnipotent and erratic. Once the AI-5 blitz was over and the censors had been discharged, the cuts were implemented via successive meetings between the authorities and the owners of news companies. This led to routine, relatively informal telephone communications between the censors and businesses⁴³.

Prior censorship of the press only finally came to an end in June 1978 when the newspapers *Tribuna da Imprensa*, and *O São Paulo* (from the Archdiocese of São Paulo) and *Movimento* were finally freed from the farce⁴⁴.

On 13 October 1978, the National Congress ratified Amendment number 11, which revoked AI-5 as of 1 January 1979.

Zuenir Ventura estimates that in the ten years following the AI-5 (from 13 December 1968 to 31 December 1978), 1607 people were directly affected by the act - with punishments including expulsions, the suspension of political rights, imprisonment and/or removal from public service⁴⁵. In terms of control over artistic and cultural production, according to her data, the ten years of the AI-5 saw the censorship of "nearly 500 films, 450 theatrical works, 200 books, dozens of radio programmes, 100 magazines, more than 500 songs and a dozen episodes or clips of soap-operas"⁴⁶.

The censorship of the press during this period made it "the most prolonged period of censorship in the history of independent Brazil"⁴⁷. Prior to assuming the presidency in 1974, President Ernesto Geisel had spoken about restoring order, and about his project for "slow, gradual and secure expansion"⁴⁸. Even so, according to Thomas Skidmore, "the end of the Geisel period was by no means certain."

When Geisel finally became president in 1974, few members of the public, even the most well informed, could have predicted the outcome
(...) During Geisel's first year, the hard-line ferocity only intensified (...)

⁴³ Elio Gaspari. *Idem*, p. 218.

⁴⁴ Pery Cotta, P., Calandra. *O Sufoco da Imprensa nos Anos de Chumbo*, p. 144.

⁴⁵ An estimate cited in the article "Março 64 - durante" published in the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* on 31/03/2004, p.H3, mentions much larger numbers: "Between 1964 and 1985 (...) - it is estimated that around 3,500 people were exiled, imprisoned, tortured or killed."

⁴⁶ Zuenir Ventura. *Idem*, p. 285.

⁴⁷ Elio Gaspari. *Idem*, p. 218.

⁴⁸ See Elio Gaspari. *Idem*, p. 26.

Although he hadn't publically disapproved of repressive measures in theory, he had wanted to put an end to them in a separate mandate⁴⁹.

Geisel, the only one of the post-AI-5 presidents who "had not promised (to restore democratic organisations), ended the dictatorship"⁵⁰.

One should not forget that during the so-called "leaden" years (1969-1974) – “the hardest period of the longest lasting national dictatorship”, Brazil saw huge and unprecedented rates of economic growth and a regime with full employment - which was the so-called "Brazilian Miracle". The Brazilian Miracle and the Leaden Years happened at the same time. Both were real, and coexisted through mutual denial"⁵¹.

Between 1970 and 1973, under the presidency of Medici, Brazil was a "fast growing economy" and had an "accelerated development" policy that saw the country's GDP grow by 11.3% annually, and industrial production by 12.7%.⁵² These rates began to decline after 1974, and led to a deceleration in the economy particularly due to the external influence of the first oil shock in 1973.

However, as Elio Gaspari noted, over the “Brazilian Miracle”,

the economic success was unmatched by any political progress. In fact, it was felt that the dictatorship was, if not the cause, actually a guarantee of prosperity. Control over the press played an essential role in the cantata of this “Great Brazil” and in the suppression of the conflicts within⁵³.

3. National authors and censorship

Prior censorship, which had previously targeted cinema, television, theatre, public performance, music and radio, and several magazines and newspapers, expanded its range to the whole of the publishing market in the wake of the centralisation of the Public Entertainment Censorship Service in Brasilia.

Prior censorship for books was regulated by Decree 1077/70. Articles 1 and 2 of this decree were drawn up thus:

Art. 1 Publications and articles that defy morals and decency will not be tolerated irrespective of the means of communication; **Art.2** It is the responsibility

⁴⁹ Thomas Skidmore. “Capítulo de uma queda articulada” [Chapter of an articulated fall] in *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 23/11/2003, D5.

⁵⁰ Elio Gaspari. *A Ditadura Envergonhada*, p. 35.

⁵¹ Elio Gaspari. *A Ditadura Escancarada*, p. 13.

⁵² See Luis C. B. Pereira. *Desenvolvimento e Crise no Brasil*. 1930-1983, p. 218.

⁵³ Elio Gaspari. *Idem*, p. 210.

of the Justice Department, via the Federal Police, when deemed necessary, and before publication, to verify any infringements of the prohibition set out in the preceding article.

After setting out what should be censored, the same decree describes the sanctions:

Art. 3 once the existence of any material offensive to morals and decency has been verified, the Justice Department will prohibit publication and will seize all copies. (...) **Art. 5** The distribution, sale or exhibition of books and journals that have not been approved or that have been banned, after the verification provided for in this decree, will implicate the offenders, regardless of criminal responsibility.

To activate Decree 1077/70, Decree 11-B of 6 February stipulated that all publications should first be forwarded to the Justice Department for approval. The reaction of editors, writers, academics and civil society associations - among them the Brazilian Press Association, the Brazilian Bar Association, and the Brazilian Academy of Letters - was huge - among others, was Antonio Costela's book *O Controle da Imprensa no Brasil* [Control over the Brazilian Press] – which was published at the same time in 1970 by Editora Vozes.

The leading authors of the time - Jorge Amado and Érico Veríssimo - led the opposition against censorship, and publicly declared that "under no circumstances will we send the originals of our books to the censors, we would rather stop publishing in Brazil completely, and only publish abroad"⁵⁴.

The incisive reaction against prior censorship for books and publications in general led the government to backtrack, and they published a new paragraph for Decree 11-B. Paragraph number 1-70 of 24 February sets out that "publications and articles that are strictly philosophical, scientific, technical or pedagogical, and those that do not touch on issues of sex or public morals and decency will be exempt from prior censorship".

While it was a democratic breakthrough that only those publications that "dealt with issues relating to sex, public morality and decency" needed to be sent to the censors before publication, it is also clear that the definitions of whether a text focused or not on issues of public morality, decency or sex were hazy - and this lack of clarity meant that many other works - theoretical, conceptual, and fictional - were still the targets of rigorous censorial acts.

⁵⁴ Derek Jones (ed.). *Censorship*. A World Encyclopaedia, volume I, p. 46

In practice, according to a description published in *Veja* magazine from 29/12/1976, censorship of books took the following path:

Anyone who has read a book, whether an expert or not, and who considers it morally offensive or subversive, can make a complaint to the Department. This then triggers a process where the task of reading the publication is given to an Justice Department investigator, who then gives their opinion. On the basis of this, the department either ban the book or not. (...) The process then moves to the Federal Police who are responsible for confiscating any issues on sale.

In spite of the censors' work responding to complaints about books, *Veja* goes on, "the regional headquarters of the Federal Police still often receive books for prior censorship, from publishers fearful of seizure after publication".

The idea of prior censorship for every single book was in fact unenforceable. An article in the magazine *Visão* on 11 March 1974 highlighted the sheer technical impossibility: "In 1971 alone, 9,950 new titles were published in Brazil, and this would require an impossible number of censors"⁵⁵. The number of federal censors increased from 16 in 1967 to 240 by the end of the military regime⁵⁶. However, even with this increase, prior censorship of the entire Brazilian editorial market would have been completely impossible, so in practice, public complaints still tended to be the springboard for most censorial activity.

In the first half of the 1970s - the so-called "Brazilian Miracle", the field of publishing grew both in the number of titles and in the number of copies printed. In 1972, Brazil exceeded the barrier of one book per inhabitant per year for the first time ever. In 1972, Brazil had a population of 98 million, and 136 million books were printed - 1.3 books per person. To understand this growth, among other basic indicators, one needs to take into account that between 1970 and 1980 the illiteracy rate dropped from 39% of the population aged over five to 29%⁵⁷.

The overall data about book censorship over this period is conflicting: as mentioned before, in *1968 O Ano que não Terminou*, Zuenir Ventura suggests that 200 books were censored between 1968 and 1978, and a survey undertaken by a team of researchers from

⁵⁵ *Visão* magazine 11/03/1974, special issue "Assim se passaram dez anos," [Ten years have gone by] p.150.

⁵⁶ Alexandre Stephanou, *Censura no Regime Militar ...*, p. 246

⁵⁷ Sandra Reimão. Mercado Editorial Brasileiro, [Brazilian Publishing] pp. 59-61 from extracts taken from the *Anuários Estatísticos do Brasil* [Statistical Records from Brazil] and *Censos Demográficos* [Demographic Censuses] from the IBGE.

the São Paulo Cultural Centre and published in the book *Cronologia das Artes em São Paulo- 1975-1995*, [Chronology of the Arts in Sao Paulo - 1975- 1995] volume 1 – *Quadro Brasil*, shows similar figures⁵⁸.

Unlike Zuenir Ventura's book and the *Cronologia das Artes* cited above, in his book *Nos Bastidores da Censura*, Deonísio da Silva estimates that 430 books were censored during the military regime⁵⁹.

In the list of censored works over the military regime presented by Deonísio da Silva in *Nos Bastidores da Censura* ⁶⁰[In the Shadows of Censorship], there are approximately 98 titles by Brazilian authors. Of these, eight were theatrical texts for publication in book format, nineteen were non-fiction books, and approximately seventy were literary texts. Among these seventy, approximately sixty were considered erotic/pornographic.

*

The basement of the headquarters of the National Archives in Brasilia holds documents from the *Divisão de Censura de Diversões Públicas* [Public Entertainment Censorship Division]. In 1988, with the promulgation of the new Constitution, which prohibited censorship, the programme was deactivated and all files were transferred to the National Archives. The body was replaced by the Justice and Classification Department, and wherever possible, the censors were reallocated as delegates or advisors.

When looking for documentation on film censorship in 1997, Inimá Simões discovered the true volume of the archived files:

There were thousands of files about Brazilian and foreign films processed by Federal Censorship (...) The first step to consider was the size of the project (...)
The only other option was to set up a standard and work on a template⁶¹.

Inimá Simões' work, which focussed on certain cases of film censorship, was published in 1998 by the publishers *Senac* and *Terceiro Nome* under the title *Roteiro da Intolerância. A censura cinematográfica no Brasil* [Script of Intolerance. Cinema Censorship in Brazil].

⁵⁸ *Cronologia das Artes em São Paulo 1975-1995, Volume I – Quadro Brasil*, p. 41.

⁵⁹ The same list was also published by the author (without one title) in issue 34 of the journal *Escrita* in an article called "Os livros banidos pela Revolução" [The books banned by the Revolution]. This list includes numerous cases of supposedly pornographic literature, for which it was not possible to identify the authors' nationalities. Some of the names - like Lili Lamont - can only be assumed pseudonyms.

⁶⁰ This is after eliminating 35 titles without any stated author, and books by 14 authors whose nationality it was not possible to identify.

⁶¹ Inimá Simões. *Roteiro da Intolerância*, p. 13

The researcher Leonor Souza Pinto, who coordinates a research group that is researching and building a data bank on censor reports in relation to films (available at www.memoriacinebr.com.br), also looked at 175 other examples of films that were targeted. The DCDP archives have files on movies that contain over 30 documents: scripts, censorship certificates, authorisations for special screenings, and letters of rejection for applications for TV screenings, among others.

The preservation and organisation of the archives with these documents from now defunct censorship services, have since 1988 been the responsibility of three employees who have transferred, maintained and catalogued all the material.

It is, of course, a distinct possibility after the censorship departments were shut down that many documents were destroyed, seized or simply lost. In the introduction to her book on film censorship Inimá Simões notes "Trawling through the files, one finds pages torn out, information removed, and no signs whatsoever of several films - despite their having been banned". Nevertheless, these archives are still extensive and have great historical value.

Regarding the material on prior censorship relating to publications (books and magazines) there are comparatively few documents when compared with the censorship of films and plays. According to a survey conducted by staff from the Archives themselves, there are records for approximately 490 books and 97 magazines that were submitted to the censors, as follows (table drawn up using information from the archives in December 2010):

Archive – DCDP / Department – Prior Censorship / Series -Publications

Year	Books Submitted	Books Censored	Magazines Submitted	Magazines Censored
1970	25	5 - 20%	1	1 - *
1971	6	0 - -	0	0 - -
1972	16	2 - 12,5%	5	3 - *
1973	11	4 - 36,3%	1	0 - -
1974	20	11 - 55%	2	2 - *
1975	132	109 - 82%	15	3 - 20%
1976	100	61 - 61%	42	3 - 7%
1977	49	30 - 61%	11	4 - 36%
1978	84	62 - 73%	8	2 - 25%
1979	47	38 - 80%	2	1 - *

1980	0	0 - -	4	4 - *
1981	1	1 - *	2	1 - *
1982	1	0 - -	3	3 - *
1988	0	0 - -	1	0 - -

* exact percentage not calculated due to the limited size of the material available.

It is important to remember in any statement about these data that these files are what are remaining, and we do not know to what percentage of the original total they correspond. The books with identified authors and those by authors of unknown nationality have been eliminated (16). From the list of approximately 490 books submitted to the DCDP, approximately 140 are by national authors, and of these, 70 were censored, 60 of which were classified as erotic/pornographic. (The figures are always approximate, as some books were submitted more than once and others were presented under different names).

- **Theatre in books**

In 1970, the National Theatre service sent twenty plays intended for publication by Brazilian playwrights to be investigated by the censors. Of these, four were banned: *Pavana para um Macaco Defunto* [Pavanne to a Deceased Monkey] by Antônio Galvão Naclério Novaes; *Papa Highirte*, by Oduvaldo Vianna; *O Sótão e o Rés do Chão ou Soninha Toda Pura* [The Attic and Ground-floor or Pure Dreaming] by José Ildemar Ferreira, and *A Farsa do Bode Expiatório*, [The Face of the Scapegoat] by Luiz Maranhão Filho (the files on these can be found in the National Archives).

According to Deonísio Silva, the publication in book form of eight other plays by national playwrights were also censored: *Maria da Ponte*, by Guilherme Figueredo; *Rasga Coração* [Broken Heart] by Oduvaldo Viana Filho; *Canteiro de Obras* [Building Site] and *O Belo Burguês* [The Beautiful Bourgeois] by Pedro Porfírio; *Quarto de Empregada* [Maid's room] by Roberto Freire; *Abajur Lilás e Barrela*, [The Faded Lilac Lampshade] by Plínio Marcos; and *Lei é Lei e está Acabado* [The Law is the Law and it's Over] by Nazareno Tourinho. It should be noted that it is only the publication in book form that the ban applied to and not the performances themselves.

Censorship for actual performances were different. In 1965 alone, stagings of the following were banned: *O Berço do Herói* [The Hero's Cradle] by Dias Gomes, *Brasil Pede Passagem* [Brazil Requests Free Passage] - a play written by Castro Alves and Sérgio

Porto, *Berço Esplêndido* [Splendid Cradle] by Sérgio Porto, and three foreign plays by Gorki, Brecht and Feideau, which were later permitted⁶².

The play *O Berço do Herói* by Dias Gomes, written in 1963, had a complex trajectory. Its performance was prohibited by federal censors in 1965, at the same time as its publication in book form was selling well. In September 1965, Nelson Werneck Sodré wrote: "*O Berço do Herói*, which was censored /in the theatre/ (...) became a best-seller as a book, and Dias Gomes responded to this success with the reprise of his play *O Pagador de Promessas* [The Promise Keeper]. See it, or see it again: the time is right (...) "⁶³. Ten years later, in 1975, Dias Gomes rewrote the basic storyline of *O Berço do Herói* for the script of the soap opera *Roque Santeiro*. That year, with 36 episodes already recorded, on the day the first episode was supposed to air, *Roque Santeiro* was censored. This is described in the *Dicionário da Globo* thus: "The ban was decided after the Political and Social Order Department (DOPS) discovered that Dias Gomes had adapted his play of 1963, *O Berço do Herói*, which had been banned by federal censors"⁶⁴ In the programme *Globo Repórter 40 anos de telenovela*, [Globo Reporter: 40 years of Soaps], aired by Rede Globo Television in 1991, Dias Gomes said he had told Nelson Werneck Sodré over the phone that *Roque Santeiro* was an adaptation of *O Berço do Herói*, and only after that did he discover that Nelson Werneck Sodré's phone had been tapped.

In 1985, production of the same soap opera finally began again, and it became a huge success. From June 1985 until February 1986, *Roque Santeiro* "was a nationwide sensation" and "Brazilians once again came together in front of the television"⁶⁵. This second version was co-written by Aguinaldo Silva who worked with Dias. José Wilker played the title role, Regina Duarte was the female protagonist - the widow Porcina, and, completing the triangle, Lima Duarte played Sinhozinho Malta. In the 1975 television version, which was never aired, the role of the widow Porcina was played Betty Faria and Francisco Cuoco played Roque Santeiro.

⁶² Special issue of the magazine *Visão* 11/03/1974 "Assim se passaram dez anos", p. 143.

⁶³ Nelson Werneck Sodré. "Momento literário", Magazine *Civilização Brasileira*, number 4, p. 181.

⁶⁴ *Dicionário da Globo*, Vol. 1, p. 142.

⁶⁵ Ismael Fernandes. *Memória da Telenovela Brasileira*, pp. 308-310.

Cases like this, where public viewing was banned but copies were still available in book form, are peculiar, as "something that cannot be seen by paying adult audiences remains within the reach of any person who can read"⁶⁶.

There were similar cases with the films *Macunaíma*, *São Bernardo* and *Toda Nudez Será Castigada*. *Macunaíma*, based on Mario de Andrade's book and directed by Joaquim Pedro in 1969, was – after much negotiation, finally released after four cuts had been made. *São Bernardo*, directed by Leon Hirzman in 1972 was only released a year and half after completion, due to difficulties with the censors. After its initial ban, the 1972 film *Toda Nudez Será Castigada*, based on Nelson Rodrigues' text and directed by Arnaldo Jabor, was - after cuts, finally released - in the main because of pressure that came from the awards it had won at international festivals⁶⁷. (*Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* [Dona Flor and her Two Husbands], the film based on Jorge Amado's book of the same name and directed by Bruno Barreto, was seen by 11 million viewers in Brazilian cinemas, and after threatened cuts was eventually released almost unscathed by censorship thanks to the friendship between the producer Luiz Carlos Barreto and the censor Coriolano de Loyola Fagundes.⁶⁸)

Another case of censorial action for different forms of communication was in 1973 with the play *Calabar*, by Chico Buarque de Hollanda and Ruy Guerra. The text was freed from prior censorship in book format, but the staging was censored and the vinyl record had to have a different cover. In the DVD *Bastidores* (RWR Communications, 2005), Chico Buarque looked back on the episode:

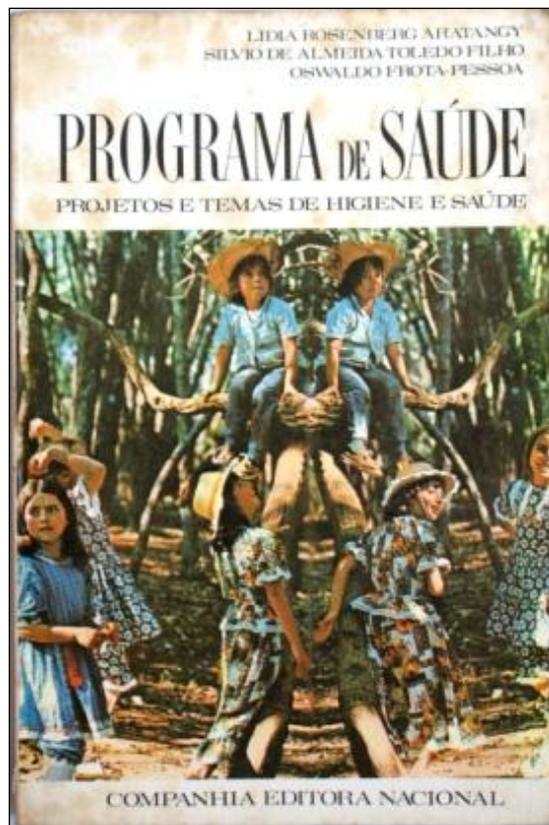
The play had been approved (...) we set up the show, and then the censors came along to approve it - which they didn't do in the end. It was bizarre. Especially because the newspapers weren't allowed to report the ban and so people arrived at the box office and couldn't understand what was going on (...) and the posters were up already saying 'read the book, watch the play, buy the recording of Calabar'. (...)The book was permitted (...) the show simply ceased to exist (...) and the record (...) was released with a plain white cover (...) under the title *Chico Canta* [Chico Sings].

⁶⁶ With some changes in tense, this quote is from *O Anjo Pornográfico* [The Pornographic Angel], *A vida de Nelson Rodrigues*, by Ruy Castro, p. 197. The author is referring to the publication in book form of the play *Álbum de Família* [Family Album]. However, this ambiguity can be extended to many other similar cases.

⁶⁷ Inimá Simões. *Op. cit.*, pp. 132, 155 & 181.

⁶⁸ Cf. Inimá Simões. *Op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.

- **Non-fiction books**



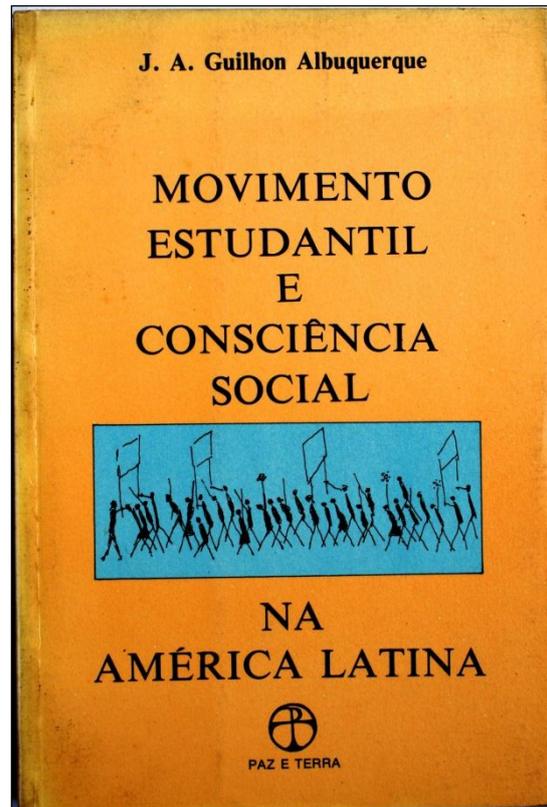
In the DCDP archives are records of the proceedings that led to the ban of two non-fiction books written by Brazilian authors: *Programa de Saúde* (Project and themes on hygiene and health), by Lídia Rosenberg Aratangy et al, published by Companhia Editora Nacional, which was banned in 1978; and *Basta Bastardos* [Enough Bastards] by Helio de Almeida. The latter was prohibited in 1970 because of its "dangerous anti-semitism, which is completely incompatible with the country's laws," according to the report (on a tangent from all other censored books).

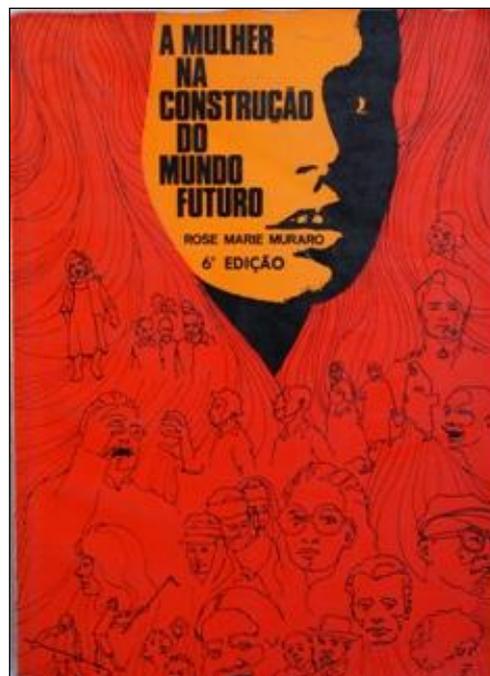
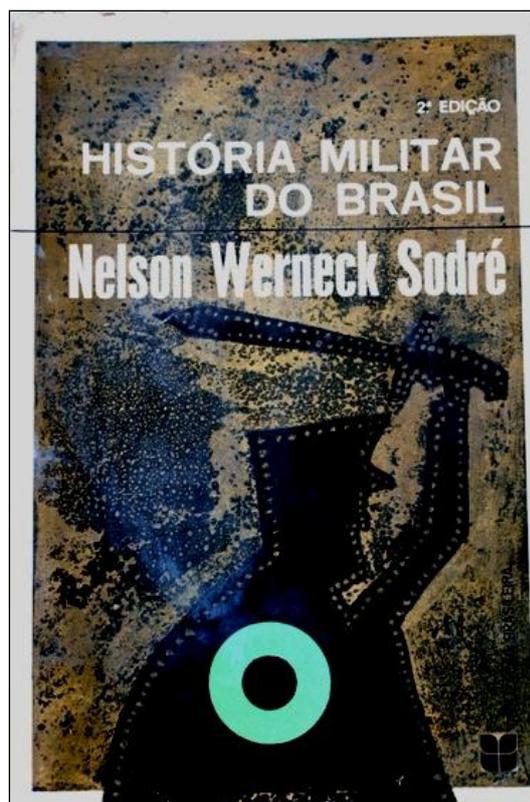
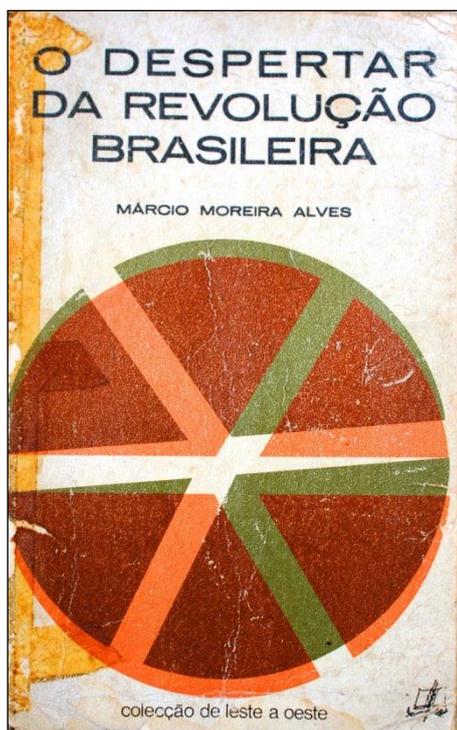
Deonísio da Silva lists further non-fiction works by Brazilian authors that were censored between 1968 and 1978: *O Poder Jovem* [The Power of Youth] by Arthur José Poerner; *O Mundo do Socialismo* [The World of Socialism], *A Revolução Brasileira* [The Brazilian Revolution] by Caio Prado Junior; *A Universidade Necessária* [The Necessary University] by Darcy Ribeiro; *Contradições Urbanas e Movimentos Sociais* [Urban

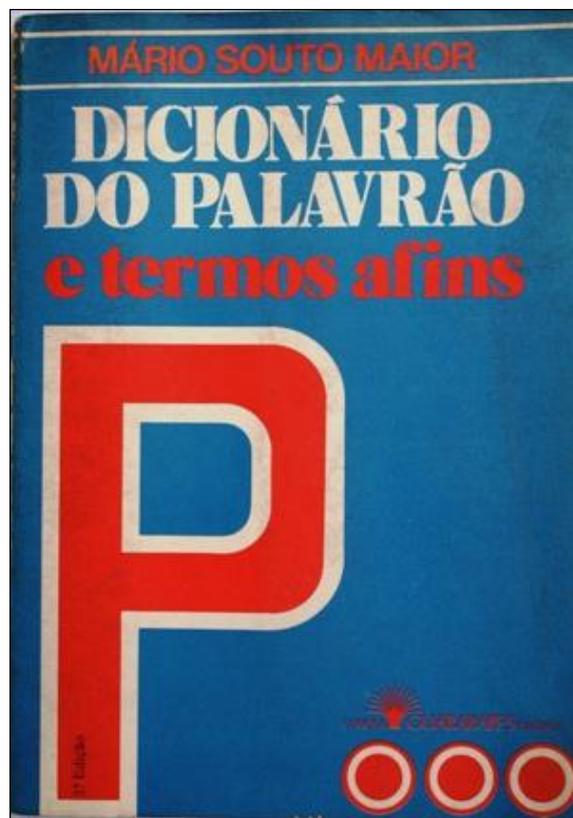
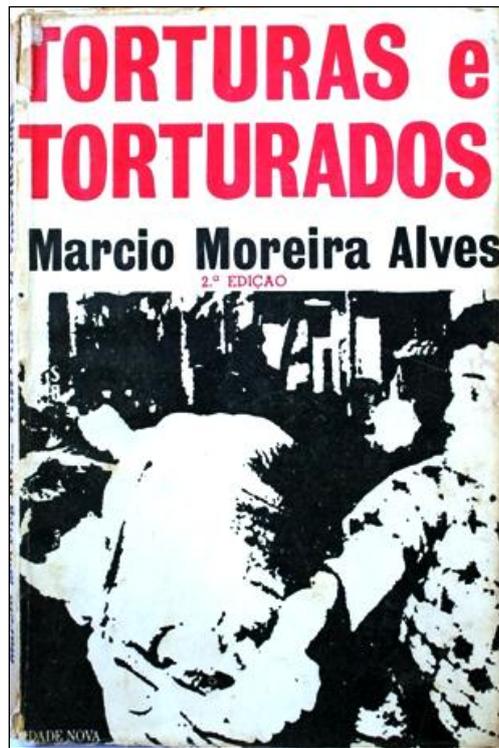
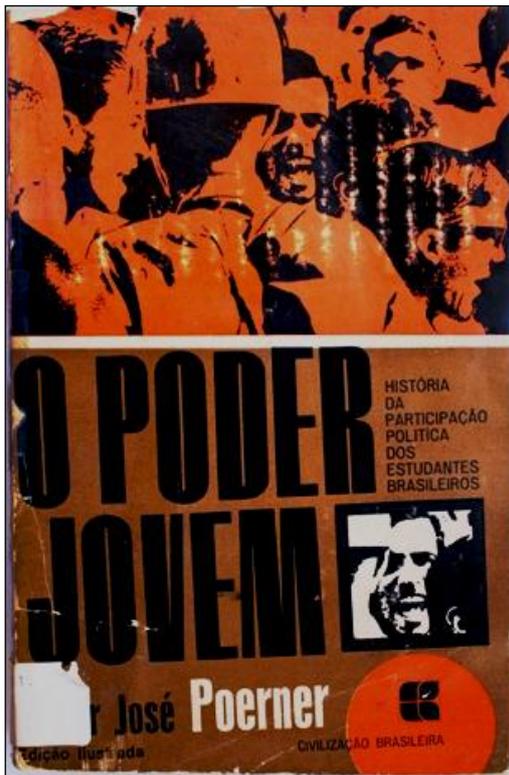
Contradictions and Social Movements] by J. Álvaro Moises et al; *Classes médias e política no Brasil e Movimento estudantil e Consciência Social na América Latina*, [The Middle-classes and Student Movements and Social Awareness in Latin America] by J.A. Guilhon Albuquerque; *América Latina: Ensaio de Interpretação econômica*; [Latin America: Essays on Economic Interpretation] by José Serra et al; *O Despertar da Revolução Brasileira e Torturas e Torturados*, [The Awakening of the Brazilian Revolution and Torture and the Tortured] by Márcio Moreira Alves; *Dicionário de palavras e termos afins* [Dictionary of swear words and other terms] by Mario Souto Maior; *História Militar do Brasil* [The Military History of Brazil] by Nelson Werneck Sodré; *A Verdade de um Revolucionário* [The Truth According to a Revolutionary] by Olympio Mourão Filho; *A Automação e o Futuro do homem* [Automation and the Future of Mankind] and *A Mulher na Construção do Mundo Futuro* [Women and their part in Building the World] by Rose Marie Muraro; *Autoritarismo e Democratização* [Authoritarianism and Democratisation] by Fernando Henrique Cardoso; *O Gênio Nacional na História do Brasil* [National Thinking in the History of Brazil] by R. Sisson; *EUA Civilização Empacotada* [USA Packaged Civilisation] by Mauro Lauria de Almeida, and *A Ditadura dos Cartéis* [The Dictatorship of the Cartels] by Kurt Rudolf Mirow.

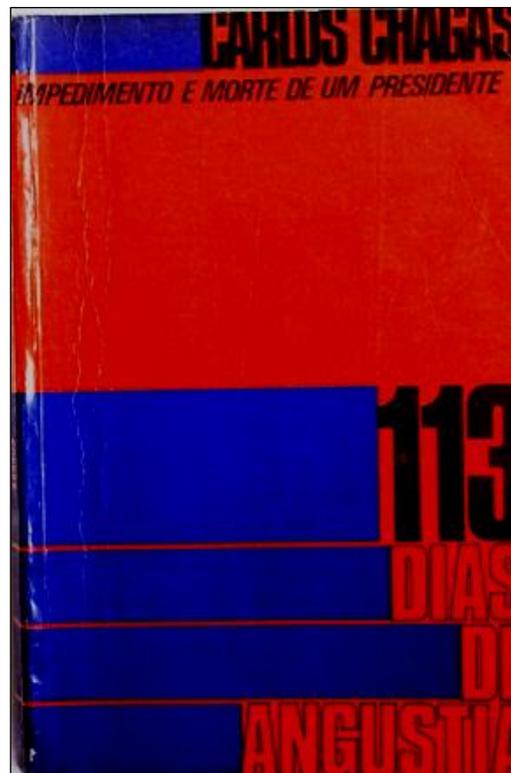
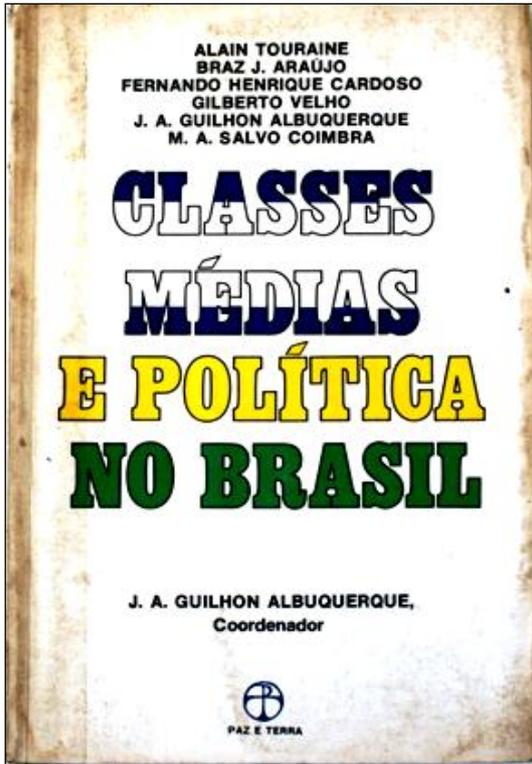
The book *113 Dias de Angústia – impedimento e morte de um presidente*, [113 Days of Anguish - the difficulties and death of a president], which describes the illness and demise of President Costa e Silva in 1969, was written by the journalist Carlos Chagas, who at the time was working as press secretary for the Presidency of the Republic. It was published in 1970 by the publisher Agência Jornalística Imagem and was banned for many years by the Censorship Department⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ This book does not appear in Deonísio da Silva's research. This information was obtained from Elio Gaspari, *A Ditadura Escancarada*, p.105.





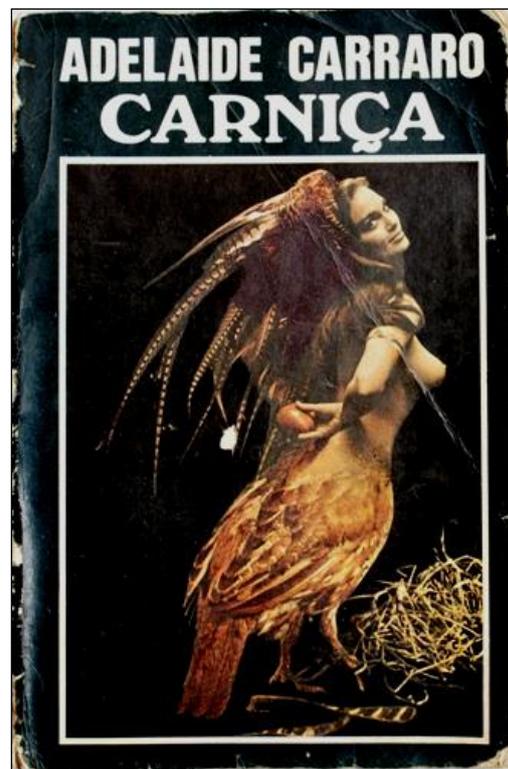
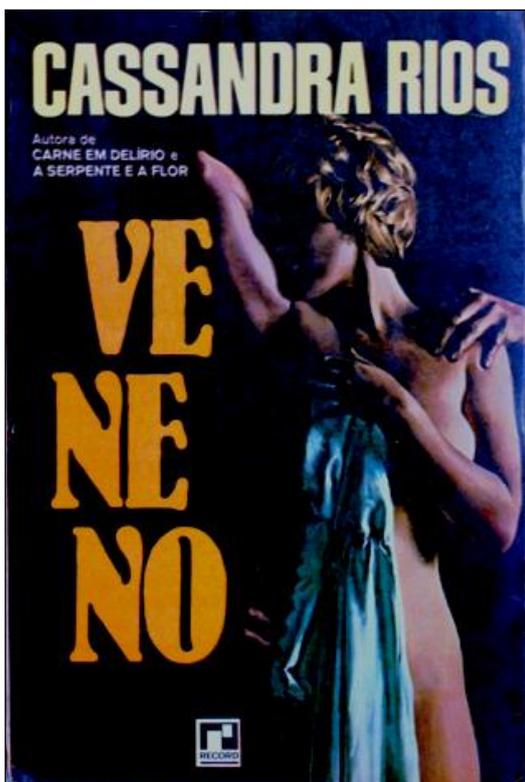


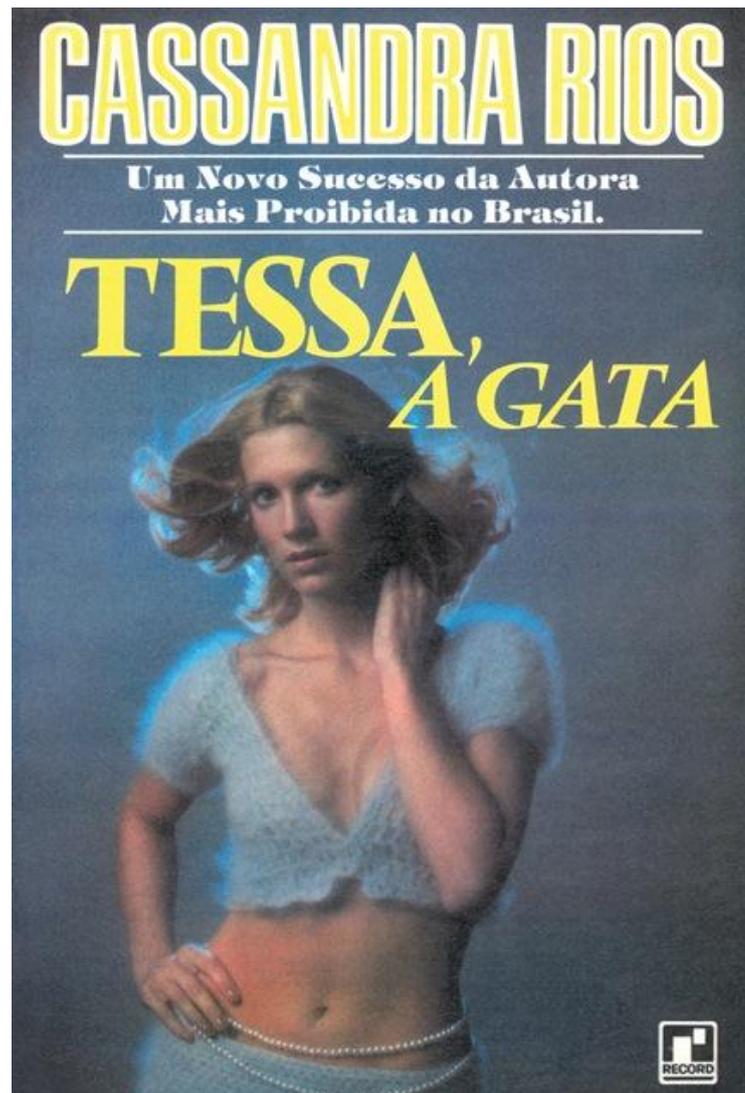


- **Erotic/pornographic books**

The listings in the DCDP archives show that 70 erotic/pornographic books by Brazilian writers were banned over the duration of the military dictatorship. Deonísio da Silva's book *Nos Bastidores da Censura* offers 69 titles with this kind of profile. Comparison between these two lists, excluding the repetitions, means that approximately 100 erotic and pornographic books by Brazilian writers were censored over the period.

These included 18 by Cassandra Rios, 13 by Adelaide Carraro, 22 by Dr G. Pop, 17 by Brigitte Bijou and 6 by Marcia Fagundes Varela.





The last three names were pseudonyms: Brigitte Bijou was the pen name of comedian Silvino Neto; the books of G. Pop show clearly the name is a pseudonym - for example, *Kuhla, A Boneca* [Kuhla, The Doll], published by Editora L. Oren in 1974, has a passage, "The name Francis Stoppa is fictitious, but others, with differences like those of the author, are real"; and due to the difficulty of finding any information about Marcia Fagundes Varella other than her name on these books, one has to assume that this is also a pseudonym.

Adelaide Carraro and Cassandra Rios were best-selling writers in the 1960s and 1970s. Their books, which were considered erotic or openly pornographic, were read in hiding by both teenagers and adults. They were "heady" books that mixed politics, 'business' and a lot of sex. This is why they were read.

Adelaide Carraro's banned books were: *Asco-Sexo em Troca de Fama* [Dirty Sex for Fame]; *Os Amantes* [The Lovers]; *Carniça*; *O Castrado* [Flesh; The Castrati]; *O Comitê* [The Committee]; *De prostituta a Primeira Dama* [From Prostitute to First Lady]; *A Escuridão* [The Darkness]; *Podridão*; *Falência das Elites* [Rotten; The fall of the Elite]; *Os Padres Também Amam*; *Submundo da Sociedade* [Priests also Love; The Underworld of Society]; *A Verdadeira História de um Assassino* [The True History of a Killer]; and *Mulher Livre* [Free Woman].

Cassandra Rios' censored books were: *A Borboleta Branca* [The White Butterfly]; *Breve História de Fábila* [A Short History of Fabia]; *Copacabana Posto Seis* [Copacabana Post Six]; *Georgette*; *Macária*; *Marcella*; *Uma mulher Diferente* [Marcella; A different kind of woman]; *Nicoleta Ninfeta* [Nymphette Nicoleta]; *A Sarjeta* [The Gutter]; *As Serpentes e a Flor* [The Snakes and the Flower]; *Tara*; *Tessa, A Gata*; [Tessa, The Beauty]; *As Traças* [The Remains]; *Veneno* [Venom]; *Volúpia do Pecado* [Sensual Sin]; *A Paranóica* [Paranoid]; and *O prazer de Pecar* [The Pleasure of Sin].

The censored books by G. Pop, Brigitte Bijou and Marcia Fagundes Varella had titles like *Astúcia Sexual* [Sexual Cunning]; *Cidinha a Insaciável* [The Insatiable Cidinha]; *Graziela Amava e ...Matava* [Graziela Loved and...Killed]; *Clube dos Prazeres* [The Pleasure Club]; *O Padre Fogoso de Boulange*, [The Lusty Priest of Boulange] and *Noviça Erótica* [The Erotic Novice].

Despite Adelaide Carraro's claim that her books dealt with political issues, in reality, social issues appear only as secondary observations.

One should remember that elements of the military saw sexuality as something that could be used as a tool for "communist expansionism". Examples of this were collated by Paolo Marconi in his book *A Censura Política na Imprensa Brasileira* [Political Censorship in the Brazilian Press],:

Sex is a tool used by psycho-politicians to pervert and alienate individuals (...) This leads to the downfall of families, of governments and the degradation of the nation as a whole, and increases the dissemination of erotic literature and sexual promiscuity, the words of Lieutenant-Colonel Carlos de Oliveira.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Paolo Marconi. *A Censura Política na imprensa Brasileira*, p. 18.

- **Novels, short stories, poetry**

In addition to the plays and erotic/pornographic works discussed above, other national fiction was also censored during the Brazilian military dictatorship. According to the listings in the DCDP archives and Deonísio da Silva's previously cited study, these were the following: *Quatro Contos de Pavor e Alguns Poemas Desesperados*, [Four Horror Stories and Some Desperate Poems] by Álvaro Alves de Faria; *Dez Estórias Imorais* [Ten Immoral Short Stories] by Aguinaldo Silva; *Meu Companheiro Querido* [My Beloved Partner] by Alex Polari; *Zero - Romance pré-histórico* [Zero - a Pre-historic romance] by Ignácio de Loyola Brandão; *Em Câmara Lenta* [In Slow Motion] by Renato Tapajós; *Aracelli, Meu Amor* [Aracelli, My Love] by José Louzeiro; *Feliz Ano Novo* [Happy New Year] by Rubem Fonseca, *Diário de André* [The Diary of Andre] by Brasigóis Felício and the short stories "Mister Curitiba" by Dalton Trevisan and "O Cobrador" [The Collector] by Rubem Fonseca⁷¹.

Álvaro Alves de Faria's book *Quatro Cantos de Pavor e Alguns Poemas Desesperados*, had its own curious trajectory: in 1973, the author, of his own volition, sent the original draft of the book to the DCDP. The text was looked at and the decision seemed to suggest it be banned. However, the author was not informed of this decision⁷². Independently of this process, and without being aware of the ban, the book was published by Editora Alpha-Omega in 1973, with an initial print-run of 500 copies. This was followed by a second edition.

The ban on José Louzeiro's book *Aracelli, Meu Amor* imposed by the Justice Department was a unique case. The book is based on a true story: the rape and murder of a nine-year-old girl, Aracelli Cabrera Crespo, by three young men from wealthy families in Vitória, the capital of the state of Espírito Santo. Although it is a fictional account, the text uses the names of the accused young men. The families of the accused took legal action, and the Justice Department suspended the publication and circulation of the book while the

⁷¹ Deonísio Silva's list also includes the story "Rebelião dos mortos" [Rebellion of the Dead] by Luiz Fernando Rubem. However, in this case, this was not due to censorship by the SCDDP/ DCDP but rather to the Belo Horizonte City Literary Prize Committee, which in 1976 gave an award for the text but then withdrew the award and did not publish the text. Cf: Emediato, Luiz Fernando, *Trevas no Paraíso*, p. 12, Introduction by Luiz Ruffato.

⁷² Document no. 511/73- DCDP: process no. 57308/73 and decreed in the same process on 28 May 1976.

case was under review, but despite this, a new edition was printed before the case was over⁷³.

The short stories "Mister Curitiba" by Dalton Trevisan and "The Collector" by Rubem Fonseca had been the subject of prior censorship when they won short story competitions in the magazine *Status* in 1976 and 1978 respectively.

Status, like the magazines *Inéditos* (a cultural and literary magazine from the state of Minas Gerais), *Paralelo* (from Porto Alegre), *Homem* (now Playboy), *Ele e Ela*, *Nova* and *Pais e Filhos*⁷⁴ were among those that, for every edition, had to submit draft copies to the DCDP.

Alex Polari features in Deonísio da Silva's list with his censored text *Meu companheiro querido*. However, the DCDP's list of books appears to have no mention of this author. Alex Polari, a militant left-wing supporter, was arrested in May 1971 and when his first book, *Inventário de Cicatrizes* [Inventory of Scars] was released, he was still in prison serving a life sentence. The blurb for the book, which was published in 1978 by the Brazilian Amnesty Committee in conjunction with the Ruth Escobar Theatre, states:

As a political prisoner, he and his comrades had to struggle for survival, fight against denunciations and show resistance in the same way that all political activists had to in prison, particularly after 1968. While Alex's poetry was not yet in book form - as it is now - it was widely disseminated both within the country and abroad. Several of these were published and distributed on the occasion of the student demonstrations of '76 and '77

It has not been possible to locate the poem referred to in the listing or to the circumstances of the ban. Under the amnesty of 1979, Alex Polari was released and published his second book *Camarim de prisioneiro*.

The books *Dez Estórias Imorais* by Aguinaldo Silva (Editora Record, 2nd edition, 1969); *Diário de André*, by Brasigóes Felício (Ed. Oriente, 1974, censored in 1976); *Zero - romance pré-histórico* by Ignacio de Loyola Brandão (Ed. Rio/Brasília, 1976); *Feliz Ano Novo*, by Rubem Fonseca (Ed. Artenova, 1976) and *Em Câmara Lenta*, Renato Tapajós (Ed. Alfa-Ômega, 1977), were published, distributed, marketed and only some time later (months or years), did the censorship department (in most cases) prohibit and seize them with the approval of the Justice Department with the wording: "I hereby prohibit the

⁷³ Cf Laurence Hallewell. *O Livro no Brasil*, p. 593.

⁷⁴ Cf. Paolo Marconi. *A censura Política na Imprensa Brasileira*, p. 61.

national publication and circulation (...) and order the confiscation of all available copies, as they promote material that is immoral and indecent".

As previously noted regarding the article in *Veja*, one should not forget that these investigations by the DCDP into previously published books were normally in response to the complaints by anyone "who has read a book, whether an expert or not, and considers it morally offensive or subversive."

The DCDP archives include the proceedings and reports on *Quatro Cantos de Pavor...*, *Dez Estórias Imorais*, *Diário de André* and *Feliz Ano Novo*.

Although the above works of fiction were censored by the military dictatorship for their overt sexuality⁷⁵, they are by no means works that could be classified as erotic or pornographic.

The most evident common trait between these literary works is their level of violence - both physical and psychological - in prisons and scenes of torture, criminal impunity seen as a contributory factor of senseless violence by the marginalised and outlawed - acts of violence that the military regime had encouraged, yet was trying to hide.

4. Culture, books and censorship - a general note

The quantitative data on book censorship from the documents in the previously listed DCDP archives show that censorial activity in the sector was tightest between 1975 and 1980 - the period that saw over 50% of books submitted being banned, in comparison with 1970-1973, when the percentage was considerably below 50%.

This means that book censorship during the military dictatorship was actually less stringent in the period known as the *Anos de Chumbo* [the Leaden Years] (1968-1972), than under Geisel's governance (March 1974 to March 1979), and particularly towards the end of his government. This, despite the fact that Geisel's government, with its numerous drawbacks, was actually the one that began the slow and gradual move towards political relaxation. The DCDP's book censorship was greater just as most newspapers and magazines were released from the constant watch over prior censorship.

⁷⁵ "A superficial reading of this work could lead one to believe it is erotic or pornographic," said Affonso Romano de Sant'Anna on Rubem Fonseca's *Feliz Ano Novo*, before censoring the work. Cf: Deonísio da Silva, *Nos Bastidores da Censura*, p. 29

It seems that book censorship during the military dictatorship shows a similar dynamic to that seen in other areas of public entertainment: data from the DCDP suggest that theatre and cinema were also more heavily censored under the Geisel government⁷⁶.

There are three hypotheses for this difference of censorial repression relating to newspapers and magazines and to public entertainment.

The first is that in general the DCDP had a more moral and less political censorial scope, and that this moral censorship, in the words of Carlos Fico, "followed other dictates as well as not being immune to the vagaries of the military regime. It considered more old-fashioned moral concerns, particularly regarding the urban middle classes"⁷⁷.

The second theory behind the greater level of censorship of the DCDP in relation to books, theatre, cinema and television after Geisel became President and particularly over his last two years of government, was that the DCDP may have suspected that their time was coming, and so were seeking to emphasise their importance to the system.

This second hypothesis is backed up by the fact - cited by Gaspari – that in June 1974 the censors banned the publication of "the testimony of a deputy regarding what he had been told by Golbery in an interview and which would finally put an end to censorship"⁷⁸.

A third hypothesis, which has links to the second one, is that during the "Anos de Chumbo" (1968-1972) artists and intellectuals exerted a form of *self*-censorship because they were aware of the censors' stringency, which under the Medici government (1969-1974) "primarily served the 'hard line' military"⁷⁹, and thus avoided producing anything that could be censored. As Bernardo Kucinski noted, the existence of strict censorship "tends to lead to widespread self-censorship"⁸⁰. This idea of self-censorship may explain the proportionately lower number (in relation to the total number examined) of books, plays and movies that were prohibited during the "Anos de Chumbo".

The 1988 constitution set out the end of cultural censorship in the arts and media. The books that had not yet been re-released were done so automatically⁸¹ as the 1988 Constitution, Section IX, article 5 set out that "expression of intellectual, artistic, scientific

⁷⁶ Carlos Fico. "Prezada Censura: Cartas ao Regime Militar" (nota 170).

⁷⁷ Carlos Fico. *Idem*, p. 22.

⁷⁸ Elio Gaspari, *A Ditadura Encurralada*, p. 488

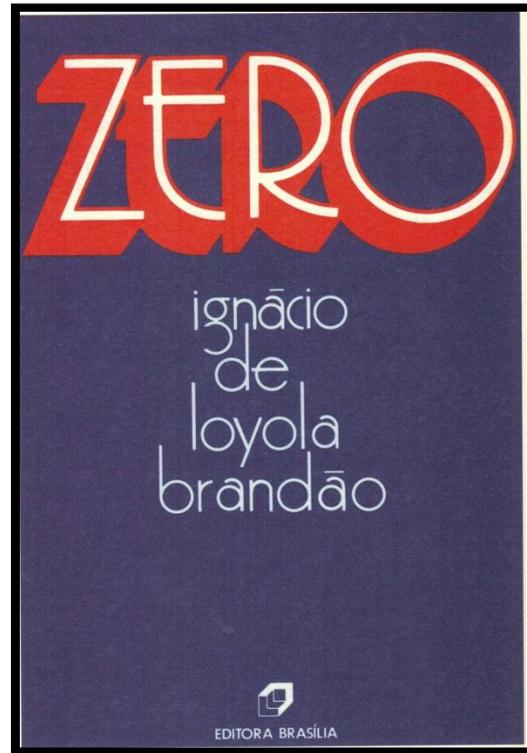
⁷⁹ Maria Aparecida de Aquino. "Mortos sem sepultura" In: Carneiro, Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro (org). *Minorias Silenciadas. História da Censura no Brasil*, p. 530.

⁸⁰ Bernardo Kucinski. "A primeira vítima: a autocensura durante o regime militar". In: Carneiro, Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro (org.). *Minorias Silenciadas. História da Censura no Brasil*, p. 536.

⁸¹ *Feliz Ano Novo*, by Rubem Fonseca, however, due to legal wrangles, took some time longer to be released. Cf. Deonísio da Silva, *Nos Bastidores da Censura*, p. 46.

and communication activities are freed from censorship and the need for any license". In a similar vein, Paragraph 2 of article 220, in the chapter that focuses on social communication, states that "any kind of political, ideological or artistic censorship is forbidden."

II . Two censored books: Feliz Ano Novo and Zero



"The land of Arcadia
suddenly darkens under a cloud of tears.
The golden pastoral scene is over:
and behind the low clouds,
the storm grows."

Cecília Meireles, "Romance XX ou
Do País da Arcádia" [Ballad XX or From the Land of Arcadia]
from *Romanceiro da Inconfidência*

On Friday 17 December 1976, the *Diário Oficial da União* contained a decree by the Justice Minister Armando Falcão who, following protocol decreed the following:

Diário Oficial, 17/12/1976, p. 16435

Proc MJ-74.310-76 – Under the terms of paragraph 8 of article 158 of the Federal Constitution and article 3 of Decree no. 1,077 of 26 January 1970, I hereby prohibit the national publication and circulation of the book "Feliz Ano Novo", by Rubem Fonseca, published by Editora Artenova S.A., Rio de Janeiro, and I also hereby order the seizure of all copies available for sale, as they contain material that goes against morals and decency. Communication from the DPF. As published. Brasília, 15 November 1976.

The censorship of *Feliz Ano Novo* took place a month after the censorship of Ignácio de Loyola Brandão's *Zero*. *Feliz Ano Novo* and *Zero* are part of a group of novels by Brazilian authors published in 1975 and 1976 that have become references for the period. These years also saw the publications of, among others: *Lavoura Arcaica*, [Ancient Harvest] by Raduan Nassar, *Leão de Chácara*, [Farm Lion] by João Antonio, *A Festa* [The Party] by Ivan Ângelo, *Quatro Olhos* [Four Eyes] by Renato Pompeu, and *A Ilha* [The Island] by Fernando Morais. This group of texts covers a wide range of different narratives: from the intimacy of journalistic reporting, to allegorical experimental narratives and to quests for understanding and finding approaches to new forms of behaviour and alternative visions of reality and the world. However, in spite of this diversity, they all share a strong bond with the Brazil of today, they all seek to analyse, give opinions, intervene, or act in the face of the country's immediate reality.

In the 1970s, amongst numerous other factors, which included the fact that books may have been less dependent on state investment and therefore were less likely to attract the attention of the censors, literature in general was a focus for attention and was "a significant element in the cultural debate of the times"⁸².

One can say that in general the artistic-cultural scope in Brazil was differently articulated in the 1970s than in the 1960s. In the 1960s, the most representative elements of cultural production, the protests that most reflected the debates of the times, tended to be

⁸² H. B. de Hollanda and M. A. Gonçalves. "Política e literatura: a ficção da realidade brasileira" [Literature and Politics: The fiction of Brazilian Reality]. In Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda, Marcos Augusto Gonçalves and Filho Armando Freitas. *Anos 70*. Vol. 2 Literatura, p. 98 (cf. also p.113).
There is a new edition of this book, published in 2005 by Editora Aeroplano and Senac Rio.

through "public performance, theatre, placards and posters, in pop music, film and journalism; together transforming the atmosphere into a celebration, while literature lost ground", as Roberto Schwarz noted in his article "Cultura e política - 1964-1969" [Culture and Politics - 1964 - 1969]⁸³. In the 1970s however, the axis moved to literature, which "expressed, through language and production and the market, strong signs of energetic cultural debate"⁸⁴.

The collection of literary texts published in the mid-1970s can be seen as the decade's second wave of fiction, while Érico Veríssimo's 1971 *Acidente em Antares* [Accident in Antares], and Antonio Callado's contemporaneous *Bar Dom Juan* were seen as the front-runners of the first literary wave that came on the heels of Institutional Act No. 5 - the former seems to be clearly linked to possible social revolution in Brazil.

Feliz Ano Novo

Feliz Ano Novo was published in 1975 by Editora Artenova, the publishing company that had been founded by Alvaro Pacheco in Rio de Janeiro twelve years earlier in 1963. In the mid 1970s, the company was publishing approximately fifteen new titles a month. By the end of 1976, *Feliz Ano Novo* had sold 12,000 copies, and was the fifth best-selling fiction title in Brazil that year.

To underline the strong influence of Brazilian literature in the mid-1970s, one has only to note that 1975's best-selling book was *Fazenda Modelo* by Chico Buarque de Hollanda, and note that together with Paulo Pontes, Chico was also the author behind the 1976 best-seller - *Gota d'Água* [Drop of Water], the script of the play that was being performed at the time. As explained in the blurb for the first edition of *Fazenda Modelo*, with liberal irony and humour Chico Buarque "uses allegory to give us a farmyard tale, a book that entertains, irritates, inspires and consoles". According to the authors in the introduction of the first edition of *Gota d'Água*, the book describes "the capitalist experience that is becoming so entrenched here (...) and the brutal concentration of wealth."

⁸³ Roberto Schwarz. "Cultura e política 1964-1969" in the book *Pai de Família e Outros Estudos*, p. 80.

⁸⁴ Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda and Marcos Augusto Gonçalves. Op. cit.10.

According to the edition of *Veja* of 31 December 1975, the national best-sellers for the year were in 1st place *Fazenda Modelo* [Model Farm] by Chico Buarque de Hollanda; 2nd place *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela* [Gabriela, Cloves and Cinnamon] by Jorge Amado; 3rd place *Novo Dicionário Aurélio* [The New Aurélio Dictionary] by Aurélio B. H. Ferreira; 4th place *Teje Preso* [Trapped Knot] by Chico Anísio; 5th *As Meninas* [The Girls] by Lygia Fagundes Telles; 6th *Dôra, Doralina* by Raquel de Queirós; 7th *De Notícias e Não Notícias* [News and Non-News] by Carlos Drummond de Andrade; 8th *Leão de Chácara* [Farm Lion] by João Antônio; 9th *Solo de Clarineta* [Clarinet Solo] by Érico Veríssimo, and 10th *A Travessia da Via Crucis* [The Via Crucis Voyage] by Carlos Eduardo Novaes.

In 1976, *Veja*'s bestseller list was presented in a format that did not distinguish between national and foreign authors, and instead differentiated between fiction and non-fiction. In the list of best-selling fiction from 1976, there are five works by Brazilian authors: in first place was *Gota d'Água* [Drop of Water] by Chico Buarque de Hollanda and Paulo Pontes; in fifth place was *Feliz Ano Novo* by Rubem Fonseca; in seventh place was *Cândido Urbano Urubu* [Candid Urban Vulture] by Carlos Eduardo Novaes; in ninth place was *A Última do Brasileiro* [The Last Brazilian], by Ziraldo, and in tenth place was *A Grande Mulher Nua* [The Great Naked Woman], by Luís Fernando Veríssimo.

By the middle of the 1970s especially, national literary production that reflected the times was playing a central and resistant role. As the writer Julio Martins said when discussing the period in an interview with Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda in "Política e literatura: a ficção da realidade brasileira" [Politics and literature: the fiction of the Brazilian reality]: "The role of cultural production, and literature in particular, during these years was mainly to safeguard our creative integrity and our threatened autonomy"⁸⁵.

Since Rubem Fonseca's first book, *Os Prisioneiros* [The Prisoners], published by Codecri in 1963, violence was a central theme in his literary production. *Feliz Ano Novo* was his fifth publication. Similarly to his previous books, *Feliz Ano Novo* is a short story collection. It contains fifteen relatively short stories that total 144 pages, and its layout is unconventional and minimal - with no blurb or preface. A law graduate and ex-police chief, Rubem Fonseca's literature pulses with the violence and brutality of the city of Rio de Janeiro. The fact he had been a senior police officer gave him a privileged insight into the escalating violence in urban centres.

⁸⁵ Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda and Marcos Augusto Gonçalves. Op. cit., pp. 68 & 70.

The story that gives its name to the collection, "Feliz Ano Novo", describes three social pariahs watching the end of year celebrations on television are "waiting for dawn so they can eat the crumbs of *macumba*⁸⁶", from a crumbling tenement flat in the Zona Sul of Rio de Janeiro. They end up - almost as if by chance – finding themselves armed and raiding a new year's party at a high-class address: "we heard the sound of carnival music, but not much singing. We put stockings over our faces, and I cut holes for the eyes with scissors. We went through the front door". The extreme violence they use against four of the partygoers shows a sickening disregard for the victims and for life.

In the words of José Antonio Pasta⁸⁷, Rubem Fonseca's literature shows that "perspective is a confrontation with a way of life that seems to have no escape clause, no vision of radical transformation, and this is a wakeup call to a new version of Brazilian reality".

This new Brazilian reality is, according to Pasta, correlated in Fonseca's texts with a transformation in the vision of the Brazilian people: "Rubem Fonseca's literature as a whole, and *Feliz Ano Novo* in particular, is a wake-up call for Brazilians and the way they now see the world. The Brazilians who appear in his works, those that represent the common people are clearly dystopian. The writer confronts the transformation of petty crime into something much more serious, into something that gives a sense of satisfaction and of societal retaliation and revenge, and what tends to be associated with social disintegration."

Another point that Pasta makes regarding *Feliz Ano Novo* is to emphasise that the collection of stories also shows "a dressing down of the elite, although it's not a major theme of the book it is still a strong presence (...) for three stories in particular: "Nau Catrineta" [The Catrineta], "Passeio Noturno I" and "Passeio Noturno II" [Nocturnal Walk I and II]":

Nau Catrineta" begins with the recitation of a passage from the homonymous poem by the Portuguese writer Almeida Garret. Almeida Garrett based his poem on a popular tale - with numerous different versions - which describes how an angel saved the captain of a boat that was adrift. In the short story, this is transformed into an act of cannibalism: for the sailors to not starve, some were killed and then eaten by the survivors.

⁸⁶ Associated with witchcraft and the Afro-Catholic tradition of making offerings to the Goddess Iemanjá on New Year's Eve.

⁸⁷ In interview with Sandra Reimão and Helena Bonito C. Pereira on 11/07/2006.

Rubem Fonseca's story focuses on the day of the twenty-first birthday of Joseph, the heir to a rich family. He is expected on this date to eat human flesh so that he can take his rightful place in society. This will make him as the new head of the family, a family whose members, according to the story, are proud of being 'responsible and aware carnivores'. Both in Portugal and Brazil.

With the same level of violence, contempt for life and gratuitous behaviour, the stories "Passeio Noturno I and II" narrate how an executive behind the wheel of a Jaguar uses the act of running over (and killing) as a form of relaxation.

In the story "Feliz Ano Novo" itself, in parallel with the unhinged gratuitous violence of Pereba's gang, the people they attack and murder – the New Year's Eve party guests – are also irresponsible and selfish, vacant, petulant and pretentious.

Alfredo Bosi described the violence portrayed by Rubem Fonseca thus:

Rubem Fonseca's brutalist narrative is an image of the chaos and excruciating values that technology produces in a Third World country (...). The language used within this world is fast, sometimes compulsive; impure, sometimes obscene; it is direct, gestural, dissonant, and noisy⁸⁸.

Zero

Violence is also a central theme of Ignacio de Loyola Brandão's *Zero*, which is subtitled as a 'prehistoric romance'. The first edition of *Zero* was published in Brazil in 1975. Prior to that, it had been published in Italy in 1974 by Editora Feltrinelli. The first Brazilian edition was published by Editora Brasilia/Rio and launched on 31 July 1975. Editora Brasilia/Rio was a small publishing house from Rio de Janeiro owned by Lygia Jobim. The sales figures merited a further print run by the same publisher.

In the words of Ignacio de Loyola Brandão, when recalling this episode:

Zero had been published in Italy by Feltrinelle and had repercussions in Brazil because *Veja* ran a long article on it by Silvio Lanceloti, who said a Brazilian book had been published there - which was unusual at the time as the first edition was actually in Italian. (...) When the book was launched and received a certain level of interest, I was asked by someone called Lygia Jobim, whom I did not know – I had no idea who she was – if I would be

⁸⁸ Alfredo Bosi (org.). *O Conto Brasileiro Contemporâneo*, p. 18.

willing to publish the book here and I said yes of course, I had written the book for publication here⁸⁹.

Zero is made up of a set of graphically presented short stories and extracts. Ignacio de Loyola Brandão notes the origin of many of these extracts: "*Zero* was also born of censorship. I was the paper's secretary (...) and so the things that were banned I chucked in the drawer (...) everything in it is real and is Brazil and I thought well, I could write a novel, I could put it all together".

In analysing the fragmentary narrative of *Zero*, Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda and Marcos Augusto Gonçalves write:

In theory, *Zero* is an allegory of the devastated and divided state of a country still waiting for its history (...) the use of extracts and the physical form of the layout - sometimes similar to newspapers - alters the naturalistic format of a newspaper. (...) The fragmentary technique used here translates the breakdown created by the climate of oppression that surrounds Loyola's narrative at all times⁹⁰.

Acts of censorship

In November and December 1976 respectively, *Zero* and *Feliz Ano Novo* were targeted by the censors at the Justice Department.

To understand the process of how these books - already published and on sale in bookshops throughout the country - were seized, one has to remember the specific nature of book censorship – that being: Federal Police investigations into works were almost always the consequence of a complaint.

Zero and *Feliz Ano Novo* were both censored as a result of complaints made against them. In the case of *Zero*, there was no direct complaint - the order came directly. Loyola Brandão remembers it thus:

I have a dim recollection that the newspaper *Opinião* published an article on another subject, but cited *Zero* as being a book that portrayed the era of the military dictatorship. This was read by the wife of a general (...) who commented 'Look here, there's a book that apart from anything else seems to be pornographic', and

⁸⁹ Interviews given to Sandra Reimão and Helena Bonito C. Pereira in September 2006 and May 2007.

⁹⁰ Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda and Marcos Augusto Gonçalves. Op. cit., p.61.

who then alerted another woman who was a friend of the wife of Armando Falcão, who then complained to her husband.

Loyola goes on:

One November afternoon, Mino Carta called me from Brasilia and said (...) *Zero* is on Armando Falcão's desk. *Zero* is going to be banned. There's no other reason why it would be on Falcão's desk. The next day it was censored. So I went to look for the censor. He asked me which book, and then said 'I'll go check. (...) If it's on moral grounds you'll be fine. Just don't print any more, and keep quiet. Stay calm'. So the next day he called me (...) and said the case against *Zero* was based on morals and so I asked "And now what do I do now?". "Stay calm and do nothing". "And is the book going to be seized?" "Well, if they did want to seize everything they'd be in trouble - they don't have the manpower. The books will remain in the bookshops.

Loyola reiterates that the censorship act was ratified by Decree 1,077, which prohibited the publication of works considered "contrary to morals and decency" and ordered the seizure of all copies.

The process in relation to *Feliz Ano Novo* was also due to a series of coincidences. In the book *Bastidores da Censura*, Deonísio da Silva quotes Lygia Fagundes Telles in a statement to the *Jornal do Brasil* (01/19/1977) in which she describes an imaginary scene in which the father of a student reading a Rubem Fonseca book sees some pages by chance, but it so happens that the father in question

[...] is a close friend of a minister. After being alerted by the father, the minister sends the book to be read by an employee. Both the minister and the employee are shocked by the book and it is censored. However, *Feliz Ano Novo* is not just another of the department's censored books. Moreover, Rubem Fonseca is a prestigious writer as well as being the director of *Light*⁹¹. Alerted yet again, the Minister decides that he should actually read the book himself. He opens it to find passages already marked in red. Yet again shocked and offended, and he upholds the ban.

According to Deonísio da Silva, Lygia Fagundes Telles closes the matter by stating that there is a minority that gave itself the right to "prohibit the books they do not like without even considering their artistic quality"⁹².

⁹¹ At the time, *Light* was the state energy company.

⁹² Deonísio da Silva. *Nos Bastidores da Censura*, pp. 37 & 38

The statement made by a DCDP employee on 03/12/1976, and which led to the censorship announced on 17/12/1976 mentioned: "characters who are troubled, addicts, perverts (...) and delinquents, bribery, theft and murder, without mention of punishment." (...) "Pornography was widely used (...) and there are unwarranted swipes made at those responsible for the fate of Brazil and at censorship."

The censorship of Rubem Fonseca's *Feliz Ano Novo* and Ignacio de Loyola Brandão's *Zero* are prime examples of what was happening in the world of fiction and books in general in Brazil in the mid-1970s.

Firstly, comparisons of the narrative forms and literary aims of both books attest to, and exemplify, the diverse range of literature produced over the period.

Secondly, the sales numbers of the two books - in less than a year *Feliz Ano Novo* had sold thirty thousand copies, and *Zero* had had two print runs of a total of about six thousand copies⁹³ - can also be interpreted as an indication of the strength and acceptance of Brazilian author at the time.

Finally, it should be noted that the processes that resulted in the censorship of both books, which can be confirmed in articles of the time and in later studies⁹⁴, took place almost by chance as it stemmed from complaints by people who felt they had the right to censor any books they disliked - which was a frequent occurrence.

In the second half of the 1970s, writers, publishers, intellectuals, artists, scientists, teachers, and society in general, began to mobilize, resist and protest against the abuses and demands of an authoritarian regime.

This societal resistance to the government's authoritarian acts culminated in protests and public demonstrations against authoritarianism. Of particular note in the context of cultural production, was the *Manifesto dos 1046 Intelectuais Contra a Censura*, [Manifesto by 1046 Intellectuals against Censorship], which was delivered to the Justice

⁹³Data on *Feliz Ano Novo* from Hallewell, *Op. cit.*, p. 591 and on *Zero* in interviews given to Sandra Reimão and Helena Bonito C. Pereira in September 2006 and May 2007.

⁹⁴ Deonísio da Silva. *Nos Bastidores da Censura*, e Carlos Fico, "‘Prezada Censura’: Cartas ao Regime Militar”.

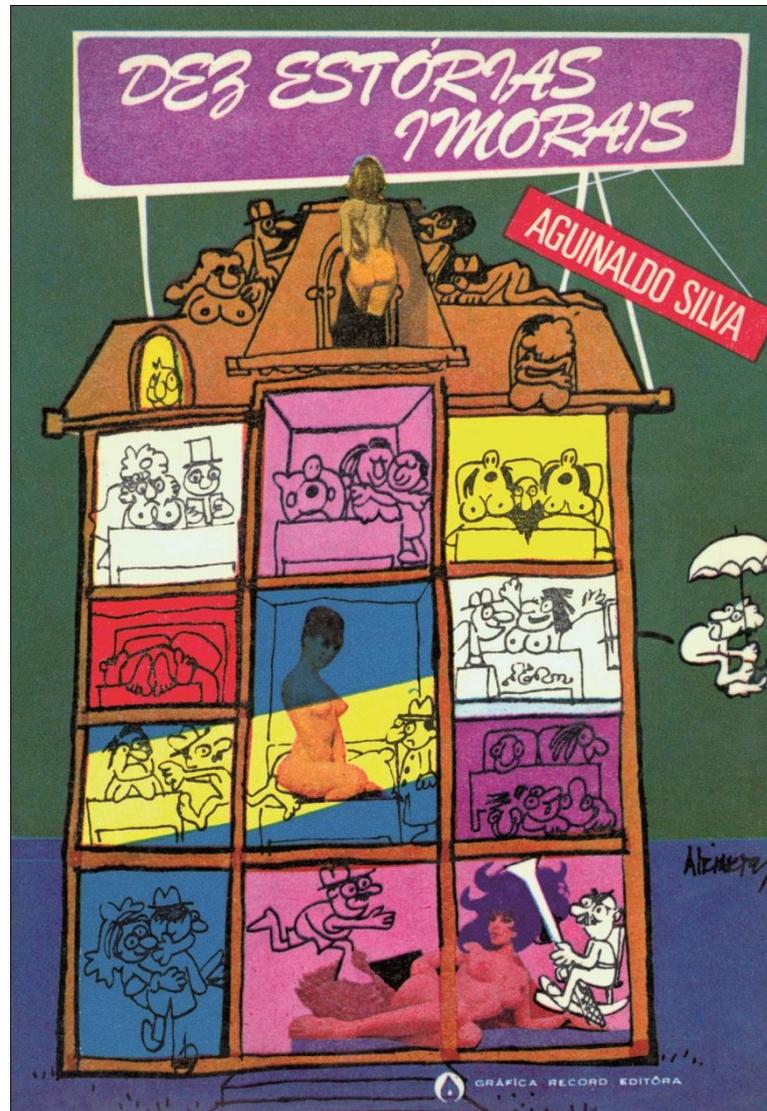
Minister in Brasilia on 25 January 1977 by a committee made up of Hélio Silva, Lygia Fagundes Telles, Nélide Pinõn and Jefferson Ribeiro de Andrade.

In 1979, after AI-5 had been terminated, *Zero*, by Ignacio de Loyola Brandão, had its third print run by Editora Codecri.

Rubem Fonseca sued the Ministry of Justice for the censorship of *Feliz Ano Novo* but the book was only allowed to be published much later at the end of the process.

By then, *Zero* had had over ten print-runs in Portuguese, and had been translated into German, Korean, Spanish, Hungarian and English.

III. Aguinaldo Silva, a censored writer: the book *Dez Estórias imorais*



"Freedom, this word nourished by our dreams
and that no one can explain or fully understand"

Cecília Meireles, "Romance XXIV ou
da Bandeira da Inconfidência"
from *Romanceiro da Inconfidência*

Aguinaldo Silva's *Dez Estórias imorais*, is a collection of stories written between October 1960 and May 1965, and include: “De como a prostituta Rita Pereira Noivou, Casou e Morreu, numa Noite de São João, em Plena Zona do Cais do Recife ou Estranho Itinerário” [How the prostitute Rita Pereira got engaged, married and killed on St. John's night in the Quays of Recife, or Strange Route]; “O Nada jamais Acontecerá” [Nothing will never Happen]; “O Círculo de Giz” [The Chalk Circle]; “Um Homem, sua Maldade e a Marinha Nacional” [A Man, his Evil and the National Navy]; “Westhalia: Um Mar” [Westhalia, An Ocean]; “Cidade, Mulher e Rio” [City, Woman and Rio]; “A Primeira Sede” [The First Thirst]; “O Despertar de Toin’ Quirino” [Toin Quirino's awakening]; “O Morto na Rua” [Death in the Street]; and “Proclamação final” [Last Proclamation].

This collection was published in one book by the publishing house Editora Record in 1967. It was a small book of just 148 pages and had a very simple layout. This was followed by a second edition in 1969 from the same publisher.

As well as being tales of action and events, these stories focus on descriptions of characters and the events that unfold because of them. The characters in these narratives are essentially two social types: those excluded by poverty like people fleeing drought, cheap prostitutes, drunkards and crazies, and those from the lower middle class like a dissatisfied housewife with dreams, or a lowly clerk in a small office. Together, the stories try to understand these characters in a social context, and to also portray them from the inside by giving them a narrative voice.

One example of a giving a narrative voice to a character, who in this case is socially excluded, can be seen in the text "A Primeira Sede". The story is told in the first person by a migrant who escaped from the drought, and who now, as an old man has returned to the town of Cabrobó from which he had fled. Why did he go back? "Why did I go back? Well, Cabrobó is where I'm from. And, do you think that Cabrobó is and always will be this same vision of hell? If so, you don't have much imagination, and that's where you're wrong".

Another example of literary narrative as an opportunity to give characters a voice can be found in the title of the first story “De como a Prostituta Rita Pereira Noivou, Casou e Morreu, numa Noite de São João, em Plena Zona do Cais do Recife ou Estranho Itinerário”. The title mimics the title style of the traditional *cordel* form, a kind of publication associated with the socio-cultural context of the story's central character, Rita Pereira.

Regarding the lower class characters portrayed, the author draws attention to the oppressive slog of low-skilled work, and to sexual and familial repression. This can be seen in the tale “O Círculo de Giz”, which describes the daily routine of an office employee: "...he had tried to save his strength, but ended up falling into the same stagnation, his hand exhausted. They had drawn a chalk circle around him, and there was no way out. The day was the day; everything was everything; nothing was nothing".

Knowing as we do now that Aguinaldo Silva later became a soap-opera writer, it is impossible not to notice that two of the stories from this 1960s book have the theme of radio soap operas and radio journalism running through them. In the story “O Nada jamais Acontecerá”, Lu is a housewife married to Manuel and feels "completely suffocated" and emotionless. The thing that makes her feel this emptiness and highlights her lack of love, is the lives of the heroines and counts from the radio soap-operas:

what time? He looks at the clock and murmurs, nine. And she says, smiling sadly: it's time for the soap-opera (...) After it starts, the Count is the first to speak with his warm voice. She looks at Manuel as he sleeps, his mouth slightly open, and murmurs, oh my count.

It should be noted that the use of the definite article "o" [the] in the title, “O Nada jamais Acontecerá” harks back to the melodramatic titles of radio soap-operas, an example of which is “O Direito de Nascer” [The Right to be Born], written by the Cuban author Felix Cagnet in 1946, and which was aired for almost two years as of 8 January 1951 in Brazil. It was adapted by Eurico Silva for *Radio Nacional*, with a cast that included Paulo Gracindo (as Albertinho Limonta), Iara Sales (mamãe Dolores) and Roberto Faisal (Dom Jorge Luiz), among others.

In the above mentioned story “O Círculo de Giz”, Mateus, the bored and bureaucratic employee include the radio into his daily routine: "After the radio news came the sports programme and an aria that although insignificant, was an aria. And then back to the start (...) There was no escape."

For the character Lu, radio fiction offers the chance to dream and this dream enables her to put her frustrations into perspective. In contrast, for Mateus, the radio provides information (the news bulletin), entertainment (the sports program) and culture (an aria), but these are just absorbed into his mechanised and limited routine. Nowadays, due to the current configuration of communication systems in Brazil, one does not expect the radio to take on such an influential role in everyday life. Probably, it is television plays this role now. One has to remember that both stories are from 1960, when television had

only just come to Recife with the launch of the *TV Radio Clube* that was part of the *Diários e Emissoras Associados* group owned by Assis Chateaubriand.

There are two more extracts on the subject of the presence of means of communication in *Estórias Imorais*; the informative function of newspapers appears in the last story in the book, "Proclamação Final" in a very negative sense, when the protagonist finds out about Lucinda's suicide in the crime pages and thinks: "Now she is dead, half a dozen lines on the page of a newspaper, of this *Diário de Pernambuco* that is nothing more than an outdated cheap old rag. Lucinda had been soiled by the old-fashioned pages of the *Diário de Pernambuco*". In another part of the story, the same character says: "The newspaper meant nothing to me, the newspaper was nothing".

In this same story there is also a radiogram - a radio and record player combined, not seen as a vehicle for entertainment, leisure, culture or information, but primarily as a commodity, a desirable consumer product. Lucinda, the central character's poor lover dreamed of "one day going to live in Boa Viagem. Just in a little bedsit - she said - I don't want much. Oh, and with a radiogram, with hi-fi records, and a litre of Scotch whisky".

Despite the satirical tabloid cover illustration, the book cannot be described as explicitly sexual or "immoral". Although there are sexual scenes and references, the truly dominant immorality is that of poverty, exclusion, and hopelessness.

Dez histórias imorais was published by the publishing house Gráfica Editora Record in 1967. Nine years later, on 11/12/1976, the *Diário Oficial da União* [the government gazette] announced the ban on "its publication and circulation" - using the same formula as for other books:

In accordance with the provisions of paragraph 8 of article 153 of the Federal Constitution and Article 3 of Decree no. 1077 of 26 January 1970, I hereby prohibit the national publication and circulation of the book "DEZ ESTÓRIAS IMORAIS (...) due to its subject matter that is contrary to morals and decency.

To understand this better it is useful to look again at the writer's earlier works.

The writer Aguinaldo Silva

Aguinaldo Silva is a prolific, popular and widely respected television scriptwriter. He started in television in 1979 with the series *Plantão de Polícia* [Police Shift], and by

2010, he had written five miniseries and twelve soap operas - all of which were produced and broadcast by the *Rede Globo* network. Some of these soap operas were extremely successful and had huge viewer numbers, these included *Pedra sobre pedra*, *Tieta*, *A Indomada* and *Senhora do Destino*.⁹⁵

Before he started working in television, Aguinaldo Silva had already published one book and had worked as a journalist. In 1964, he moved from Pernambuco to Rio de Janeiro and started writing reports on the police for the newspaper *O Globo*. Over the 1970s, Aguinaldo Silva collaborated with the newspapers *Opinião* and *Movimento*, of which were associated with resistance against the military dictatorship. As a journalist in the 1970s, the author was prosecuted twice for crimes of opinion - a legal statement in the Press Law, law No. 5.250/67 of 9 February 1967.

In April 1978, in conjunction with Peter Fry, Jean-Claude Bernardet, Darcy Penteadó, João Silvério Trevisan and other artists and intellectuals, Aguinaldo Silva launched the first issue of the newspaper *O Lampião*, a publication initially focussed on defending minorities in general and particularly on the defence of gay rights. The name of the first issue was *Lampião de Esquina* [Street corner lamp] - which was a reference both to street life and nightlife, and also to Virgulino Lampião - the *Rei do Cangaço* [the bandit king]. The issue sold ten thousand copies nationwide.⁹⁶

The publication hung on until June 1981, and on account of it, Aguinaldo Silva had to defend himself against a prosecution case in 1979 based on the National Security Law - "It was the most difficult moment of my career as a journalist. I felt completely insecure, as I could have been arrested at any moment," said the author in an interview for the magazine *Isto É*.

The National Security Act, as Decree No.898 of 29 September 1969 became known, justified his fear of being arrested at any time, as article 3 set out that

⁹⁵ His miniseries were: *Lampião e Maria Bonita* (1982), *Bandidos da Falange* (1983), *Padre Cícero* (1984), *Tenda dos Milagres* (1985), *Riacho Doce* (1990) and *Cinquentinhas* (2009); and the soap operas were: *Partido Alto*, with Glória Perez (1984), *Roque Santeiro*, in collaboration with Dias Gomes (1985), *O Outro* (1987), *Vale Tudo*, in collaboration with Gilberto Braga (1988), *Tieta* (1989), *Pedra sobre Pedra* (1992), *Fera Ferida* (1993), *A Indomada*, co-written with Ricardo Linhares (1997), *Meu Bem Quer*, as textual supervisor (1998), *Suave Veneno* (1999), *Porto dos Milagres*, co-written with Ricardo Linhares (2001), *Senhora do Destino* (2004) and *Duas Caras* (2007). Cf: Fernandes, Ismael. *Memória da Telenovela Brasileira*. See also Aguinaldo Silva's blog on the *Globo* website, in which he talks about his productions and tells stories from his life - <http://bloglog.globo.com/blog/>.

⁹⁶ James Green. *Além do Carnaval. A homossexualidade no Brasil do século XX*, pp.430-431.

Reimão, Sandra. *Repression and resistance: book censorship under the military dictatorship*.

National security essentially consists of measures aimed at protecting foreign and homeland security, including prevention and repression of the adverse psychological warfare and the revolutionary or subversive war⁹⁷.

This same law also stipulated that crimes against national security were subject to prosecution and trial by military courts and that those in charge of the investigation could detain the accused for up to thirty days, with the possibility of an extension of another thirty days, and could also keep the prisoner in solitary confinement for up to ten days.

A decade earlier, in 1969, the author had been arrested and detained for seventy days because of a preface he had written for Che Guevara's *Diary*, which was published by Coordenada Editora.

In the autobiographical novel *Lábios que Beijei*, [Lips I have Kissed] - written in 1990 and published in 1992, Aguinaldo Silva recounts the history of this publication:

Invited by the editor Victor Alegria in mid-1968, I wrote a preface for one of the many Brazilian editions of Che Guevara's *Diário*, which I, rather pompously entitled “A Guerrilha não Acabou” [The Guerrilla war is not over]. The book was published by Coordenada Editora, which he owned, and for which I offered my services (...). The book was only in the bookshops for a few months as December saw the promulgation of Institutional Act no. 5, which, among other prerogatives, gave the authorities the power to seize books and punish anyone who had anything to do with them, even those who kept them on their shelves at home. Despite the increasing tribulations of my private life, it never occurred to me to ask Victor what had happened to the unsold copies of the *Diário*. I had thought that he would have had the common sense to find a suitable way of destroying them. In fact, in spite of the risks, the editor had decided to hang on to any remaining copies. (...) The vast number of copies formed a huge pile, according to agents from the Navy Information Centre who had invaded the locale following an anonymous complaint. There were many people who were at risk because of them - from the poor warehouse owner who swore he had not known the contents of the packages, up to myself⁹⁸.

The stash was discovered, and the next day when leaving his apartment to go to work at *O Globo*, Aguinaldo Silva was forced to accompany three men, who took him to the Navy Ministry Basements, where he was then interrogated.

⁹⁷ The concept of National Security had been used before in Decree no. 314 of March 1968 and in the Constitution of 1967, which was ratified on 24 January 1967.

⁹⁸ Aguinaldo Silva. *Lábios que Beijei*, pp. 91 and following.

The central point of the interrogation was regarding the title of the preface I had written for Che's *Diary*: "- But you said that the revolution is not over. On what facts is that statement actually based? What is it that you know about the rebels that we *still* don't know?" In the face of this question the writer tried to answer that the statement had been figurative and was a play on Alain Resnais' 1966 film *La guerre est Finie* [The War is Over], which had already been screened in Brazil. At the end of the interview, the investigator told Aguinaldo Silva that he "was under arrest and was going to be taken to court in accordance with Act 5 for having written this *pile of shit*."

- But the book was published before Act 5 - I argued - and surely punishment should not be retrospective...

To which the commander (...) replied:

- In this case you will not be prosecuted...but you will be detained

To gauge the gravity of the situation this is Aguinaldo Silva talking about the subject:

I am embarrassed for my captors (...) This is probably one of my greatest failures: the fact that violence, more than making me angry, actually makes me feel sorry for those that promote it. It was through sheer embarrassment that I avoided talking about my imprisonment for over twenty years - I only wrote about it once in *Lampião*, which I myself edited.

Unaffiliated with any organised political group, and living in the Rio suburb of Lapa in the 1960s, which was a neighbourhood with a low rate of petty crime and prostitution, when he was arrested Aguinaldo Silva asked "Why have I been put away for forty-five days because of a simple preface?". He finally realized that "he had been arrested (...) not because he was the author of a dangerous and subversive text, but because he was homosexual".

Aguinaldo Silva published more than 14 books. His most critically acclaimed books are *República dos Assassinos* [Republic of Assassins] of 1976, and *O Homem que Comprou o Rio* [The Man who bought the Rio] in 1986. These two works are both in the style of crime fiction, and are drawn from actual events that took place between the Rio criminal underworld, the military, and the police. They were translated and published by Editora Gallimard in the collection *Série Noire* in France.

Censorship by the SCDP

The censorship of *Dez Estórias Imorais* was the result of a report drawn up by a censor from the Federal Police Department's Public Entertainment Censorship Service (the SCDP).

In this report, which is available at the National Archives, the censor initially presents the group of texts and then removes two stories that he suggests should be censored:

There are ten tales by the same author, that cover a range of subjects, including the lives of prostitutes a brothel, the hard life in the Brazilian *Caatinga* and their economic migrants, and stories of sailors in the ports of Brazil, etc.

Of the ten stories, two are selected for censorship for containing inappropriate material:

1) UM HOMEM, SUA MALDADE, E A MARINHA NACIONAL [A MAN, HIS WICKEDNESS, AND THE NAVY: Told in the first person, this describe the life of a sailor from his childhood in Ceará, his trials and tribulations, his entry for the Navy, his adventures with loose women, and his homosexual involvement with a Lieutenant Commander - even citing the name of the ship on which he served, The Baependí.

2) PROCLAMAÇÃO FINAL [FINAL PROCLAMATION]: A person unhappy with their life, and against everything and everyone. He insults and fiercely criticises the church and is deeply cutting about its monks and priests (...). In addition, he offends the military in general, calling them stupid.

For these reasons and in my best judgement, I believe after examination, that the publication and dissemination of this book should be prohibited (...)

It should be noted that, despite the slightly confusing wording and the censor trying to safeguard himself by using the expression "in my best judgment" before expressing his opinion, the censor does not actually suggest vetoing the book as a whole. The report states that the book describes prostitutes and "sailors' tales", but it does not see these subjects as ones that merit censorship. The two stories that the report mentions both show how censorship was applied to negative assessments and descriptions of sailors, religion and the military were considered unacceptable in the light of traditional moral standards. This suggests that the report does not actually censor the entire work or any "material contrary to morals and decency"; rather, it censors subject matter relating to institutions of the Navy, Church and Army.

In the case of story about the sailor, the report underlines the "homosexual involvement with a Lieutenant Colonel", who is a superior within the Brazilian Navy, and it also highlights that in the narrative, the sailor names "the ship on which he served, Baependí", which had been a warship in the service of the Brazilian Navy from 1953 to 1973. The name Baependí is a tribute to the town of the same name in Minas Gerais.

The most surprising part of this report and the censorship it led to, is its date, which came eight years after the book was first published. This time span is typically the entire lifespan on books that are not part of the consolidated *canon*.

The most coherent hypothesis to explain the SCDP's investigation in 1975, and the resulting censorship in 1976 of Aguinaldo Silva's 1967 *Dez Estórias Imorais*, (nine years after the initial publication) is that his subsequent activities as a collaborator with publications that openly opposed the military dictatorship gave him a higher profile, and may have - either directly, or through a complaint, or deliberately - instigated a new DCDP investigation into him and his work.

Analysis of some of the author's journalism in 1975 may confirm the hypothesis that his writing that year in the publications *Movimento* and *Opinião*, together with his advocacy for gay rights, led to the investigation and censorship of *Dez Estórias Imorais*:

On 14 February 1975, Aguinaldo Silva published an article entitled "Uma Tragédia Americana" [An American Tragedy] in *Opinião*, the subtitle of which was: "on one side were the residents of the Zona Norte, and on the other was a Girl from Ipanema". In an ironic text, the author criticises how the press in general, and particularly "old police reporters" with "typical" cruelty, are protecting a young upper-middle class girl from accusations of a crime against a menial worker from the slums, despite evidence to the contrary, and "shield her in a game of appearances that typifies the young women of her class."

Aguinaldo Silva concludes that, in this case, the press and the police, instead of investigating and reporting, are actually the delivery channels of the social apartheid of the times, which tends to "create divisions between the characters of this tormented history": "On the one hand are the residents of a neighbourhood in the Zona Norte, the employees of a gasoline station and of a TV repair shop in Lapa, on the other hand is the beautiful, well-spoken and academically promising Lourdes, a girl from Ipanema, *comme il faut*."

Another example of Aguinaldo Silva's protest writing in 1975 can be seen in *Movimento* of the 1st of September: "Incidentes no Grande Rio" [Incidents in Greater Rio],

describes how "One thief was shot dead and another lynched; two robbers (were) beaten and another was lynched; (and) a Military Police Platoon was threatened by the mob". The piece concludes ironically that there are only criminals who live in the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, and, after noting that all the robberies were the result of the search for food, it uses the words of Archbishop Adriano Hippolytus, Bishop of Nova Iguaçu to explicitate: "Yes, they are criminals. But not in the sense that the police understands the term. Rather, it is because they have been abandoned in this place with any infrastructure that allows them to live with a shred of dignity."

It should also be noted that in 1975, the year *Dez Estórias Imorais* was investigated, Aguinaldo Silva together with Editora Pallas in Rio de Janeiro, published the novel *Primeira Carta aos Andróginos* [First Letter to the Androgynous] - an explicit and openly homoerotic text.

Much more so than the book, published several years previously and with its natural lifespan almost over, it seems that it was the fact that Aguinaldo Silva was collaborating regularly with opposition newspapers that motivated the investigation and that strangely led to a book being censored nine years after its publication, on the basis of legislation that did not even exist when the book was first launched, as Decree no. 1.077/70 that underwrote the Justice Department's decision to prohibit the book's "publication and circulation throughout national territory" had only been decreed on 26 January 1970.

To further strengthen the hypothesis that the investigation into and prohibition of *Dez Estórias Imorais* was due to reasons other than the contents of the book itself, one should remember that due to the large numbers of publications annually in Brazil, the SCDP only investigated books when called on to do so. A letter from Moacyr Coelho, the Director-General of the Federal Police Department, to the Minister of Justice Armando Falcon, dated 31 January 1977, commented on a protest document that became known as the *Manifesto dos 1000 intelectuais contra a censura*⁹⁹ [The Manifesto of 1000 intellectuals against censorship] and says:

It should be made clear that the Department only sends books for checking that have been sent by decentralised bodies as a result of complaints from parents,

⁹⁹ The document that became known as the "Manifesto dos 1.046 intelectuais contra censura" was delivered in Brasilia on 25 January 1977 by a group made up of Hélio Silva, Néida Pinõn, Jéferson Ribeiro de Andrade and Lygia Fagundes Telles to be forwarded to the Justice Minister Armando Falcão. Signatories to it included people like: Antonio Candido, Chico Buarque, Jorge Amado, Paulo Emilio Sales Gomes, etc. (cf. among others, *Cronologia das Artes em São Paulo 1975-1995*, volume Literatura, p. 33. In *A Ditadura Encurralada*, p. 495, Elio Gaspari talks of a thousand intellectuals and emphasizes that the protest was against the censorship of Rubem Fonseca's *Feliz ano novo*).

teachers, booksellers or local authorities (...) as it would be impossible to investigate all of the literary production circulated in Brazil. (Source: DCDP, Section: General administration; Series: Official correspondence; Sub series: communications; letter no. 053/77 – DCDP, Brasilia, 31/01/1977)

* * * *

The censorship trajectory of *Dez Estórias Imorais* is, with a few differences, analogous to that of Aguinaldo Silva's imprisonment in 1969. In both cases, the reasoning behind the censorship was not the real motivation. While the author's arrest in 1969 was explained as being due to the preface “A guerrilha não acabou” he had written for Che Guevara's *Diary*, Aguinaldo Silva' concluded that in fact the real motivation was homophobia. Everything from 1976 suggests that *Dez Estórias Imorais* was censored not because of the contents of the book, but due to homophobia and bullying of the journalist and militant Aguinaldo Silva.

IV. Book and prison - the case of *Em Câmara Lenta* [In Slow Motion], by Renato

Tapajós



"Throughout time, histories and stories repeat themselves. The republican State, censor *par excellence*, was responsible for mutilating national culture and negatively interfering in constructing a concept of citizenship. The police apparatus (...) should be regarded as one of the drivers of the barbarity, violence, segregation and intolerance that have become the trademarks of the 20th century. The State holds direct responsibility as it has managed and legitimised this brutality, and promoted fear and self-censorship. However, when looking over police records, one sees that Brazilian intellectuals managed in underground society to contribute to the metamorphosis of reality, overcoming the condition of mere conformist spectators."

Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro. *Livros Proibidos, Ideias Malditas*

The book *Em Câmara Lenta*, by Renato Tapajós, was published in May 1977 by the publishing house Alfa-Ômega. It is autobiographic, he describes the author's participation in urban revolution over the 1960s and discusses the politics of the time. The author, who was imprisoned between August 1969 and September 1974, rewrote the book in 1973 after hearing of the death in prison of left-wing activist Aurora Maria Nascimento Furtado¹⁰⁰.

On 27 July 1977, when leaving his workplace at Editora Abril, Renato Tapajós was arrested for the second time by DEOPS agents (from the Civil Police Department for Political and Social Order), as according to the report filed by inspector Sergio Fernando P. Fleury, the book violated the National Security Law as it was "an apologia for terrorism, subversion and guerrilla warfare in every aspect"¹⁰¹.

The impact of this news - the unique case of an author arrested during the military dictatorship on the basis of the contents of a book, and the shock of it taking place at the start of a supposed process of "slow, gradual and safe" political relaxation - mobilised both the press and society. Almost every day, newspapers, both the major dailies and alternative media, published articles protesting against the case. On 9 August, the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* and the *Folha de S. Paulo* published the text (not the signatures) of a petition (with 800 signatories) publicly protesting against the arrest. In addition, the São Paulo state Public Security Secretary received a large number of letters (13 in Portuguese, 2 in Spanish and 25 in English) from members of Amnesty International, protesting against Tapajós' arrest¹⁰².

The author was released on 23 August 1977.

Memories of Battles

Em Câmara Lenta, published in 1977, was the first memoir from a former political activist of the 1960s. More specifically, it was the "first memoir, and novel, written by a militant who was active from the start to the end of the armed fight and urban revolution," according to Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva, in his book *Os Escritores da Guerrilha Urbana*. [The Writers of the Urban Revolution].

¹⁰⁰ Marcelo Ridenti. *Em Busca do Povo Brasileiro*, p. 154.

¹⁰¹ Document reproduced in: Silva, Mário Augusto Medeiros da. *Os Escritores da Guerrilha Urbana. Literatura de testemunho, ambivalência e transição política* (1977-1984), p. 14.

¹⁰² Data taken from: Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva. *Op. cit.*

From the end of the validity of AI-5 on 31 December 1978, and the Amnesty Law of 28 August 1979, a series of testimonials began to appear on the topic. Amongst the several memoirs by left wing militants published in book form at the end of the 1970s, of particular note are, *Os Carbonários*, [The Secret Societies] by Alfredo Sirkis, and the hugely successful *O Que É Isso Companheiro?* [What's this about Comrade?], by Fernando Gabeira. These are titles that stand out from the rest of left-wing writings of the time "which were, in some way, the first attempt to construct an historical narrative about the period"¹⁰³.

O Que É Isso Companheiro?, which has in its subtitle the term "testimony", is the description of a memory changed by time and by the process of writing the text. In the inside blurb of the book's cover, Ziraldo draws attention to the latter: "I find myself wondering if this book is a novel, a book of memories, or whether it is a great *cause* told by an eye-witness and refers to their own history." Ziraldo concludes: "Whatever it is, it is written with the mastery of an experienced novelist, a writer of concision, precise words and carefully chosen adjectives. Further on, he reinforces his theory: "Fernando Gabeira is a journalist, he was a guerrilla, he is an active and lucid politician, and a serene and incisive potential leader. However, at the end of this book, the reader will discover more than anything else right now, that Fernando Gabeira is a writer".

In *Gavetas Vazias – ficção e política nos anos 70* [Empty Drawers - fiction and politics in the 70s], Tânia Pellegrini defends the idea that the referential character of memories is central to explaining the sales success of *O Que É Isso Companheiro?* According to Pellegrini, this is because "The listener (in this case the reader of the text) is drawn in from the start, and listening to the story, one feels like one is treading a forbidden path that will lead to the previously censored truth. It is a transgressive adventure". The transgression described is shared by the reader, who becomes an accomplice through the act of reading: "It is a double act of transgression: by the author - who acts against the regime, and by the reader - who collaborates through the act of reading: This symbiosis explains the book's success"¹⁰⁴.

In 1979, *O Que É Isso Companheiro?* published by Editora Codecri in Rio de Janeiro, sold 80,000 copies¹⁰⁵. Up until the end of 2009, according to data from publishing

¹⁰³ Carlos Fico. "Versões e controvérsias sobre 1964 e a ditadura militar". *Revista Brasileira de História*. São Paulo, vol. 4, no. 47, 2004, p.31.

¹⁰⁴ Tânia Pellegrini. *Gavetas Vazias – Ficção e Política nos anos 70*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰⁵ Laurence Hallewell. *O Livro no Brasil*, 2nd ed., p. 596.

house Companhia das Letras, which took over the publishing rights to the book after Codecri, the book had already been reprinted more than 40 times and had sold over 250 000 copies.¹⁰⁶

Alfredo Sirkis, in the non-fiction book *Os Carbonários*, recounts his transformation, between 1967 and 1971, at nineteen years old into an urban militant guerrilla using the alias Felipe. In the preface to the 1998 edition, which was reprinted in the 2008 edition by Editora BestBolso, the author states, "I have no regrets about my past, but neither do I glorify it." He also points out that "his record of scars is relatively mild, and comes down to just the pain of loss of some dear comrades", and goes on to say: "In the "leaden years" I had the threefold fortune of surviving, not being captured and beaten and not having killed anyone."

O Que É Isso Companheiro? and *Os Carbonários* both won the Jabuti Prize from the *Câmara Brasileira do Livro* [Brazilian Book Council] - the CBL, in the biography category in 1980 and 1981, respectively.

Os Carbonários by Alfredo Sirkis, and Zuenir Ventura's *1968 - O Ano que não Terminava*, were the inspiration for the TV Globo miniseries *Anos Rebeldes*¹⁰⁷, shown from 14 July to 14 August 1992. *Anos Rebeldes* was screened at the same time as the country was going through the impeachment process for President Collor de Mello, who had been accused of corruption, and many people immediately established "a cause-and-effect relationship between *Anos Rebeldes* and the facts that resulted in the wave of demonstrations that resulted in the impeachment of Fernando Collor"¹⁰⁸.

Regarding the fact that Rede Globo, the broadcaster that had been considered the voice of the military dictatorship in the 1970s, directly dealt with historical facts from the 1960s and 70s in the miniseries *Anos Rebeldes* for the first time, the journalist Luis Antonio Girón asked "has Globo changed or does the past now meet its needs?" to which the answer was: "Neither option is incorrect. Globo is like an old woman who is now more tolerant of reality. The 'communist danger' is over and there are no more reasons for sudden coups. This "senhora" has come to terms with the old tensions between political marketing and fiction"¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁶ Source: Publisher's website. Accessed on 07/23/2008.

¹⁰⁷ Source: *Dicionário da TV Globo*. Volume 1, p. 340.

¹⁰⁸ Narciso Lobo. *Ficção e Política. O Brasil nas Minisséries*, p. 325

¹⁰⁹ Reproduced in Narciso Lobo. *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

O Que É Isso Companheiro? by Fernando Gabeira, and *Os Carbonários* by Alfredo Sirkis, had no problems with the Federal Censorship Department or with any other censorship board.

Renato Tapajós was the only author who was imprisoned during the military dictatorship due to the contents of a book. Although other writers were arrested over the period, this was due to their texts being published in newspapers or magazines. For example, almost all the members of the periodical *O Pasquim*, including the journalists and writers Paul Francis and Ivan Lessa, were arrested at the end of 1970. *O Pasquim*, which was published from 1969-1991, had its peak sales in the mid 1970s and it clashed several times with the censors.

In 1972, Antonio Candido noted that during the military dictatorship control over the media was due to those that it affected:

The current military regime in Brazil is obviously going to lead to protests by artists (...) therefore, it is impossible for this not to appear in creative processes (...). Because of its tight control over the media, the regime makes this kind of protest extremely difficult. It has complete control over television and radio, and almost complete control over the larger newspapers, theatrical productions and songs; however, censorship is less enforced on books and journals with a lower circulation as they reach a smaller audience¹¹⁰.

Before Renato Tapajós, Monteiro Lobato had been incarcerated in 1941 on charges about the content of one of his books: *A questão do Petróleo* [The question of oil].

***Em Câmara Lenta* – book censorship, the author's incarceration**

The first and second editions of *Em Câmara Lenta* have a memorable cover design by Moema Cavalcanti. A sequence of three photograms are presented as part of a roll of film, and in each of them is a mouth in extreme close-up with smiling slightly parted lips and with a trickle of blood from the corner. The lips are drawn in simple thick black strokes. The background is white. The name of the author and the publisher and are also printed in upright black letters. The red title and blood break the monochrome.

The black design on the pale background is similar to the woodcuts of the Northeastern *cordel* covers; the sequence of three repeated mouths refers to the world of film that is present in the title, and it also echoes Andy Warhol's prints from the 1960s and

¹¹⁰ Antonio Candido. "A literatura brasileira em 1972". *Arte em Revista*, number 1 (theme: the 1960s), p. 25.

Reimão, Sandra. *Repression and resistance: book censorship under the military dictatorship*.

film posters and advertisements. The red and the blood give new meanings to these references and present Brazil as a dictatorship.

We discover later that the smiling mouth belonged to Aurora Maria Nascimento Furtado, who was killed in a torture session. The narrative develops over two timeframes - the present and the past - and over distinct time segments - memories from varying distances. Interspersed between these blocks, and also completing Aurora Furtado's imprisonment and torture, the image repeats itself as a self-fulfilling chorus. When he was in prison, Renato Tapajós smuggled out the scripts, written on small pieces of paper, with his visitors. When he left the prison, he talked to several publishers, before striking a deal with Alfa-Ômega.

The publication of *Em Câmara Lenta* was the springboard for a sequence of surprising facts. In summary¹¹¹:

- **May 1977** - Launch of *Em Câmara Lenta* in São Paulo, Pinheiros, Rua Lisboa, in an art gallery and picture framer. Sales of approximately 800 copies in the launch period;
- **13 July 1977** - Review of *Em Câmara Lenta* in *Veja* magazine;
- **June and July of 1977** - articles in the *Jornal da Tarde* about the book¹¹²;
- **18 July 1977** - sergeant Sergio F. P. Fleury forwards a communication to the State Public Security Secretary in which he said that *Em Câmara Lenta* breaks the National Security Law;
- **21 July 1977** - The State Public Security Secretary issues confidential documentation about the book;
- **27 July 1977** - By order of Colonel Erasmo Dias, Renato Tapajós is arrested;
- **30 July to 30 August 1977** - widespread outcry by the press, academics, and various organizations, protesting against Renato Tapajós's imprisonment;
- **03 August 1977** - Testimony from the editors Fernando and Claudete Mangarielo, leading to Fernando Mangarielo being held for two days;
- **08 August 1977** - Justice Department prohibits the publication and circulation of *Em Câmara Lenta*;

¹¹¹ This chronology is based on the above mentioned books by Marcelo Ridenti and Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva, and on interviews with the editor Fernando Mangarielo July 2008.

¹¹² In an interview with Marcelo Ridenti, Renato Tapajós says that he believes that it is these articles that alerted Colonel Erasmo Dias to the book. I would like to thank Marcelo Ridenti for sending the full transcript of the interview. Mário Medeiros blames the review published in *Veja*.

- **09 August 1977** - signed petition from academics and intellectuals in support of Renato Tapajós;
- **23 August 1977** - Renato Tapajós is released;
- **30 September 1977** - Attorney presents the complaint against the writer for inciting subversion to the Public Prosecutor;
- **25 October 1977** - start of the author's trial.
- **March to April 1978** - continuation of the prosecution. The trial relied on the technical report Professor Antonio Cândido de Mello e Souza, which ended as follows: "In summary: at any level that I place, I have to deny that *Em Câmara Lenta* constitutes any kind of incentive to, or even an example of subversive activities. And, if one was forced to take a *lesson* from it, as in the allegorical novels of old, I would actually conclude that it is quite the opposite."
- **26 April 1978** - The Justice Standing Council acquits Renato Tapajós;
- **October 1978** - The Supreme Military Court acquits Renato Tapajós;
- **17 March 1979** - In his last act as Justice Minister, Armando Falcão allows the national publication and circulation of *Em Câmara Lenta*.

According to Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva, this sequence of facts for Renato Tapajós and *Em Câmara Lenta* is "one of the most extraordinary examples of the arbitrary abuse of power and differences of interpretation and views of the same work ever seen in contemporary literary and political history"¹¹³. Marcelo Ridenti summarises: "it was an unprecedented action by the dictatorship, which was already under Geisel: they arrested the author first and censored the book later"¹¹⁴.

At Editora Alfa-Ômega

The publisher Alfa-Ômega was founded in Pinheiros, São Paulo, in 1973 by Fernando and Claudete Mangarielo, and its motto is "publishing Brazilian critical thinking for 35 years". Its specialist areas are history, sociology, politics, philosophy, economics, Marxist classics, legal pluralism, and both Brazilian and foreign literature. It published

¹¹³ Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva. *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹¹⁴ Marcelo Ridenti. *Op.cit.*, p. 155.

thirty titles in its first three years of existence¹¹⁵. To date, the publisher has published over 583 titles¹¹⁶, and in 2008 it held the rights to a catalogues of over 200 titles. In recent years, Alfa-Ômega, which in the 1990s saw sales plummet, invested heavily in the internet as a valuable publishing tool, and it now has plans to move to larger headquarters in the city of Cotia.

Before publishing *Em Câmara Lenta*, Fernando and Claudete Mangarielo had published Fernando Moraes' text about Cuba *A Ilha* [The Island], which in itself demonstrates the publishers' level of political engagement.

Commenting on his involvement as an editor in the 1970s, Fernando Mangarielo, attributed his courage to create an "independent resistance publisher" in part to his youth, "his youthful voracious appetite" that led him to "adhere to the values of the generation" and also to stand up against publisher's' self-censorship: "Publishers were censoring themselves as if a title caught unwanted attention, it could financially destroy a company".

With prevention in mind, in the early years, Mangarielo states that printed stock of each title was strategically divided into three blocks: one thousand copies were sent to the publisher's headquarters, which kept only around 100 copies and sent the rest onto bookstores; and two thousand copies went somewhere else: "for my generation it was something very important, like the strategy and tactics of the *Vietcong*. I divided it all into three parts, because if they seized everything it would have been financially devastating".

As Fernando Mangarielo has said, throughout the duration of the Renato Tapajós' incarceration in 1977, and the debate about the censorship of *Em Câmara Lenta* no books were seized from the publishing house headquarters. Some seizures were made though from bookstores,

some books were removed from bookstores (...) the bookseller sent a copy of the report and we deducted them from the promissory note that he had to pay (...) one in Salvador and the other in Recife (...) approximately three hundred books, ten per cent of the first edition was seized over time throughout the country.

It never occurred to Fernando Mangarielo to recall the book, as "I wasn't a part of the generalised choir of the official discourse" and when the official censorship was announced, the first edition had already sold out. There was a second edition.

¹¹⁵ Laurence Hallewell. *Op. cit.*, p. 722. See also: Sandra Reimão. *Mercado Editorial Brasileiro*, p. 35-51.

¹¹⁶ Interview given on 23 July 2008.

Tying up the ends

On 02 August 1977, the lawyer Raimundo Faoro expressed his indignation at Renato Tapajós' arbitrary arrest:

It's unbelievable that despite the department of Federal Censorship, with its draconian powers of prior censorship - and with a law we consider unconstitutional but which is clearly in full force - the state police interfere and declaim as subversive a book that has not had the slightest negative impact on the Federal Censorship department.¹¹⁷

The author's shock imprisonment for the contents of a book, just over a month before the censorship of the book itself, was also commented on in the previously mentioned petition and request for Renato Tapajós's release that was published on 09 August: "For the first time in Brazil, an author has been imprisoned because the subject matter of his work, legally published and sold, was deemed to be subversive by the police authorities"¹¹⁸.

A phrase from the report by Alcides Singillo - from the São Paulo DEOPS - on the book may shed some light on the arbitrary nature of the arrest. To quote: "another aspect to be addressed is that *Em Câmara Lenta* is nothing less than the embryo of a new type of attack and criticism of the Government, hidden behind a literary shell".¹¹⁹ This phrase from the report reflects the fear that the forces of repression were feeling at the start of the process of relaxation - they were nervous about a 'wave' of repercussions from left-wing militants, which in the end came about.

The 1977 publication of *Em Câmara Lenta* chronologically preceded the other memories of guerrilla warfare. If one looks at the above passage from Singillo's report, one has to conclude that the protest and demonstration against the author's arrest and his acquittal politically enabled other similar publications to flourish.

¹¹⁷ Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva. *Op. cit.*, p.149.

¹¹⁸ One must remember that Monteiro Lobato's book *A Questão do Petróleo* which led to his arrest, was not a novel.

¹¹⁹ Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva, *Op. cit.*, p.152.

V. The stories "Mister Curitiba" and "O Cobrador" in Status magazine's competitions

87 CONCURSO



A comissão julgadora do 1.º Concurso Nacional de Contos Eróticos, depois de várias reuniões (uma delas, na casa de Jorge Amado, em Salvador), revela os cinco premiados.

**88 DALTON
TREVISAN**

O ganhador do concurso e seu conto *Mister Curitiba*.

Status Magazine, July 1976, Number 24, Summary, p.3



Status Magazine, June 1978, Number 48, front cover (top)

"Censorship is always an expression of intolerance and fear"

Robert Badinter, *Censures – de la Bible aux larmes d'Eros*, Paris, BIP, 1987

The stories that came first in the national Erotic Short Story competition promoted by the magazine *Status* were twice the victims of prior censorship. In the 1st contest, in July 1976, the censors blocked the publication of the winning title, Dalton Trevisan's "Mister Curitiba", (under the pen name João Maria); and in the 3rd competition, in July 1978, the winner was "O Cobrador" by Rubem Fonseca, and was also prohibited.

On each occasion, the magazine responded differently to the ban. In the first one, the index mentioned the award and referred to the page where the story was supposed to be, but on the actual page, readers found only a cartoon. In the second case - from 1978, the page indicated in the index as the one where readers could find the story, had merely a photograph of the author and an explanation that "reasons beyond the jury's decision and the desire of the *Status* editors have prevented public awareness of the award-winning text", and it published another story by the same author.

Let us look at this story more closely.

***Status* and its erotic story competition**

Status was a magazine for an adult male public - some of the covers ran the line "Men's Magazine from Editora Três", and others stressed, "Adult only reading." The first issue of *Status* was published in August 1974. In its first editorial it explains:

There is always great danger of misunderstanding what words mean (...) *Status* means education, discernment, knowing how to live. It means winning. While it doesn't always mean money, it always signifies respect, position. (...) With the firm intention of seeing what is good, intelligent, and what a man should know about. The Editors.

Status preceded by twelve months another magazine also intended for an adult male audience: the magazine *Homem*, published by Editora Abril. *Homem* was similar to the North American *Playboy*, but was not released with this title because it could have "attracted the wrath of the censors even more"¹²⁰. In 1978, after losing the rights to the title *Homem* - which had been previously registered by Editora Três, the magazine came to an agreement with the North American editor of *Playboy*, and it changed its name to *Playboy*. *Status* and *Playboy* competed with other similar magazines including the veteran *Ele Ela* that had been running since 1969.

From its first edition, *Status* had a section entitled "fiction" which contained a novella or short story. The texts in the 'fiction' section were relatively long, from six to twelve pages,

¹²⁰ See Mario Sergio Conti. *Notícias do Planalto*. The press and Fernando Collor, p. 148

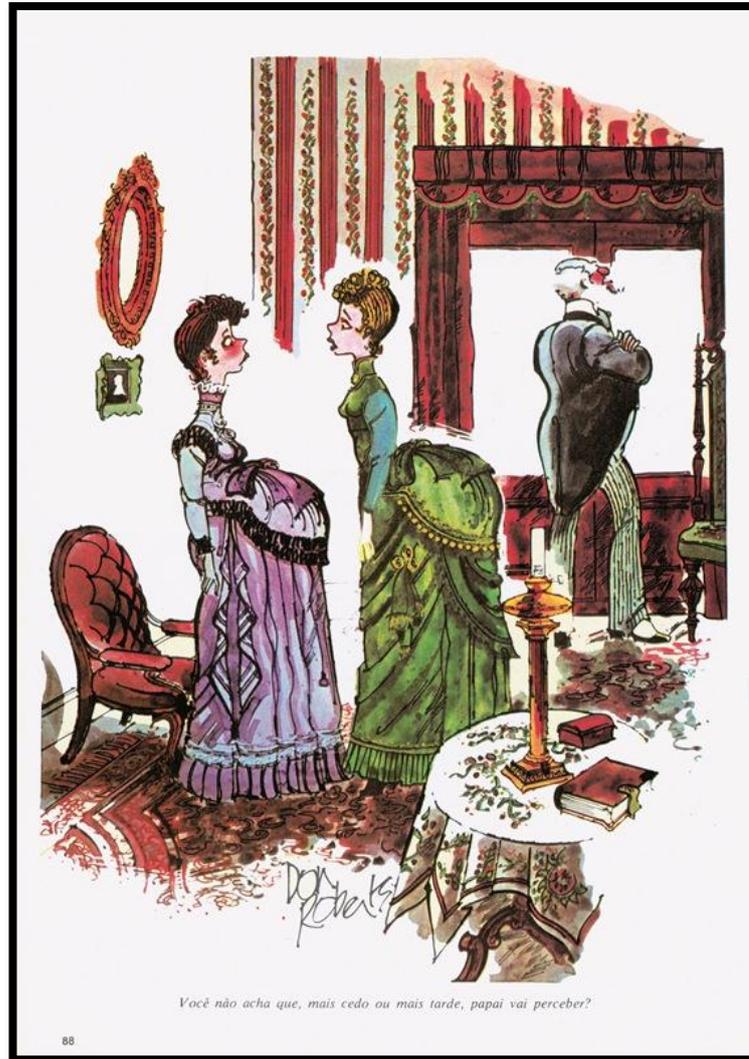
and they were generally highlighted on the cover. Some of the first authors published in this section were F. Scott Fitzgerald, Philip Roth, Ray Bradbury, Julio Cortázar and Tennessee Williams.

In addition to the "fiction" section there was always a short text indicating one or more books in the critic section. Some issues also contained another literary text: in the fourth issue there was a collection of six love letters written by Graciliano Ramos to his second wife, and issue no. 15 included a short story by Ignácio de Loyola ("Rosajaine Tira a Roupa" [Rosajaine Takes off her Clothes) that the magazine described as having been written especially for this edition.

In issue no. 20 of March 1976, the "fiction" section includes a short story by Ivan Angelo and also announces the launch of a big competition: "*Status* is launching a very different literary award - The *Status* Prize for Brazilian Erotica". It goes on to explain that the competition would be annual and that the results would be announced every July. It also stated that the same month the winners were announced, the story by the writer in first place that year would be published in the magazine. In addition, it declared the prizes. The story in first place would receive a return trip to Europe and Cr\$25,000 (two hundred and fifty thousand cruzeiros).

In the July 1976 edition, (no. 24), although the index leads one to believe that Dalton Trevisan's winning text *Mister Curitiba* is included, in actual fact all there are on those pages are adverts and jokes.

To give further detail: the index on page 3 of the July 1976 edition states: (page 87) Competition - "The Committee of the 1st National Erotic Short Story Competition has, after several meetings, decided on the five winners". (Page 88) "Dalton Trevisan. The competition winner and his story *Mister Curitiba*". In fact, all the reader finds on page 88 is a cartoon. The cartoon shows two young people dressed in late 19th century clothes, one wearing a bustle to widen the hips and the other wearing something similar to disguise her pregnancy. The first young woman asks the other: "Don't you think that Daddy is going to notice sooner or later?" while their father gazes out of the window. The three following pages, which had been presumably reserved for the censored story, carry advertisements.



Status Magazine, July 1976, Number 24, p. 88 - "Don't you think that Daddy is going to notice sooner or later?"

One reader wrote to the magazine (number 27, October 1976):

(...) we were disappointed (...) to find that, expecting the story announced in the index of issue 24 - all the pages held were a couple of jokes and some adverts. No one knows what happened to the story, (...) or if there was any technical failure.

This letter was published under the title "so the centenary of *Status* doesn't have these kinds of errors." There was no answer or other comments.

In order to be able to fully assess the situation, it is important to point out the cultural importance of *Status*, and of the literary competitions of the 1970s - particularly the need for the system to embrace or conceal their censorship actions.

National Archives, (DCDP |archives; section: General Administration; Series: Official correspondence; Subseries: Communications; Document number 081) in the correspondence from the Director-General of the Federal Police Department on the decision by the Justice Minister due to the complexity of the situation. The document reads as follows:

Editora Três" from São Paulo, sponsored the 1st National Erotic Short Story Competition, and brought together a committee of the writers Jorge Amado, Fausto Cunha and Gilberto Mansur to gauge the work submitted.

First place went to the well-known writer Dalton Trevisan, for his short story "Mister Curitiba", which while its literary value cannot be denied, recounts an abnormal sexual relationship that seems to me to be an infringement of the prohibition proclaimed in Article 1 of decree no. 1077, of 1970.

Just as any other restrictive censorship measure may instigate protests and have negative repercussions for the Government, due to imposing prior checking of selected literary works by renowned Brazilian writers, I must hasten to submit this to Your Excellency's consideration.

As the story was not published, one can only deduce that the Justice Department chose censorship.

The strategy of *Status* in the face of the censorship was similar to that of the newspapers *O Estado de S. Paulo*, *Jornal da Tarde* and other publication of the time, publishing something alternative while leaving it clear that the substitution was not the decision of the editors - such as publishing recipes or extracts from poems on a respected daily newspaper. The risk of this strategy is that lesser educated readers may genuinely think that this was down to a printing error or mistake. (There are several stories of reader who complained to the editors, as they had tried to make the recipes suggested and the result were satisfactory).

In 1977, in the second *Status* Brazilian Erotic Literature Competition, the winners were: in 1st place, Luis Fernando Emediato with *Vegetal*; in 2nd place Regina Célia Colônia with *Sob o Pé de Damasco*, *Sob a Chuva* [Under the Date Tree, Under the Rain], in 3rd place Sonia Coutinho, *Cordélia, a Caçadora* [Cordelia, the Hunter], in 4th place Edla Van Steen, *Um Dia em Três Tempos* [One day in Three Times], in 5th place Aécio Flávio Consolim with *Sob o Sol* [Under the Sun]. When it announced the winners, the magazine said there had been 2000 submissions. There were no problems with publishing these stories.

In 1978, yet again the winning short story - as in Rubem Fonseca's "O Cobrador" - was subject to prior censorship. That year, in the July issue no. 48, the cover stated "150 thousand for the winner of the *Status* Brazilian Literature prize: Rubem Fonseca"; and in the index is: (page) 127 "The result of the greatest literary competition of Latin America, the *Status* competition, is the winning title from Rubem Fonseca". Page 127 discusses the competition, and declares that the Cr\$ 150 thousand prize is the biggest in South America, both in terms of its judges and its result. Pages 128-129 have an illustration for the story "O Cobrador" implying it was the winner. However, on page 129 one can see the following in capital letters: "THIS IS WHERE THE WINNING STORY SHOULD BE. IN ITS PLACE IS AN EXPLANATION. AND IN ITS PLACE IS ANOTHER STORY BY THE SAME AUTHOR." This is followed by:

You should be now reading the story *O Cobrador*, by Rubem Fonseca, who entered the competition under the pen-name Joaquim Araújo, and who the jury unanimously voted for, was awarded the 1978 Brazilian Literature *Status* Award, worth Cr\$150.000,00 and the largest in Brazil or in the whole of Latin America. Unfortunately, reasons other than those of the Jury and the editors of *Status* prevented the public from reading the award winning text by one of the most prestigious Brazilian writers. *Status'* text held the hope of one day having the right - as nearly all the Brazilian press - to make independent decisions about the texts it wants to include in its pages. However, in order not to disappoint readers' expectations, we are able to publish (...) another previously unpublished story by Rubem Fonseca - *Mandrake*. (...)

AQUI DEVERIA
ESTAR O CONTO
PREMIADO.
EM SEU LUGAR, UMA
EXPLICAÇÃO.
E UM OUTRO CONTO
DO MESMO AUTOR.

Você deveria estar lendo agora *O Cobrador*, um conto de Rubem Fonseca, que concorreu com o pseudônimo de Joaquim Araújo e que, por unanimidade de votos da Comissão Julgadora, recebeu o Prêmio Status de Literatura Brasileira 1978, um prêmio de Cr\$ 150.000,00, o maior do Brasil e de toda a América Latina.

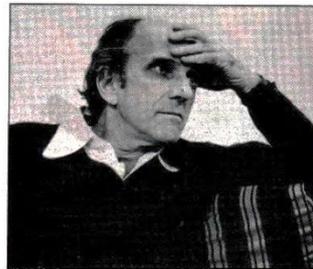
Infelizmente, motivos alheios à decisão do Juri e à vontade da redação de *Status* impedem que o público tome conhecimento do texto premiado de um dos maiores escritores brasileiros. A redação de

Status espera poder, um dia, ter o direito - como tem atualmente quase toda a imprensa brasileira - de decidir, soberanamente, sobre

os textos que gostaria de colocar nas páginas da revista.

Entretanto, para não frustrar a expectativa dos nossos leitores publicamos, a partir da página seguinte, um outro conto inédito

- *Mandrake* - de Rubem Fonseca, um escritor que cada vez consegue mais êxito, de público e crítica, no Brasil e nos principais países do mundo, onde seu trabalho de ficção tem sido traduzido.



Rubem Fonseca: proibido no Brasil, sucesso no Exterior.

Status Magazine, June 1978, Number 48, p.130

The magazine's strategy towards the censorship of the winning story of 1978 was different to that adopted in 1976. In 1978, the magazine chose to make it clear that the editors were prevented from "independently selecting the texts they wanted to publish in the pages of the magazine." It also mentioned that another of Rubem Fonseca's books, *Feliz Ano Novo*, had been "banned throughout national territory, by decree of the Justice Department".

The short stories "Mister Curitiba" and "O Cobrador" in short story collections

According to Alfredo Bosi, short stories can be "a privileged space in which exemplary situations experienced by contemporary people can be experienced". In pursuit of these "exemplary situations", Bosi compare the narrator to a fisherman: "In the face of history,

which is an unending river that carries everything and everyone in its wake, the narrator is a fisherman of uniquely meaningful moments." ¹²¹

In the 1970s the short story became one of the main fictional narrative forms. One could actually go so far as to say that the short story was "the main narrative form" of literary production at the time¹²². Dalton Trevisan is one of Brazil's greatest short-story writers.

Dalton Trevisan is "a short-story writer and only a short-story writer (...), usually writing briefs and short short-stories, and has one of the richest literary careers in Brazilian literature".¹²³

Dalton Trevisan began his literary activity by publishing some of his stories in pamphlet form, and in 1946 in the city of Curitiba, he founded the magazine *Joaquim*. It was from his *Novelas Nada Exemplares*, [Good for nothing tales], published in 1959, that "his work started to receive national attention."¹²⁴ When *Novelas nada exemplares* was published by Editora José Olímpio, the book was reviewed in the Literary Supplement of the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* by Paul Hecker Filho on 25 July 1959. The review refers to a text in which Otto Maria Carpeaux wrote highly of the book "despite its appearance", or rather - despite its title: "Pretensão sem Surpresa" [Unsurprising Pretension]. According to Paul Hecker Filho, Carpeaux had highlighted the fact Dalton Trevisan was referring to the title *Novelas Exemplares* [Exemplary Tales] by Miguel de Cervantes, and had considered it pretentious. Paul Hecker thought the title "a witty verbal pun".

By 1976, when his story "Mister Curitiba" was censored for publication in *Status*, Dalton Trevisan was already a well-known short story writer and had nine books to his name.

¹²¹ Alfredo Bosi (org.). *O Conto Brasileiro Contemporâneo*, [The Contemporary Brazilian Short Story] pp. 8-9.

¹²² *Cronologia das Artes em São Paulo 1975-1995: Literatura*, [Chronology of the Arts in Sao Paulo 1975-1995: Literature] p. 25.

¹²³ Afrânio Coutinho & J. Galante Souza. *Enciclopédia de Literatura Brasileira*, vol. II, p. 1584.

¹²⁴ Alfredo Bosi (org.). *Op. cit.*, p. 185.



Status July 76, no. 24, p. 87

The tale "Mister Curitiba" relates the words and thoughts of an adult married man and a young woman during sex. The text can be interpreted in the light of Alfredo Bosi's comments on Dalton Trevisan: "Here, the obsession of what is essential means the text verges on being a report, however, it avoids becoming so through its heady and almost grotesque use of language, and it transforms every detail into a register of the extreme helplessness and cruelty that governs the destinies of anonymous men in modern cities"¹²⁵.

Rubem Fonseca's first book *Os Prisioneiros* [The Prisoners], was a collection of 12 short stories, and was published in 1963. "Weightlifters, delinquents, nymphomaniacs, and the idle rich are the characters that fill Rubem Fonseca's literary universe, all enriched by the use of *carioca* street slang".¹²⁶

Antonio Candido likens Rubem Fonseca to João Antonio as both are "ultra-realists", adherents of "fierce realism" in post-1960 national literature:

This kind of unprejudiced ultra-realism also appears in the strongest language of the master of short-story writing Rubem Fonseca. He also shocks the reader with the violence, not only of the themes, but the techniques - merging the self and the act through a masterful use of the first person, proposing alternative solutions throughout the narration, pushing the boundaries of literature towards a kind of raw life bulletin¹²⁷.

Rubem Fonseca's story "O Cobrador" is written in the first person. It is narrative told in the present tense by a "scrawny" young man from a deprived background, with scars "all over

¹²⁵ *Idem*, p. 17.

¹²⁶ Afrânio Coutinho & J. Galante Souza. *Op. cit.*, p. 722.

¹²⁷ Antonio Candido. *A Educação pela Noite e Outros Ensaios*, [Night Education and Other Essays], p.211

Reimão, Sandra. *Repression and resistance: book censorship under the military dictatorship*.

his body" , only a "few teeth" left ("if he didn't get to the dentist's soon he'll lose all the others") and who had studied at the "latest of the all of the world's evening courses". This excluded young man calls himself "O Cobrador" [The Collector], and declares he will collect what he is owed, noting: "they owe me (...), a blanket, some shoes, a house, a car, a watch, teeth"... "They owe me an education, a girlfriend, a stereo, respect, a ham sandwich from the bar in Rua Vieira Fazenda, ice cream, a football". Through acts of extreme violence, the narrator does what he sees as necessary to collect his dues.

It is important to point out that, in year following their censorship in *Status*, the stories "Mister Curitiba" and "O Cobrador" were published in book collections and these were not prohibited by the censors. "Mister Curitiba" was published by Editora Codecri in *A Trombeta do Anjo Vingador* [The Trumpet of the Avenging Angel] in 1977, in the Edições do Pasquim collection, and Rubem Fonseca's "O Cobrador" was published in the book of the same name by Editora Nova Fronteira in 1979. Both Editora Nova Fronteira and Editora Codecri were influential and well known at the time.

The fact that "Mister Curitiba" and "O Cobrador" were censored for publication in the magazine but not for book publication is a concrete example of how censorship during the military dictatorship was erratic, not only over different periods but also in relation to different means of communication. The above cases exemplify how censorship was more stringent in relation to newspapers and magazines than in relation to books.

Cases like these seem to indicate that there was a hierarchy of censure that led to different approaches because of the potential impact of the format in question.

Although we are focusing specifically on censorship of fiction in magazines and books, this hierarchy seems to reinforce the idea of the censorial rationality of the military dictatorship - and how after 1968 this became complicated and multifaceted, but not arbitrary. This confirms Maria Aparecida Aquino's comment in her book *Censura, imprensa, Estado autoritário (1968-1978)*. When studying the censorship of news in the papers *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *Movimento*, she concluded that "censorship was only random occasionally; it had an internal "logic" that was rooted in defending the interests of the groups that made up the authoritarian State and the political project they had for the country"¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Maria Aparecida Aquino. *Censura, Imprensa, Estado autoritário (1968-1978)*, p. 256. There is something similar in Carlos Fico's article "Dear censure"; letters to the Military Regime".

In the specific case we are addressing in this study - the censorship of fiction in magazines and books - this hierarchy of censorial acts took place on two levels: the first was in relation to the media (television, cinema, radio, press), and the second was in relation to the prioritisation of specific production regarding each of the different means of communication. The sum of these factors meant that the more public a certain cultural production was, the greater the chance it would be a target of censorship. For the case in question, *Status* was one of the most widely read magazines in the country and had a much wider audience than any other national publication¹²⁹.

Returning to the case of *Status*: in both of the censorship cases for the winning texts of the short story competitions from 1976 and 1978, the magazine sought alternatives that did not change the magazine's layout - clearly down to reasons of cost and deadlines. In the first case in 1976, the magazine's approach could have been interpreted as a graphic error or breakdown, but in 1978, the magazine decided to declare that it had been censored and was prohibited from printing the winning story. The magazine's strategy was different because times had changed - in 1978 the country had already started the process of "dismantling the dictatorship"¹³⁰, on the eve of the end of IA no.5, and, as the text itself highlights, at that moment "almost all the Brazilian press" had the right to "make independent decisions about the texts" published.

¹²⁹ The *Anuário Brasileiro de Mídia 1975/1976* on page 268 - stated that the total circulation (subscription and sales) of *Status* was 95,000 copies. The *Anuário Brasileiro de Mídia 1975/1976* does not give the total circulation of *Status*, but it suggests that the circulation of *Status Especiais* was 80,000 copies. The editor of *Status Especiais* was Ignácio de Loyola Brandão.

¹³⁰ Cf. Elio Gaspari. *A ditadura derrotada*, pp.15-19.

Final Considerations

"A spark, a twig
Can burn sugar-cane fields
Can burn sugar-cane fields"

"A Bela e a Fera" [Beauty and the Beast]
by Edu Lobo and Chico Buarque
in *O Grande Circo Místico*
[The Great Mystical Circus], CD Biscoito Fino,
1st Ed. 1983, 3rd Ed., 2008

The Brazilian press began in 1808, the year that the Portuguese Royal Family moved from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, and that led to the consequent installation of the Royal Family in the city.

The Portuguese Royal family decided to move to Brazil to escape potential invasion by Napoleon Bonaparte, who wanted to force Portugal to take part in the continental blockade against England. On their move to Brazil, the Royal family sought to change the address of the Portuguese State and thus maintain its sovereignty in the face of invaders.

Through this move, the Bragança royal family either "fled (in the opinion of some), escaped dissolution (in the opinion of others), or used a daring approach to avoid the humiliations that Napoleon was imposing on other monarchies"¹³¹.

At the time, there was a small poem set to music that ironically described the situation:

Portugal não foi a guerra,
Mas também não acovardou-se,
Cobriram Portugal com um pano
e escreveram em cima
Portugal mudou-se¹³²

Before 1808, Portugal had prohibited any printing presses or independent press of any kind in the Colony.

The occasional attempts to circumvent this ban was harshly repressed by the Portuguese government. Muniz Tavares, cited by Wilson Martins in *A palavra escrita* [The written word], writes:

Until the Court moved to Rio de Janeiro, the country had not countenanced the establishment of colonial printers. The tentative press attempts in Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro during the 18th century (...) had been harshly quashed, with the material being seized and the printers imprisoned¹³³.

The first book that was actually printed in Brazil was published in 1747, ignoring the Portuguese ban. It was a 20 page booklet called:

Relação da entrada que fez o excellentissimo e reverendissimo senhor D. Fr. Antonio do Desterro Malheyro, bispo do Rio de Janeiro em o primeiro dia deste

¹³¹ Lilia Moritz Schwarz. *A Longa Viagem da Biblioteca dos Reis*, [The Long Journey of the Kings' Library] p. 209.

¹³² "Portugal didn't go to war, but neither did it surrender, they covered it with a dustsheet and wrote that Portugal had moved house." VHS *Impressões do Brasil*, Group Machline, Digibanco Sharp, date unavailable.

¹³³ Wilson Martins. *A Palavra Escrita*, pp. 334-336.

presente ano de 1747, havendo sido seis anos Bispo do Reyno de Angola, donde por nomeação de Sua Magestade e Bulla Pontificia, foy promovido para esta diocese. Composta pelo doutor Luiz Antonio Rosado da Cunha, Juiz de Fora, e Provedor dos defuntos, e auzentes, Capellas, e refiduos do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro. Na Segunda Officina de Antonio Isidoro da Fonceca. Ano de M.CC.XLII. Com lincenças do Senhor Bispo¹³⁴

Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca published this report and three further pamphlets in Brazil. This led to a Royal Order on 6 July 1747 to seize the "letter blocks" (the blocks used for printing), and "notifying the owners of such letter blocks and printing presses (...) not to print any books, works or even loose sheets (...)". The same Order also threatened that "anyone found doing the opposite, will be imprisoned by the Kingdom (...) and will be punished in accordance with my laws and orders."¹³⁵

The press in Brazil emerged later than in many other Latin American countries, such as Mexico, which started printing in 1539, Peru in 1583, and Bolivia in 1612. To try to explain this, Nelson Werneck Sodré suggests that the Spanish Americas had more developed cultures already, with the Aztecs and Incas, and the coloniser had to destroy these in order to impose their own culture, whereas the indigenous cultures in Brazil were less cohesive and therefore easier to erase. Furthermore, the indigenous peoples of Brazil at the time the Portuguese arrived were dispersed across the country, living in relatively small groups and were not concentrated in cities, as was the case of the Aztecs and Incas.

According to Werneck Sodré, this is also why the arrival of universities in Brazil was also delayed: the first colleges in Brazil were the Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia in 1808 and the Law Faculties in São Paulo and Olinda, both in 1827, and the first Brazilian university was only founded in the 20th century. The oldest university in the rest of Latin America is San Marcos, which was founded in 1551 in Peru - 257 years earlier. Thus, for Werneck Sodré, the early appearance of universities and printing presses in other Latin American countries, far from being a "position of tolerance", was actually a "symptom of

¹³⁴ Report of the accession of His Excellency the Reverend D. Fr. Antonio do Desterro Malheyro, Bishop of Rio de Janeiro on the first day of this year of 1747, having spent six years as the Bishop of the Kingdom of Angola, from which he was appointed to this diocese by His Majesty. Composed by Doctor Luiz Antonio Rosado da Cunha, Judge and Attorney General for the dead, the missing and the destitute of Rio de Janeiro. In the second post of Antonio Isidoro da Fonceca. The year M.CC.XLII. Licensed by the Bishop. The reference to a second post is because the first was in Portugal.

¹³⁵ Document cited by Wilson Martins. *Op. cit.*, p. 341.

cultural intransigence, oppression, destruction, and of the need, through the use of appropriate means, to impose the foreign culture and justify it"¹³⁶.

In *História da Imprensa no Brasil*, José Marques de Melo notes that the Spanish sovereigns carefully selected the people to be sent to the Americas so as to exclude heretics and only send people who were keen to transfer the wealth of the colonies to the Spain, and were keen to uphold Spanish traditions¹³⁷.

Before 1808 and the installation of the Royal Printing Press in Brazil, the only legal access to a book in the country was to import from Portugal those approved by the censors, up until the *Santo Ofício*, the *Ordinário* and the *Desembargo do Paço*; after 1768, the *Real Mesa Censória* (later replaced by the *Real Mesa da Comissão Geral para o Exame* and the *Censura de Livros*); and, from 1794 and 1821, the responsibility returned to the *Santo Ofício*, the Episcopal board and the *Desembargo do Paço*¹³⁸. As of 1821, with the extinction of the *Santo Ofício* in Portugal, the censorship of books became the responsibility of the Censor Secretariat and the *Desembargo do Paço* de Lisboa.

It was the complex system of censorship of printed matter in the country between 1808 and 1821 that led to the first Brazilian newspaper, the *Correio Brasiliense*, being printed abroad in England, and only arriving in the country clandestinely. Edited by Hipólito da Costa, the first issue of the *Correio Brasiliense* was dated 1 June 1808, two months after the court of Dom João VI arrived in Rio de Janeiro, and three months before the first issue of the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* - edited by Friar Tibúrcio José da Rocha, and the first nationally printed newspaper - on 10 September.

The *Correio Brasiliense* or the *Armazém Literário* was published from 1808 to 1822 - and was a monthly publication with a total of 175 issues. It was not a newspaper, but rather, it "wanted to openly influence public opinion or that which existed at the time"¹³⁹. It attacked the defects of the administration in Brazil and sought to improve political habits, although, according to Nelson Werneck Sodré, it did not promote the Independence of Brazil in relation to Portugal¹⁴⁰.

Despite the strict control and bureaucratic complexity, the number of book imports into Brazil was significant. When looking through the records of these importation requests in the Portuguese censors' archives, Tanya Abreu found information such as: between 1769

¹³⁶ Nelson Werneck Sodré. *História da Imprensa no Brasil*, p. 14.

¹³⁷ José Marques de Melo. *História Social da Imprensa*, p. 75.

¹³⁸ Cf. Marcia Abreu. *Caminhos dos Livros*, p. 23.

¹³⁹ Nelson Werneck Sodré. *História da Imprensa no Brasil*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁰ *Idem*, p. 33.

and 1826 on more than 2,600 occasions people expressed interest in bringing books to Brazil, and more than 18,000 works were listed in these requests.

In this same survey, Márcia Abreu notes that "just considering the books on the fine arts and the city of Rio de Janeiro, one can see that before the arrival of the Royal Family, 1,328 fine arts books were sent from Portugal - including 519 different titles"¹⁴¹.

Together with this legal importation of books to Brazil, there was also a clandestine market that was illegal and dangerous, as the books could have been confiscated and their owners punished. Despite the risks, in the late 18th century - around 1780, in addition to the occasional libraries in the monasteries and schools, other libraries began to appear, and an illicit book business that ignored censorship was started up in Rio de Janeiro. Copies were smuggled in, particularly on English ships.

Proceedings against the participants of the *Inconfidência Mineira* rebellion of 1789 show that many of those involved in the movement for Brazil's independence from Portugal had books in their homes: Tiradentes had a French edition of *The Constitution of the United States of America*; others had works by Condillac, Montesquieu and Rousseau. Cláudio Manuel da Costa, another rebel, had a library of 383 volumes¹⁴².

In Rio de Janeiro in 1792, there was only one bookstore; in 1799, there were two. These bookstores sold books published in Portugal and approved by the censors, as well as almanacs and pamphlets. "The good books, the real books, had to be smuggled in"¹⁴³.

When they first relocated to Brazil in January 1808, Dom Joao VI, his family and entourage went to Bahia. While there, João VI signed a royal charter that opened Brazilian ports for trade with friendly nations. From there, the king and his subjects moved on to Rio de Janeiro, where they arrived in March 1808.

With the move of the Royal Family and the Portuguese court, Brazil - which was previously a colony, became the seat of the empire: "what was happening was completely new and had no antecedents: the colony had become the seat of the empire and Portugal gradually became a colony"¹⁴⁴. After the numerous festivities and celebrations of the arrival, it became necessary to make provisions to accommodate everyone: after all, there were between ten and fifteen thousand travellers¹⁴⁵ settling in a city that, at the time only

¹⁴¹ Marcia Abreu. *Caminhos dos Livros*, p. 27.

¹⁴² Laurence Hallewell. *O Livro no Brasil*, p. 104.

¹⁴³ Nelson Werneck Sodré. *História da Imprensa no Brasil*, p. 16. This book is the source of the information in the previous two paragraphs (unless otherwise stated).

¹⁴⁴ Lilia Moritz Schwarz, *A Longa Viagem da Biblioteca dos Reis*, p. 249.

¹⁴⁵ *Idem*, p. 218.

consisted of about 50 thousand inhabitants, and was in urgent need of improvements such as running water, tips, pavements and public lighting. It then became necessary to build a legal and diplomatic apparatus, and so the Royal Printing Press was created on 13 May 1808 - the date of the "official and definitive installation of printing in our country"¹⁴⁶.

The Royal Printing Press was exclusively created to print "all Legislation and Diplomatic documents from Royal Services; and any other works of the government and departmental administration".

The heavy crates in which the printing press to be used for the Royal Printing Press was packaged, had been purchased from England, and were still intact at the port of Lisbon when the Portuguese Royal Family and its court fled from Lisbon to Brazil. It is this coincidence that may have been responsible for the establishment of the Royal Printing press in Brazil. If the boxes had not already been at the port, perhaps D. João wouldn't have remembered to bring the press¹⁴⁷. The presses came together with the baggage of Archbishop Antonio Araújo de Azevedo, and he stored them at Rua do Passeio, no. 42, which became the first address of the Royal Printing press. Dom Antonio de Araújo also brought his vast library with him on the ship Medusa, and this later became a part of the Royal Library¹⁴⁸.

The approximately sixty thousand books, including many rarities, of the Royal Library unfortunately did not share the same luck: in the process of the Court's move in November 1807, these boxes were not taken to the ships, and "in the rush, were left behind in the port, where they remained for some time in the sun and rain, until they were finally returned to the Ajuda Palace"¹⁴⁹. The Ajuda Royal Library (which consisted of two sets: the Royal Bookstore and the Infantado Bookstore) started to move to Rio de Janeiro three years later in 1810, with a first tranche of books, and which was followed by two other shipments in 1811. Finally, in September 1811, the "Royal Library was gathered again, and was finally on Brazilian soil".¹⁵⁰ The Royal Library is initial collection of the current National Library of Rio de Janeiro.

The first publication of the *Impressão Régia* [Royal Printing press] (which was later known as the *Imprensa Nacional* [National Press], the *Typographia Real* [Royal Typography], *Typographia Regia*, [Regal Typography], *Departamento de Imprensa*

¹⁴⁶ Nelson Werneck Sodré. *História da Imprensa no Brasil*, p. 344.

¹⁴⁷ *Idem*, p. 344.

¹⁴⁸ Lilia Moritz Schwarz, *A Longa Viagem da Biblioteca dos Reis*, p. 356.

¹⁴⁹ *Idem*, p. 264.

¹⁵⁰ *Idem*, p. 269.

Nacional [National Press Department] and is now known as the *Imprensa Nacional* [the National Press] was a booklet of 27 pages called:

REPORT OF DISPATCHES PUBLISHED IN COURT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WAR ON FAUSTISSIMO DAY OF THE YEARS OF S. A. R. THE PRINCE REGENT N.S.E of all, and was dispatched by the same Secretary since the joyous arrival of S. A. R. to the United States of Brazil until the said day¹⁵¹.

Between 1808 and 1822, the Royal Press published 1154 works, most of which were insignificant booklets and papers, reports, editorials, sermons, funeral songs and triumphal anthems. Nevertheless, it also printed works of great literary value such as *Marília de Dirceu*, by Tomas Antonio Gonzaga, and political debate like Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*.

In fact, *Marilia de Dirceu* was the first Brazilian best-seller¹⁵². The work had four editions in Portugal between 1792 and 1800, one of which sold 2,000 copies in six months. In the mid-19th century, there had been a total of 34 editions in Brazil and Portugal.

On embarking its activities in 1808 in Brazil, the Royal Printing Press was subjected to the same mechanisms of censorship as in Portugal and all its foreign colonies. These censorship bodies were, as previously mentioned, the *Santo Oficio*, the Episcopal authority, and the *Desembargo do Paço*. In addition to these, the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço do Rio de Janeiro* [the Round Table of the Paço do Rio de Janeiro], of 22 April 1808, was set up in Rio de Janeiro, which, among other things, aimed to monitor books and papers entering the country and to examine them before submission to the Royal Printing Press¹⁵³.

In April 1821, Dom João VI and the Royal Family returned to Portugal: while Dom Pedro stayed in Brazil as Prince Regent. On 28 August of the same year, Dom Pedro I decreed the end of prior censorship and restricted the activities of the censors, establishing a framework for the beginning of press and printing freedoms in Brazil. One year later, on 7 September 1822, less than two years after the decree of the end of the prior censorship, Dom Pedro I proclaimed Independence. His declaration is famous: "Long Live the independence and separation of Brazil. For my blood, my honour, my God, I swear to give Brazil freedom. Independence or Death!"

¹⁵¹ Wilson Martins. *A Palavra Escrita*, p.349.

¹⁵² This is according to Laurence Hallewell in *O Livro no Brasil* p.98 [Books in Brazil].

¹⁵³ Marcia Abreu, *Caminhos dos Livros*, pp. 40 e 41.

In Brazil, the sporadic publication of books and pamphlets since 1747, despite Portugal's censorship ban on printing presses in the colony, was finally officially established in 1808, but within a complex system of censorship. This censorship then resurged again during the *Estado Novo* and the Brazilian military dictatorship.

Over Getulio Vargas' dictatorial government, known as the *Estado Novo* [the New State] (1937-1945), books were regularly seized from bookstores, publishers and even libraries, as well as being burned. These destructions were frequent and took place arbitrarily, at the behest of any person who considered themselves to be in a position of authority: it was possible "for anyone in a position of power to authorise the mass destruction of any books to which they took objection"¹⁵⁴. Some publishers, such as Edições Cultura Brasileira went out of business due to the financial losses caused by the seizures. Graciliano Ramos, Jorge Amado and Raquel de Queiroz, among others, were arrested under the suspicion of spreading communist ideas. Many of Monteiro Lobato's books were burned. Even Gilberto Freire, a well-known moderate, was accused of being a subversive, and his work *Casa Grande e Senzala* [The Masters and the Slaves] was deemed anti-nationalist and communist.

It is also surprising that during the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas, Cecilia Meireles was arrested for translating Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, which was considered subversive, and was confiscated. This episode is high up on the list of ironies connected with the history of censorship. Robert Netz, who has studied censorship throughout the world, has found that there is almost always a famous list of "bloopers" carried out by the agents of repression and, according to him, this happens because censorship is "an authoritarian intervention in a communicative circuit, and is therefore often inadequate in relation to the debate it wants to silence"¹⁵⁵.

During the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1985), book publishing was initially the victim of acts of right-wing vandalism, and, from 1970, this was upheld by the prior censorship legislation.

¹⁵⁴ Laurence Hallewell. *O Livro no Brasil*, p. 457. The same source applies for the rest of this paragraph.

¹⁵⁵ Robert Netz. *Histoire de la Censure dans l'Édition*, p. 123.

This study on the censorship of books during the Brazilian military dictatorship, leads to three observations:

The first is the limit of any censorial act: all coercion is temporary and limited - "one can suppress the spirit for a short space of time, but, in the end, the spirit always wins"¹⁵⁶. In his *Carta sobre o comercio de livros*, [Letter on the Book Trade], Diderot wrote to a legal authority and summarised the situation thus: "Sir, you may cover all the borders with soldiers, arm them with bayonets to seize all dangerous books that appear and, yet," says the author, "these books, forgive the expression, will pass between their legs and fly over their heads and will reach us." ¹⁵⁷

The second observation from this study is that censorship during the Brazilian military dictatorship was part of an apparatus of coercion and repression and hugely damaged the exercise of citizenship and culture.

This study has also thrown up the widespread actions of resistance to oppression. There were numerous acts and demonstrations against censorship by great writers like Jorge Amado, Érico Veríssimo, and also by respected intellectuals and publishers such as Enio Silveira. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there were many acts of resistance carried out by legions of people who remain anonymous - small and medium sized publishers, printers and booksellers who, within the limits of their fields of action, acted with dignity and in support of freedom, even in the darkest hours. One should also not forget to include readers in this silent legion of people who - through small acts - sought to preserve the essential human rights despite adversity - as at certain times, merely buying, carrying or keeping certain books could be dangerous.

¹⁵⁶ This phrase was quoted by the bibliophile José Mindlin in an interview he gave me in November 2008.

¹⁵⁷ Denis Diderot. *Lettre sur le Commerce de la Librairie*, p. 100.

Bibliography

- Abreu, Alzira Alves e outros (coordenação). *Dicionário histórico-bibliográfico brasileiro pós 1930*. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. FGV, 2ª ed, 5 volumes, 2001.
- Abreu, Marcia. *Caminhos dos Livros*. Campinas, São Paulo, Mercado de Letras e ABL, São Paulo, FAPESP, 2003.
- Adusp. *O Controle Ideológico a USP: 1964-1978*. São Paulo, Adusp, 2004. (Publicado originalmente em 1987 sob o título *O livro negro da USP – o controle ideológico na universidade*.)
- Albin, Ricardo Cravo. *Driblando a Censura*. Rio de Janeiro, Gryphus, 2002.
- Almeida, Maria Fernanda Lopes. *Veja sob Censura – 1968-1976*. São Paulo, Jaboticaba, 2008.
- Aquino, Maria Aparecida. *Censura, Imprensa, Estado Autoritário (1968-1978)*. Bauru, Edusc, 1999.
- Aquino, Maria Aparecida. “Mortos sem sepultura” In: Carneiro, Maria Luiza Tucci (org). *Minorias Silenciadas. História da Censura no Brasil*. São Paulo, Edusp/ Imprensa Oficial/ FAPESP, 2002.
- Belo, André. *História & Livro e Leitura*. Belo Horizonte, Autêntica, 2002.
- Borelli, Silvia Helena Simões. *Ação, Suspense, Emoção. Literatura e cultura de massa no Brasil*. São Paulo, Educ/ Fapesp, 1996.
- Borges, Jorge Luis. *Cinco Visões Pessoais*. Tradução: Maria Rosinda Ramos da Silva. Brasília, Ed. UnB, 1995.
- Bosi, Alfredo. *Dialética da Colonização*. São Paulo, Cia das Letras, 3ª reimpressão, 1993.
- Bosi, Alfredo. *História Concisa da Literatura Brasileira*. São Paulo, Cultrix/ Edusp, 1977.
- Bosi, Alfredo (org.). *O Conto Brasileiro Contemporâneo*. São Paulo, Ed. Cultrix, s/d.
- Bosi, Ecléa. *Cultura de Massa e Cultura Popular*. Leituras operárias. Rio de Janeiro/ Petrópolis, Vozes, 1977.
- Braga, José Luiz. *O Pasquim e os Anos 70*. Brasília, Ed. UnB, 1991.
- Brito, Antonio Carlos de e Hollanda, Heloisa Buarque de. “Literatura: Nosso verso de pé-quebrado”. *Revista Argumento*, ano 1, número 3, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1974.
- Callado, Antonio. *Censura e Outros Problemas dos Escritores Latino-americanos*. Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio, 2006.
- Camões. *Os Lusíadas*, edição fac-similada distribuída pela publicação *A Revista*, número 7, São Paulo, Takano Editora Gráfica, 2002.
- Candido, Antonio. “A literatura brasileira em 1972”. *Arte em Revista*, ano 1, número 1, São Paulo, CEAC – Centro de Estudos de Arte Contemporânea, janeiro-março 1979.
- Candido, Antonio. *Literatura e Sociedade*. São Paulo, Cia. Ed. Nacional, 3ª ed., 1973.
- Candido, Antonio. *A Educação pela Noite e Outros Ensaios*. São Paulo, Ática, 1987.
- Carneiro, Maria Luiza Tucci (org.). *Minorias silenciadas*. São Paulo, Edusp/ Imprensa Oficial/ FAPESP, 2002.
- Carneiro, Maria Luiza Tucci. *Livros Proibidos, Ideias Malditas*. O Deops e as minorias silenciadas. São Paulo, Estação Liberdade, Arquivo do Estado/ SEC, 1997.
- Canfora, Luciano. *Livro e Liberdade*. Tradução: Antonio de Paula Danesi. Rio de Janeiro, Casa da Palavra/ Ateliê Editorial, 2003.
- Coverrelli, Sérgio. *Comunicação de Massa sem Massa*. São Paulo, Summus, 3ª ed., 1996.
- Coverrelli, Sérgio. *Ditaduras e Indústrias Culturais, no Brasil, na Argentina, no Chile e no Uruguai (1964-1984)*. Porto Alegre, EDUFRGS, 1989.
- Castro, Ruy. *O Anjo Pornográfico. A vida de Nelson Rodrigues*. São Paulo, Cia. das Letras, 13ª reimpressão, 2000.
- Chartier, Roger e Roche, Daniel. “O livro: uma mudança de perspectiva”. In: Le Goff, Jacques e Nora, Pierre. *História. Novos objetos*. Tradução: Terezinha Marinho. Rio de Janeiro, Francisco Alves, 4ª ed., 1995.
- Conti, Mario Sergio. *Notícias do Planalto*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1999.
- Costela, Antonio. *O Controle da Imprensa no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro/ Petrópolis, Vozes, 1970
- Cotta, Pery. *Calandra. O Sufoco da Imprensa nos Anos de Chumbo*. RJ, Bertrand Brasil, 1997.
- Coutinho, Afrânio e Souza, J. Galante. *Enciclopédia de Literatura Brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional, 2 volumes, 2001.

- Costa, Cristina. *Censura em cena. Teatro e censura no Brasil*. São Paulo, Edusp, Imprensa Oficial / FAPESP, 2006.
- Darnton, Robert. *Edição e Sedição. O universo da literatura clandestina no século XVIII*. Tradução: Myruam Campello. São Paulo, Cia das Letras, 1992.
- Darnton, Robert. *O Beijo de Lamourette. Mídia, cultura e revolução*. Tradução: Denise Bottmann. São Paulo, Cia das Letras, 1ª reimpressão, 1993.
- Derek Jones (ed.). *Censorship. A World Encyclopedia*. Londres/Chicago, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 4 volumes, 2001.
- Dias, Lucy. *Anos 70: Enquanto Corria a Barca*. São Paulo, Senac, 2003.
- Diderot, Denis. *Lettre sur le Commerce de la Librairie*. Paris, Editions 1001 nuits/ Fayard, 2003.
- Escarpit, Robert. *Le Littéraire et le Social*. Paris, Flammarion, 1960.
- Fernandes, Ismael. *Memória da Telenovela Brasileira*. São Paulo, Brasiliense, 4ª ed., 1997.
- Ferreira, Jerusa Pires (org.). *Editando o Editor. Enio Silveira*. São Paulo, ComArte/ Edusp, 1ª reimpressão, 2003.
- Fico, Carlos. “Versões e controvérsias sobre 1964 e a ditadura militar”. *Revista Brasileira de História*. São Paulo, vol. 4, n. 47, 2004.
- Fico, Carlos. “‘Prezada censura’; Cartas ao Regime Militar”. *Topoi – Revista de História*, Rio de Janeiro, UFRJ, n. 5, p. 251-286, setembro 2002. Também disponível em: http://www.ifcs.ufrj.br/~ppghis/pdf/fico_prezada_censura.pdf.
- Franco, Renato. “Imagens da revolução no romance pós-64” In: Segatto, José Antonio e Baldan, U., *Sociedade e Literatura no Brasil*. São Paulo, Unesp, 1999.
- Galucio, Andréa Lemos Xavier. *Civilização Brasileira e Brasiliense: trajetórias editoriais, empresários e militância política*. Tese do Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social da Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2009.
- Gaspari, Elio. *A Ditadura Envergonhada*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2002.
- Gaspari, Elio. *A Ditadura Escancarada*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2002.
- Gaspari, Elio. *A Ditadura Derrotada*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2003.
- Gaspari, Elio. *A Ditadura Encurralada*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2004.
- Green, James. *Além do Carnaval. A homossexualidade no Brasil do século XX*. São Paulo, Editora Unesp, 2000.
- Guerra, Marco Antônio. *Carlos Queiroz Telles. História e dramaturgia em cena (década de 70)*. São Paulo, Ed. Annablume, 1993.
- Hallewell, Laurence. *O Livro no Brasil*. São Paulo, Edusp, 2ª ed., 2005.
- Hollanda, H. B. de, e Gonçalves, M. A.. “Política e literatura: a ficção da realidade brasileira”. Hollanda, Heloisa Buarque de, Gonçalves, Marcos Augusto e Freitas Filho, Armando. *Anos 70. Vol. 2- literatura*. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Europa, sem data.
- Koeche, André. *Anos 60 – Sexo e Vanguarda*. Porto Alegre, Nova Dimensão, 1991.
- Kucinski, Bernardo. *Jornalistas e revolucionários nos tempos da imprensa alternativa*. São Paulo, Scritta Ed., 1991.
- Kucinski, Bernardo. “A primeira vítima: a autocensura durante o regime militar”. In: Carneiro, Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro (org). *Minorias Silenciadas. História da Censura no Brasil*. São Paulo, Edusp/ Imprensa Oficial/ FAPESP, 2002.
- Kushnir, Beatriz. *Cães de Guarda*. São Paulo, Boitempo/ FAPESP, 2004.
- Kuhlmann, M., Kuntzmann, N. e Bellour, H. *Censure et Bibliothèques au XX siècle*. Paris, Cercle de la Librairie, 1989.
- Lima, Fernando Barbosa; Priolli, Gabriel e Machado, Arlindo. *Televisão & vídeo (Coleção Brasil – os anos de autoritarismo)*. Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar Ed., 1985.
- Lobo, Narciso. *Ficção e Política. O Brasil nas minisséries*. Manaus, Valer, 2000.
- Machado, Janete Gaspar. *Constantes ficcionais em romances dos anos 70*. Florianópolis, EdUFSC, 1981.
- Marconi, Paolo. *A Censura Política na Imprensa Brasileira (1968-1978)*. São Paulo, Global, 1980.
- Martins, Wilson. *A Palavra Escrita*. São Paulo, Editora Anhembi, 1957.
- Mattos, Sérgio. *Mídia Controlada*. São Paulo, Paulus, 2005.
- Maués, Flamarion. “‘Ter simplesmente este livro nas mãos já é um desafio’ Livros de oposição no regime militar, um estudo de caso”. *Revista Em Questão*, v. 11, n.2. Porto Alegre, julho/dez. 2005.

- Melo, José Marques de. *História Social da Imprensa*. Porte Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2003.
- Mota, Carlos Guilherme. *Ideologia da Cultura Brasileira (1933-1974)*. São Paulo, Ática, 1977.
- Nery, João Elias. *Graúna e Rê Bordosa - o humor gráfico brasileiro de 1970 e 1980*. São Paulo, Pulsar/Terras do Sonhar, 2006.
- Netz, Robert. *Histoire de la Censure dans l'Édition*. Paris, PUF, 1997.
- Novaes, Adauto (org.). *Anos 70. Ainda sob a tempestade*. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Aeroplano/ SENAC Rio, 2005.
- Otsuka, Edu Teruki. *Marcas da catástrofe. Experiência urbana e indústria cultural em Rubem Fonseca, João Gilberto Noll e Chico Buarque*. São Paulo, Nankin Editorial, 2001.
- Paes, José Paulo. *A aventura literária - ensaios sobre ficção e ficções*. São Paulo, Cia. das Letras, 1990.
- Paixão, Fernando (coord.). *Momentos do Livro no Brasil*. São Paulo, Ática, 1995.
- Pellegrini, Tânia. *Gavetas Vazias – Ficção e Política nos anos 70*. São Carlos, São Paulo, EDUFSCar, Mercado de Letras, 1996.
- Pereira, Carlos Alberto Messeder. *Retrato de época. Poesia marginal. Anos 70*. Rio de Janeiro, Funarte, 1981.
- Pereira, Luiz Carlos Bresser. *Desenvolvimento e Crise no Brasil. 1930-1983*. São Paulo, Brasiliense, 14^a ed., 1985.
- Reimão, Sandra. *Mercado Editorial Brasileiro*. São Paulo, ComArte, FAPESP, 1996.
- Ridenti, Marcelo. *Em Busca do Povo Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, Record, 2000.
- Rios, Cassandra. *Censura: Minha Luta Meu Amor*. São Paulo, Global, 1977.
- Ruffato, Luiz. Apresentação a Emediato, Luiz Fernando. *Trevas no Paraíso*. São Paulo, Geração Editorial, 2004, pp. 9 a 17.
- Santiago, Silviano. *Vale Quanto Pesa*. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1982.
- Schwarcz, Lilia M. (org.). *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*. Vol. 4. São Paulo, Cia das Letras, 1998.
- Schwarcz, Lilia M. (e outros). *A Longa Viagem da Biblioteca dos Reis*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2002.
- Schwarz, Roberto. “Cultura e política 1964-1969”. In: *O Pai de Família e Outros Estudos*. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Paz e Terra, 1978. (Nova edição Paz e Terra/ Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1992).
- Sevcenko, Nicolau (org.). *História da Vida Privada no Brasil – vol. 3*. São Paulo, Cia das Letras, 1^a reimpressão, 1998.
- Severiano, Jairo e Homem de Mello, Zuza. *A canção no tempo. 85 anos de músicas brasileiras*. Vol. 2: 1958-1985. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. 34 Letras, 4^a ed., 2002.
- Silva, Aguinaldo. *Lábios que Beije*. São Paulo, Siciliano, 2^a ed., 1992.
- Silva, Carlos Eduardo Lins da. *Muito Além do Jardim Botânico*. São Paulo, Summus, 2^a ed., 1985.
- Silva, Deonísio da. *Nos Bastidores da Censura. Sexualidade, literatura e repressão pós-64*. São Paulo, Liberdade, 1989.
- Silva, Deonísio da. “Os livros banidos pela Revolução”. Revista *Escrita*. São Paulo, Editora Vertente, número 34, pp. 33 a 36.
- Silva, Mário Augusto Medeiros da. *Os escritores da guerrilha urbana. Literatura de testemunho, ambivalência e transição política (1977-1984)*. São Paulo, Fapesp/Annablume, 2008.
- Silverman, Malcolm. *Protesto e o Novo Romance Brasileiro*. Tradução: Carlos Araújo. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2^a ed., 2000.
- Simis, Anita (org.). *Cinema e Televisão Durante a Ditadura militar: depoimentos e reflexões*. Araraquara, UNESP, São Paulo, Cultura Acadêmica Editora, 2005.
- Simões, Inimá. *Roteiro da Intolerância*. São Paulo, Ed. Senac/ Ed. Terceiro Nome, 1998.
- Sodré, Muniz. *Reinventando a Cultura*. Rio de Janeiro, Vozes, 1996.
- Sodré, Nelson Werneck. *História da Imprensa no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, Edições do Graal, 1977.
- Skidmore, Thomas. “Capítulo de uma queda articulada”. Jornal *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 23/11/2003, D5
- Sussekind, Flora. *Literatura e Vida Nacional*. (Coleção Brasil – os anos de autoritarismo). Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar Ed., 1985.
- Stephanou, Alexandre Ayub. *Censura no Regime Militar e Militarização das Artes*. Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2001.
- Ventura, Zuenir. *1968 O Ano Que Não Terminou. A aventura de uma geração*. Rio de Janeiro, Nova Fronteira, 17^a ed., 1988.

- Vieira, Luiz Roberto. *Consagrados e Malditos – os Intelectuais e a Editora Civilização Brasileira*. Brasília, EdUnb, 1996.
- Xavier, Ismail. *O olhar e a Cena*. São Paulo, Cosac & Naify, 2003.
- Wisnik, José Miguel. “Algumas questões de música e política no Brasil” In: Bosi, A., *Cultura Brasileira. Temas e Situações*. São Paulo, Ática, 1987.
- *Anuário Brasileiro de Mídia 1975/1976*. São Paulo, Ed. Três, 1977.
- *Anuário Brasileiro de Mídia 1977/1978*. São Paulo, Ed. Publiform, 1979.
- *Cadernos de Literatura Brasileira*. Número 11- Ignácio de Loyola Brandão. São Paulo, Instituto Moreira Salles, junho 2001.
- *Censure de la Bible aux Larmes d’Eros*. (Concepção: Martine Poulain e Françoise Serre) Paris, BPI, 1987----- *Dicionário da TV Globo*. Volume 1. Rio de Janeiro,
- *Coleção Cronologia das Artes em São Paulo 1975-1995*. São Paulo, Centro Cultural São Paulo, 5 volumes, 1996.
- *Jornal O Estado de S. Paulo*, 32/03/2004. Caderno Especial “Março de 64”
- *Revista Civilização Brasileira*, Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara, Editora Civilização Brasileira, números 1 a 22, 1964 a 1968.
- *Revista Communications* n. 9 – La censure et le censurable. Paris, École Pratique des Hautes Études - Centre d’Études des Communications de Masse, 1967.
- *Revista Isto é* <http://www.terra.com.br/istoegente>, acessado em 28/12/2007. Entrevista de Aguinaldo Silva ----- *Pif Paf*, edição fac-similada da coleção *PifPaf* – 40 anos depois. Rio de Janeiro, Argumento, 2005.
- *Revista Veja* – edição de 26 de dezembro de 1979.
- *Revista Visão* - edição de 11 de março de 1974.
- Chico Buarque, DVD *Bastidores*, RWR Comunicações, 2005.
- Programa televisivo *Globo Repórter 40 anos de telenovela*, transmitido pela Rede Globo de Televisão em 1991.

Credits for the covers:

- 113 Dias de Angústia – Impedimento e morte de um presidente*, Carlos Chagas. Rio de Janeiro, Image, 1970. Cover: Unavailable, 21 x 14 cm.
- 4 Cantos de Pavor e Alguns Poemas Desesperados*, Alvaro Alves de Faria. São Paulo, Alfa-Ômega, 1973. Cover: João Suzuki, 21 x 14 cm.
- A Automação e o Futuro do Homem*, Rose Marie Muraro. Petrópolis, Vozes, 1968. Cover Unavailable, 23 x 16 cm.
- A Mulher na Construção do Mundo Futuro*, Rose Marie Muraro. Petrópolis, Vozes, 1966. Edição fotografada, 2ª ed., 1971. Cover: João-Lauro, 18 x 13 cm.
- A Revolução Brasileira*, Caio Prado Junior. São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1966. Cover Unavailable, 23 x 16 cm.
- A Universidade Necessária*, Darcy Ribeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1969. Cover: Eunice Duarte, 21 x 14 cm.
- América Latina: Ensaio de Interpretação Econômica*, José Serra (coordenação) e Celso Furtado, Maria da Conceição Tavares, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Anibal Pinto, Pedro Vuskovic Bravo, Fernando Fajnzylber, Paulo R. Souza, Victor E. Tokman, Arturo O’Connell, Charles Rollins, Mario la Fuente. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1976. Cover: Maria Clara Moraes, 21 x 14 cm.
- Aracelli Meu Amor*, José Louzeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Record, 1981. Edição fotografada: 5ª ed., 1981. Cover: Unavailable, 21 x 14 cm.
- Carniça*, Adelaide Carraro. São Paulo, L. Oren Ed., s/d. Edição fotografada: 4ª ed., s/d. Cover: Mário Décio Capelossi, 21 x 14 cm.
- Classes Médias e Política no Brasil*, J.A. Guilhon Albuquerque (coordenador), Alain Touraine, Braz J. Araújo, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Gilberto Velho, M. A. Salvo Coimbra. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1977. Cover: Sábat, 21 x 14 cm.

- Contradições Urbanas e Movimentos Sociais*, J. Álvaro Moises, Verena Martinez_Alier, Francisco de Oliveira, Sergio de Souza. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, CEDEC, 1977. Edição fotografada: 2ª ed., 1978. Cover: Telmo Pamplona, 21 x 14 cm.
- Dez Estórias Imorais*, Aguinaldo Silva. Rio de Janeiro, Gráfica Record Editora, 1967. Cover: Augusto Iriarte Gironáz, 17 x 12 cm..
- Diário de André*, Brasigões Felício. Goiânia, Oriente, 1974. Cover: Laerte Araujo, 21 x 14 cm.
- Dicionário do Palavrão e Termos Afins*, Mario Souto Maior. Recife, Guararapes, s/d. Edição fotografada: 3ª ed., 1980. Cover: Jair Pinto, 23 x 16 cm.
- Em Câmara Lenta*, Renato Tapajós. São Paulo, Alfa-Omega, 1977. Edição fotografada: 2ªed., 1979. Cover: Moema Cavalcanti, 21 x 14 cm.
- Feliz Ano Novo*, Rubem Fonseca. Rio de Janeiro, Artenova, 1975. Cover: Sálvio Negreiros, 21 x 14 cm.
- História Militar do Brasil*, Nelson Werneck Sodré. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Civilização Brasileira, 1965. Edição fotografada: 2ª ed., 1968. Cover: Eugênio Hirsch, 21 x 14 cm.
- Movimento Estudantil e Consciência Social na América Latina*, J.A. Guilhon Albuquerque. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1977. Cover: Sábat, 21 x 14 cm.
- O Despertar da Revolução Brasileira*, Márcio Moreira Alves. Lisboa, Seara Nova, 1974. Cover: Acácio Santos, 18 x 11 cm.
- O Mundo do Socialismo*, Caio Prado Junior. São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1962. Cover: Unavailable, 21 x 14 cm.
- O Poder Jovem (História da participação política dos estudantes brasileiros)*, Arthur José Poerner. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 1968. Cover: Marius Lauritzen Bern, 21 x 14 cm.
- Programa de Saúde (Projetos e temas de higiene e saúde)*, Lúdia Rosenberg Aratangy, Silvio de Almeida Toledo Filho, Oswaldo Frota-Pessoa. São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1976. Cover: Unavailable, 21 x 14 cm..
- Tessa, A Gata*, Cassandra Rios. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Record, 1979. Cover Unavailable, 21 x 14 cm.
- Torturas e Torturados*, Márcio Moreira Alves. Rio de Janeiro, 2ªed., 1967. Cover: Unavailable, 21 x 14 cm.
- Veneno*, Cassandra Rios. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Record, 7ª ed.. Cover: Unavailable, 21 x 14 cm.
- Zero - Romance Pré-histórico*, de Ignácio de Loyola Brandão. Rio de Janeiro, Editora Brasília, 1975. Cover: Paulo de Oliveira, 21 x 14 cm.
-

ANNEXE 1 – Report for *Feliz Ano Novo*



MINISTÉRIO DA
DEPARTAMENTO DE POLÍCIA FEDERAL
DIVISÃO DE CENSURA DE DIVERSÕES PÚBLICAS

PARECER Nº 594 176

TÍTULO: "FELIZ ANO NOVO"

CLASSIFICAÇÃO ETÁRIA: NÃO LIBERAÇÃO

Obra literária

O presente livro de Rubem Fonseca, publicado pela Editora Artenova S.A., estabelecida à Rua Prefeito Olímpio de Melo, número 1774, São Cristóvão - RJ., reunindo vários contos autônomos do referido autor, retrata, em quase sua totalidade, personagens portadores de complexos, vícios e taras, com o objetivo de enfatizar a face obscura da sociedade na prática da delinquência, suborno, latrocínio e homicídio, sem qualquer referência a sanções.

O autor utilizou-se de uma linguagem bastante popular onde a pornografia foi largamente empregada, como pode ser constatado nas 35 páginas assinaladas.

Por outro lado, nas páginas 31, 139 e 141, são feitas rápidas alusões desmerecedoras aos responsáveis pelo destino do Brasil e ao trabalho censório.

Ao nosso ver a presente obra vai de encontro ao que determina o Decreto-Lei nº 1.077, no seu art. 1º, e, deste modo, opinamos pela Não Liberação.

Brasília, 03 de dezembro de 1976

Raymundo E. de Mesquita

*Ai consideração
do Sr. Dir. da D.C.P.
Em 06/12/76
Muller*
Jesuína Soares Pinho
Assistente - D. C. P.

ANNEXE 2 – Report for *Dez Estórias Imorais*



SERVIÇO PÚBLICO FEDERAL

Departamento de Polícia Federal

Serviço de Censura de Diversões Públicas

Parecer nº 2207/75

Assunto....: LEITURA DE LIVRO
Título....: DEZ ESTÓRIAS IMORAIS
Autor.....: AGUINALDO SILVA
Editora....: GRÁFICA RECORD EDITORA - Av. Rio Branco 131 - 18ª andar
RJ

São dez contos de um mesmo autor com assuntos variados, como a vida de prostitutas num bordel, a vida dura nas caatingas com seus retirantes, estória de marinheiros // nos portos do Brasil, etc...

Das dez estórias duas implicam em veto para liberação por conterem matéria imprópria:

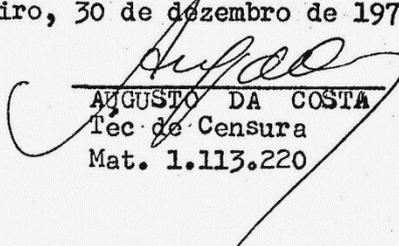
1ª) UM HOMEM, SUA MAIDADE, E A MARINHA NACIONAL: a vida de um marinheiro contada por ele desde sua infância no Ceará, suas provações, sua entrada para a Marinha, suas aventuras com mulheres depravadas e seu envolvimento homossexual com um Capitão de Corveta, inclusive citando o nome do navio onde serviu, Baependi.

2ª) PROCLAMAÇÃO FINAL: um inconformado com a vida, onde é contra tudo e contra todos. Nas suas falas ofende a igreja com críticas mordazes e indecentes sobre monges e padres, assim como ao tomar a hóstia lhe deu enjôo, sendo obrigado a vomitar. Além do mais, ofensa aos militares em geral, chamando-os de estúpidos.

Em razão do exposto sou de opinião s.m.j., que sejam proibidas a publicação e exteriorização do livro examinado, por conter o mesmo em seu teor matéria infringente da proibição constante do art. 1º de Dec. Lei nº 1.077, de 26 de janeiro de 1970, além dos outros assuntos mencionados.

É o meu parecer.

Rio de Janeiro, 30 de dezembro de 1975.


AUGUSTO DA COSTA
Téc. de Censura
Mat. 1.113.220



ANNEXE 3 – Report for *A Paranoica*
MINISTERIO DA
DEPARTAMENTO DE POLÍCIA FEDERAL
DIVISÃO DE CENSURA DE DIVERSÕES PÚBLICAS

PARECER Nº 00073 / 78

TÍTULO: " A PARANOICA "

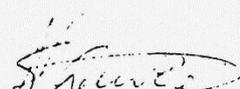
CLASSIFICAÇÃO ETÁRIA: Pela PROIBIÇÃO

Data, Goiânia, 27 de dezembro de 1978.

- 1-Título do livro: "A PARANOICA"
- 2-Nome de autor: Cassandra Rios
- 3-Editora: Global Edit. e Dist. Ltda.
- 4-Enderêço: Rua José Antonio Coelho 814 - SP.
- 5-Ano de publicação: 1976

R E S U M O: Ariella, jovem de dezesse-
te anos, é a paranóica. Pelo menos esta foi a defi-
nição da autora. Filha do Dr. Rodrigo e de D. Helena;
irmã de Alfonso e Clécio. Ao descobrir que era filha a
dotiva, do referido casal, ela usa de todos os meios/
para desvendar os mistérios que envolviam as sua ori-
gens. Entrega-se sexualmente, e de forma ridícula, ao
pai e aos irmãos (adotivos), joga uns contra os outros
para que a verdade aparecesse. Desenvolve os seus ins-
tintos e põe em prática o homossexualismo feminino com
Mercedes, noiva de Alfonso.

P A R E C E R: Ariella vai além da Pa-
ranóia, as descrições dos atos sexuais são feitas nos
seus mínimos detalhes, há homossexualismo, violência e
o conteúdo do livro é deprimente. Com base no art. 1º
do Decreto - Lei 1.077/70, sugerimos a sua PROIBIÇÃO.


SILAS DE AQUINO LIRA GOUVEIA
Técnico de Censura.

DPF-742

ANEXXE 4 – List of Censored Brazilian Authors (1964-1985)

Principal Sources: DCDP archives/ National Archives and *Nos bastidores da censura*, by Deonísio da Silva.

Fiction

- *Dez histórias imorais*, Aguinaldo Silva. Rio de Janeiro, Gráfica Record Ed., 1967.*
- *Zero - romance pré-histórico*, Ignácio de Loyola Brandão. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Brasília, 1975.
- *Feliz Ano Novo*, Rubem Fonseca. Rio de Janeiro, Artenova, 1975.*
- *Em câmara lenta*, Renato Tapajós. São Paulo, Alfa-Omega, 1977.
- *Diário de André*, Brasigóes Felício. Goiânia, Oriente, 1974.*
- *4 cantos de pavor e alguns poemas desesperados*, Alvaro Alves de Faria. São Paulo, Alfa-Omega, 1973.*, **
- *Aracelli meu amor*, José Louzeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Record, 1981.**

Plays by national writers censored for publication in book form

- *A farsa do bode expiatório*, Luiz Maranhão Filho. Rio de Janeiro, Serviço Nacional de Teatro SNT.*
- *Abajur lilás*, Plínio Marcos. (edição vetada, São Paulo, Global)
- *Barrela*, Plínio Marcos.
- *Canteiro de obras*, Pedro Porfírio.
- *O sótão e o rés do chão ou Soninha toda pura*, José Ildemar Ferreira. Rio de Janeiro, SNT.*
- *Lei é lei e está acabado*, Nazareno Tourinho (vetado em 1971; 1ª ed.—1984)
- *Maria da Ponte*, Guilherme Figueredo.
- *O belo burguês*, Pedro Porfírio.
- *O casamento*, Nelson Rodrigues (vetado de 15.10.66 a abril de 1967)
- *Papa Highirte*, Oduvaldo Vianna. Rio de Janeiro, SNT.*
- *Pavana para um macaco defunto*, Antônio Galvão Naclério Novaes. Rio de Janeiro, SNT.*
- *Quarto de empregada*, Roberto Freire.
- *Rasga coração*, Oduvaldo Viana Filho.

ANNEXE 4 –List of censored Brazilian authors (1964-1985)-continued

Non-fiction books

- *113 dias de angústia – impedimento e morte de um presidente*, Carlos Chagas. Rio de Janeiro, Image, 1970
- *A automação e o futuro do homem*, Rose Marie Muraro. Petrópolis, Vozes, 1968.
- *A mulher na construção do mundo futuro*, Rose Marie Muraro. Petrópolis, Vozes, 1966.
- *A ditadura dos cartéis*, Kurt Rudolf Mirow. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 1977.
- *A Revolução brasileira*, Caio Prado Junior. São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1966.
- *A Universidade necessária*, Darcy Ribeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1969.
- *América Latina: ensaios de interpretação econômica*, José Serra (coordenação) e Celso Furtado, Maria da Conceição Tavares, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Anibal Pinto, Pedro Vuskovic Bravo, Fernando Fajnzylber, Paulo R. Souza, Victor E. Tokman, Arturo O' Connell, Charles Rollins, Mario la Fuente. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1976.
- *Autoritarismo e democratização*. Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1975.
- *Classes médias e política no Brasil*, J.A. Guilhon Albuquerque (coordenador), Alain Touraine, Braz J. Araújo, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Gilberto Velho, M. A. Salvo Coimbra. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1977.
- *Contradições urbanas e movimentos sociais*, J. Álvaro Moises, Verena Martinez_Alier, Francisco de Oliveira, Sergio de Souza. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, CEDEC, 1977.
- *Dicionário de palavras e termos afins*, Mario Souto Maior. Recife, Guararapes, 1980.
- *E.U.A. Civilização Empacotada*. Mauro Almeida. São Paulo, Ed. Fulgor, 1961.
- *História militar do Brasil*, Nelson Werneck Sodré. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Civilização Brasileira, 1965.
- *Memórias: A verdade de um revolucionário*. Olympio Mourão Filho. Porto Alegre, L&PM, 1978.
- *Movimento estudantil e consciência social na América Latina*, J.A. Guilhon Albuquerque. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1977.
- *O despertar da Revolução Brasileira*, Márcio Moreira Alves. Lisboa, Seara Nova, 1974.
- *O gênio nacional da história do Brasil*. Roberto Sisson, Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Unidade, 1966.
- *O mundo do socialismo*, Caio Prado Junior. São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1962.
- *O Poder Jovem* (História da participação política dos estudantes brasileiros), Arthur José Poerner. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 1968.
- *Programa de Saúde* (Projetos e temas de higiene e saúde), Lídia Rosenberg Aratangy, Silvio de Almeida Toledo Filho, Oswaldo Frota-Pessoa. São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1976.*
- *Torturas e torturados*, Márcio Moreira Alves. Rio de Janeiro, s/ed., 1967.
- *(Basta Bastardos*, Helio de Almeida. *, **) **há parecer no Arquivo Nacional. **ver capítulo 1.*

ANNEXE 4 –List of censored Brazilian authors continued (1964-1985)

Erotic/Pornographic books
(main authors)

- Cassandra Rios. *Breve história de Fábila, A borboleta branca, Copacabana Posto Seis, Georgette, Maçaria, Marcella, Uma mulher diferente, Nicoleta Ninfeta, A paranóia, O prazer de pecar, A sarjeta, A serpente e a flor, Tara, Tentação sexual, Tessa a gata, As traças, Veneno, Volúpia do pecado.*
- Adelaide Carraro: *Os amantes, Asco-Sexo em troca de fama, Carniça, O castrado, O Comitê, De prostituta a primeira dama, Escuridão, Falência das elites, Mulher livre, Podridão, Os padres também amam, Submundo da sociedade, A verdadeira história de um assassino.*
- Dr. G. Pop: *Astúcia sexual, As bruxas estão soltas, Cidinha a insaciável, A coisa incrível, As coisas amargas da doce vida, Contrabandistas de escravas A menina cor de rosa, Duas flores do sexo, A filha de ninguém, Graziela amava e ...matava, O homem que desafiou o diabo, Loira vestida de branco, Horas tardias, Kukla, a boneca, As lágrimas das virgens, O louco, Quando o diabo se diverte, Sensação em Portugal, As trigêmeas, Vida e sexo, Vida amorosa de um médico.*
- Brigitte Bijou: *Amor a três, Caminhos eróticos, A chinesinha, Chinesinha erótica, Clube dos prazeres, Duelo entre duas mulheres, Em busca da aventura, A garota cobiçada, Garotas em apuros, A inocente, O padre feroso de Boulange, Play sexy, Prazer sem pecado, Vamos querida, Na voragem do êxtase.*
- Márcia Fagundes Varela: *Dois corpos em delírio, Mulher pecado, Mulheres de ninguém, Noviça erótica, O preço de Marta, Sexo super consumo.*
-
-