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The Dialogue of Violences in Dictatorial Brazil

El Dialogo de Violencias en el Brasil Dictatorial

O diálogo de violências no Brasil Ditatorial

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ABSTRACT
This article presents a preliminary reading of the political pamphlets, from Brazil, and Latin America in general, that are preserved in the Special Collections department at Senate House Library of the University of London. The source of the themes discussed range from publications of worker unions and human rights organizations, to various church declarations, and other material with economic and political aspects. This collaboration aims to propagate these documents and their potential as alternative narratives to dominant discourses regarding the Brazilian dictatorship of 1964-85. By using the theme of violence, both structural and physical, as a framework, this article poses a new perspective on how to interpret the ideologies that appear in those discourses.

RESUMEN
Este artículo presenta una lectura preliminar de los panfletos políticos brasileños y latinoamericanos en general, preservados en el sector de las Colecciones Especiales de la Biblioteca Senate House, de la Universidad de Londres, Reino Unido. Los temas que abarca van desde publicaciones de sindicatos y organizaciones de derechos humanos hasta declaraciones de diversas iglesias y material relacionado con aspectos económicos y políticos. Esta colaboración tiene como objetivo difundir la existencia de los documentos y de su uso potencial en cuanto representan una narrativa alternativa a los discursos dominantes sobre la dictadura brasileña de 1964. Usando el tema de la violencia, tanto estructural como física, este artículo presenta una nueva perspectiva sobre cómo interpretar las ideologías que aparecen en esos discursos.

RESUMO
Este artigo apresenta uma leitura preliminar dos panfletos políticos, do Brasil e da América Latina em geral, que são preservados no departamento de coleções especiais na Biblioteca Senate House da Universidade de Londres, Grã Bretanha. Os tópicos abordados vão desde publicações de sindicatos e de organizações de Direitos Humanos, até declarações de diversas igrejas e materiais relacionados a aspectos econômicos e políticos. Esta colaboração visa compartilhar estes documentos e seu potencial como narrativas alternativas para discursos dominantes sobre a ditadura brasileira de 1964. Ao usar o tema da violência, tanto estrutural como física, como um panorama, o presente artigo apresenta uma nova perspectiva sobre como interpretar as ideologias que aparecem nesses discursos.how to think and thus we are somehow sacrificing the existence of a promising scientific and technological development. The technological native is not just a consumer, but also wants to participate. Given the many options available in the Western world, how do we make the right decisions? Education must address this aspect.

1. Introduction

KEYWORDS
Dictatorship; violence; Human Rights; Worker Unions

PALABRAS CLAVE
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The period between 1960 and 1980 in Brazil, and Latin America in general, shows a chapter of violence in Latin America with particular characteristics. The period marked a time of institutionalized state, police and military violence in the name of national security under a trend across the Americas. This was an internal war, which sought not a common foreign threat, but an internal one, hidden among the population. This war, largely inspired by the trending anti-communist rhetoric of the time, justified the use of violence to identify individuals, extract information and eliminate the subversive. In Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Brazil this manifested itself under the military dictatorships of the time and through particular violations of human rights that came to characterize the period with kidnappings, torture, disappearances and a strong military presence.

In Brazil, this period was onset by the military coup of 1964, and concentrated from about 1968 when military action against so-called subversives increased significantly, especially with the tougher approach of General Artur da Costa e Silva and the implementation of the Fifth Institutional Act, or AI-5 at the end of that year.

However, violence was not only present in this literal and physical form, but in a more abstract sense, too. For the most part, the regulations and limitations of everyday life, such as the constant presence of military officers carrying out patrols and checks, created a constant authoritative presence over regular citizens (O`Dougherty, 2002). In some ways, the economic situation was also violent, Although Brazil's economic policies of the seventies had achieved continued economic growth, it was at the cost of rapidly rising levels of foreign debt. Between 1974 and 1978 inflation rose to 37.9% (Skidmore 1988: 206) and of course worst affected those on the lowest incomes.

My question in this essay is, therefore, how was the violence of this time period communicated? Of course, today, we rely on testimonies and reports to look back, understand and analyse the past, but creating a narrative is not the intention here. Instead, I ask how violence, the constant of reality under the Brazilian military dictatorship, was communicated both between Brazilians and to others outside Brazil at the time.

2. A new perspective – the Political Ephemera at Senate House Library's Special Collections

Traditional narratives of this time period are, not suprisingly, dominated by certain voices. At the time, media, tightly restricted by the government itself, generally controlled what news stories became public knowledge as well as opinions about it (Stein, 2000) and of course, international knowledge.

However, this particular period also saw the rise of alternative voices. This moment in history saw the growing presence of both larger, international human rights organizations, and smaller local and grass-roots campaigns, whose discourses can still be studied through their publications. Such documents, which at the time would have been considered censorable subversive material, but can now be looked at as valuable examples of this alternative communication.

For this reason I turn to the political ephemera collection at Senate House Library. The collection includes documents produced by human rights groups, churches, political parties and *guerrilla*

groups from across Latin America. It now consists of around ninety boxes of pamphlets, posters, reports, miscellaneous journals and other ephemera, produced by political parties, pressure groups and NGOs, trade unions and governments. The collection is predominantly in Spanish and Portuguese, though there is a significant proportion of English language material, as well as the odd publication in French, Italian, German or Dutch. The publication of documents overseas and in foreign languages are especially important when considering the translation and interpretation of the reality discussed. This information is key: in my understanding it shows how the boxes, as well as holding valuable archival material and primary sources, essentially represent the internationalization of political, economic and humanitarian forces and concerns.

Although every country in the region is represented, one might mention, as an example, the Chilean material covering both the build-up to and the aftermath of the 1973 coup, including election posters for Salvador Allende and pamphlets written by apologists for the Pinochet regime. A more specific example of an alternative narrative can be found in Bolivia's eleven-box collection of rare or unique publications by the *Partido Obrero Revolucionario* (POR), one of the only Trotskyist parties in history to garner a mass following.

Of course, some have made more of an impact than others. Of particular interest, was one British-produced leaflet advertising the idea of entering military-governed Argentina for journalistic research. As well as the expected country profile and basic tourist information, the leaflet contained a list of "useful phrases" for the British journalist to learn in Spanish. Although the list began with more understandable items such as "Why is the government torturing political criminals?", it soon descends into phrases such as "why are you torturing me?" or "please send my body back to my family".

The boxes relating to Brazil give the researcher the more unique opportunity of accessing a wide variety of material produced by trade unions, the Catholic church, political parties such as the *Partido dos Trabalhadores*, etc. and offer the opportunity of dealing with primary resources. Examples of this material are – quoting directly from the project -: *Salário e Custo de vida: a Corrida da Tartaruga com o Coelho nos Dias de Hoje* (Fundação Centro de Estudos do Trabalho, 1980). Produced by the *Fundação Centro de Estudos do Trabalho*, this eighteen-page cartoon pamphlet (in Portuguese) is concerned with inflation in Brazil. The tortoise and the hare represent salaries and the cost of living respectively.

While these examples might arouse a superficial interest or even entertainment, what might the documents offer to more serious academic research? Thinking in historiographical terms, the documents, rather untouched and under-explored until now, represent an important alternative to the dominant or official histories and memories of the sixties to the eighties in Latin America. When studied, they could potentially give rise to the unheard voices of particular mechanisms of Latin American history, from the mobilization of peasant and worker movements in Central America to the international awareness and reflections upon the dictatorships of the Southern Cone, as a challenge to dominant discourses.

If on the other hand a post-structuralist stance is applied to the discourse analysis of these documents, we might challenge the understanding of certain dominant definitions. How, for example, did local organizations in rural Central America communicate and define the notion of "environment" or "health"? How does this compare to the Western understanding of these terms? There are documents, for example, which aim to explain scientific understandings and definitions of food and nutrition to rural and Indian populations of Latin America, who of course have their own religious and traditional perceptions of the same topic. An analysis of how this communication is carried out, and what it can tell us about translating such notions between distinct ontologies would be very valuable.

3. The Dialogue of Violences in Dictatorial Brazil

When thinking of communicative mechanisms,

the contents of the boxes can, in my view, be categorized into three general groups. Firstly, many of the documents represent a means of communication to and politicization of the masses, namely peasant and worker areas of the population. As well as offering an understanding of the shaping of ideologies, this also offers a lot to the understanding of citizenship and participation or even social movement theory. Other documents can be seen to concern the more official nature of international political and economic relations. This can be studied from a wider perspective, such as the international monetary fund`s (IMF) reports on certain countries, or from a more intimate level, such as the UK`s Barclay`s bank reports which no doubt affected trade agreements and investments the UK made with Latin American countries. Lastly, as touched upon earlier, the documents can be looked at through their representation of international networks. This includes both documents produced within a given country for the purposes of being sent overseas, or documents produced overseas about a given country, for the purposes of creating awareness, solidarity, or pressure.

I will now look more closely at the first and last of the three groups mentioned. As my research currently specializes in the internationalization of Brazil`s struggle for human rights during the military dictatorship of 1964-1985, I will use examples from this context. The thematic lense through which I will look at the question of human rights will be, more specifically, the attempts to communicate violence that can be interpreted from the documents.

3.1. Structural Violence in Worker publications

When looking at communication with the masses in dictatorial Brazil, the study of worker movements and syndicalism is of particular importance: at a time when most collective action was considered subversive, these movements were highly valuable to the mobilization of workers. Many groups, some of which were formed before the military coup of 1964, were closed down by the late sixties, some examples being the *Pacto de Unidade e Ação*, the *Pacto da Ação Conjunta*, the *Comando Geral dos Trabalhadores*, all of which ceased to function by 1964, and the *Movimento anti-Arrocho* which ended in 1968. However, around the late seventies, the military relaxed much of its action against these kind of movements, albeit relatively. During this time, worker organizations began to form, and eventually these fed and evolved into the country`s current governing political party, the P*artido dos Trabalhadores* (PT, or Workers` Party). One of the most important organizations associated with the PT, the Unified Workers' Central, or *Central Única dos Trabalhadores* (CUT) formed in 1977, and many of its earliest publications can be found in the collections at Senate House.

The CUT publications available are some of the most complete of the Brazilian boxes. They include (and I condense generously) a series of four "notebooks" published in 1986, another eight in the following year, a series of theses, and a collection of judicial reflections on the worker`s rights that were inspired by Mussolini`s corporative sindical system in 1930`s Italy. The topics of the "notebooks" include: the conjunction of politics and economics in Brazil, the ideology of the "new" syndicalism structure as well as its plan of action and administration, the constitution of CUT and the history of syndicalism in Brazil.

Despite the size and influence of groups such as CUT, CONCLAT, or the PT, smaller organizations also appear in the collections and offer as much input to the discussion of the formation and communication of workers` unions. Some examples that should be brought to the attention of readers are the *Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de Barra Mansa*, Volta Redonda and Resende, the *Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Metalúrgicos de São Paulo*, the *Sindicato dos Trabalhadores nas Indústrias Químicas e Farmacêuticas de São André*, and the *Sindicato dos Trabalhadores nas Indústrias Metalúrgicas, Mecânicas e de Material Elétrico de São Bernardo do Campo e Diadema*.

The main aim of publications such as these was to unionize workers. However, many workers, victims of an unequal educational system and harsh lifestyle conditions, are not politicized in the same way as those who began such movements. For this reason, the documents tend to have three parallel but sometimes interwoven functions: firstly, they educate the workers, informing them of their rights, of the legal mechanisms and institutions that are in

place to support and protect them. Secondly, they politicize the workers, explaining the historical and structural situations that cause their repression and exploitation. As we will see, this almost always takes place from a left leaning perspective, though this is not always the case. Lastly, they encourage workers to join their union, pointing out the benefits of solidarity and protection that come with unionization.

Recently, an article was written to claim that worker unions in Brazil only began to focus on creating and archiving "memory" - in the form of oral and written histories - in the late nineties (Santana & Pimenta, 2009). I would suggest that these documents challenge this idea. Although the intention behind the documents themselves can be seen as informative, their value today has shifted to an archival one. The ideologies, strategies and discourses that they represent create as much memory of the movements as the stories about them that began to be collected in the nineties.

While there are many ways in which we could look at the links between these publications, the theme of violence is an interesting one. Of course, during this time, that of the dictatorship, violence came in many forms. Direct physical violence was employed as a means of extracting information and controlling individuals, this we know from the numerous reports on violations of human rights carried during and after the military dictatorship. Emotional violence was also used through the creation of fear through rhetoric, such as the constant talk of threats from terrorists and enemies on the inside, as well as the threatening language used to describe military roles and intentions. However, what tends to be dealt with in the publications under investigation is structural violence, specifically to the exploitative effects that the capitalist system has on the worker as is repeatedly referenced in the discourse of the workers` unions in question.

Four items have been chosen to explore the theme of structural violence upon the working class: one from CUT, two from two of the worker's unions mentioned, and one from the *Centro de Estudos do Trabalho* (or CET). The CUT publication chosen is part of a series following the organization`s second congress held in Rio de Janeiro between 31 July and 3 August 1986. Although written after the return to democracy, the question of structural violence upon the working class remains the focus. The item chosen is a collection of three "theses" on topics discussed during the congress. In the publication, the topic of structural violence is treated academically, almost clinically. Firstly, this can be seen in the layout and structure of the booklet, which, avoiding decorative use of colours or pictures, follows a simple numbered layout to present its points. The title of the booklet, simply 'Theses' also alludes to a more scientific or academic form of discussion.

In its first essay, "*Conjuntura Política e Econômica do País*", CUT describes the current political and economic climate of the working class, and looks to the roots and mechanisms that are behind it. It underlines the cyclical patterns of expansion, slowdowns and crises that are tied to the capitalist economic model, and how this manifests itself in impacts upon workers. It finds that the link between these two can be found in the creation of national debt:

> *O Brasil, como as demais economias dominadas do 3º mundo, que até 1981/2 tinham livre acesso ao crédito, ao endividamento nos bancos internacionais, agora encontram as portas fechadas, estão totalmente marginalizados daquele sistema bancário. De modo que são obrigados a ficar em intermináveis "negociações da dívida externa" e a pagar religiosamente massas gigantescas de juros, anualmente. No caso do Brasil, e imposto o pagamento anual de 10 a 12 bilhões de dólares, que só podem ser arrancados das costas dos trabalhadores* (emphasis added; p. 9).

In this way, there is a direct line drawn between external economic pressures and restrictions and the exploitation of the working class. The management of this exploitation is carried out by "*os capitalistas brasileiros*" (p. 10), but is also facilitated by legal mechanisms which confiscate salaries and repress the struggles and movements of the working class (p. 29). Some mechanisms are linked directly back to the dictatorship and the institutional apparatus that allow exploitation to occur, such as the Law of National Security, Laws regarding strikes, and the Consolidação dos Leis

de Trabalho (CLT), which keep union workers under control and censorship.

How does this exploitation manifest itself? The document claims that living conditions for the masses continues to worsen daily: the number of illiterates grows (at the time of writing, the article claims there to have been around 100 million people that couldn`t read or write), and the lack of nutrition is grevious (p. 85). This is the violent result of the system. In this way the document identifies its audience as those victims of financial and labour inequalities of the nation. However, the layout, as described, is not one that would necessarily cater to or even attract those who are illiterate or have received little education.

While CUT was perhaps one of the largest and most popular organizations for the working population, a look into other smaller organizations might shed some light on strategies that they neglected.

The STIMME opted to present similar information to that of the CUT document, but in the form of lessons that were more suited to the unionized workers themselves. In contrast to the CUT publication, this booklet comes with comic-style pictures, such as an image of generic Brazilian and US authorities cuddling up together and instructions to "make note of any parts you did not understand" (own translation). In book number one of the april 1983 course, the union uses simple language to explain how the International Monetary Fund (IMF) persuaded countries like Brazil to follow a prescription of regulations in order to create capital. Unlike the previous document which saw foreign debt as the biggest motive of exploitation, this one focuses on things such as cutting government spending, increasing the use of credit and cutting wages, the worst effects of which hit workers and peasants. To guarantee the continuation of capital, the mechanisms of torture and direct violence are also contextualized: workers who strike can be arrested, tortured, or massacred such as in the case of a metal workers' strike during the april of 1968 in Contagem, Minas Gerais.

The general tone of the booklet is light: as mentioned, language is simple and humorous drawings are used throughout. However, by stating what may seem like isolated facts in the order mentioned, and encouraging the reader to analyse and ask questions, the effect is of great importance. The reader, by his own analysis, will understand the continuation of violence as a structural one, and will conclude that the violence he sees and experiences as a worker is ultimately connected to and controlled by the dominant neoliberal capitalist models described. This approach reflects the thinking of Paulo Freire, who believes that the only way to liberate an oppressed person is by encouraging them to have their own independent critical thought, that "Reflection upon situationality is reflection about the very condition of existence" (Freire, 1970: 114).

The *Sindicato dos Trabalhadores nas Indústrias Químicas e Farmacêuticas de São André* (STIQ from here on) opts for another strategy. Created during the same year, the publication begins with a more aggressive image on the front cover than the one explored earlier. Here, below the words "know your rights", we see an enlightened worker, backed by a bright aura, standing in a super-man pose before angry, fist-clenching, hat-biting businessmen. The message is simple: if you read this booklet, you will become enlightened and empowered against "the system", embodied by the businessmen. The booklet contains detailed information on readjustments to wages following inflation, how to receive these pay rises automatically, how to claim compensation, admission wages and substitution wages, extra hours, promotions, right to sick pay, temporary work, trial periods, protection and equipment, medical exams, protection for the student worker and so on and so forth.

As on the front cover, illustrations inside the book mostly juxtapose a healthy and happy worker with a short and bald boss, who he angers with his extensive knowledge on worker rights. Unlike the pamphlet looked at earlier, this one presents a series of one on one conflicts and situations that do not look at the bigger structure. Here, the situation is that of worker against employer, and is a question of knowing facts in order to "beat" the boss, to antagonise him, not unlike the way that Jerry the mouse does Tom the cat. However, without any further exploration or encouragement thereof, the problem is reduced and the larger structure is not considered. This is important when we think about violence: essentially, this

book is displaying the effects without the cause. In Freirian terms, it dictates a set of instructions which do not give the reader any room to think critically about the structure of violence and what should be done about it. This 'dictatorial' approach to the unionization of workers can be seen as an internalization of the structural violence present in society at the time.

The final example is the graphic novel "*Da Roca para a Cidade*" produced by the *Centro dos Estudos do Trabalho* (CET). This pamphlet uses a very different approach to the two described so far by opting a predominantly visual rhetoric and language to communicate the ideas it discusses. The storyboard follows the experience of a peasant worker, Antão, who, forced to leave his home and ranch, leaves his pregnant wife and son and heads for the city to find work. The novel, like many graphic novels at the time, is presented in black and white with striking and emotional images, and in many cases imitates visual techniques and styles of film. This is important: film tends to communicate ideas, actions, and even senses much more directly than words do because there is no medium or narrator. A simple example of this would be one scene, where Antão, feeling downtrodden and helpless after finding out that he will be evicted from his home, walks away from the "camera" into darkness, saying "*vou morrer sem um pedaço de terra*". The scene closes with a still of the moon shining, followed by another of the sun setting, and finally another of a cockerel singing in the morning. We might interpret from this that Antão, although desperate and without a thing to his own name, will survive another day, as do the moon, the sun and the animals. There is hope.

In another scene the theme of violence is communicated with these similar film-based techniques. While walking through the city with a new friend, Antão passes a street where, behind a resting beggar, a road sweeper and a prostitute, we see advertisements: one simply displaying a woman in her underwear with the imperative "Use", and another which tells the consumer to "Tire Ferias". These items are not narrated or discussed, but they are symbolically placed to show the connection between consumer culture, essential to capitalism, and the oppressed beggar and prostitute. If we think more symbolically, these characters are asking to be "used" (the prostitute) and essentially doing nothing (the beggar), perhaps taking a "holiday", just as the posters say, representing the violent nature of consumer culture side-effects.

Other instances of violence that are presented to the reader, other than the expulsion from land, are: the sexual exploitation of women, theft, physical violence and murder, medical neglect, and emotional humiliation. They are essentially all tackled at once at the end of the story where, about to be expelled from a community built *favela*, Antão`s friend, Mario, stands up to the police and announces that no-one will be moving. The police leave and they are left alone to continue to build their community, and Antão is finally free of his repression. However, the reader is left with the question of why now? After all, exploitation from capitalist to worker has been present throughout the story: in the ranch, Antão comments that "*para os fazendeiros vale mais uma toceira de capim do que o trabalhador*", and in the city, the favela community faces expulsion because the government "*diz que essas terra e de uma empresa*". The answer is in the solidarity and unionization of workers in the city, as worded by Mario "*a união e necessidade do pobre*", which is the only way to overcome capitalist power. However, the story is not Antão`s alone. It was reportedly created of the collection of true stories from various worker and *favela* dwellers, Brazilians who had travelled to the city from rural areas. In other words, the graphic novel itself literally represents solidarity, and the result is being used to spread the same message.

While all publications discussed ultimately communicate an idea of structural violence, the difference in strategy is of great importance. With the difference expressions of violence and the ways it is communicated, the reader is subject to various effects. The CUT document, professional and thorough, is of great value to the historian. The smaller publications from local unions, however, each work differently to stimulate their unionized workers. The STIMME publication uses a pedagogical approach to provoke political thought and questions, producing a more organic and self-guided type of learning in the reader. When looking at STIQ, on the other hand, we notice traces of violence in the text itself, which communicate knowledge on unionization in a very straight forward but closed manner that will not have the

same effect on the reader. The last example, CET`s graphic novel, uses very interesting techniques to create an experience for the reader, rather than to give them specific information. The careful *mise-en-scene* has an effect similar to that of film, and a scene by scene inspection will reveal the positioning of very interesting symbols and messages. Overall, we have three very different sides to the same story, and further analysis has much to offer on the understanding of union ideology and history at the time.

3.2. Direct Violence in official publications

A similar reading can be applied to documents of a more official and international nature, in contrast to the local commitment of the documents discussed so far. For this I will be looking at the work of the Russell Tribunal in 1974 in comparison to the recently published report of the National Truth Commission of Brazil. Both documents, by focusing on a limited time period and series of events, do not look so much to structural causes and effects of violence, but isolated cases of direct, subjective violence.

The Russell Tribunal was constituted in 1966, and focused on Brazil and Latin America during a series of meetings between 1973 and 1976 in Rome. It involved the support (material or moral) of individuals such as Dominique Chenu, Noam Chomsky and, before his death, the interest of Pablo Neruda. Senate House holds both a report and the "provisional verdict" of the first meeting on 6 November 1973. The publication itself uses testimonial evidence of abuses to human rights which acts of both complementary and comparative value to the more well known 1972 Amnesty International`s Report on Allegations of Torture in Brazil. Both documents are evidence of international forces playing a role in the dealings on torture before Brazil did so officially itself. In this case I refer to the National Truth Commission, which, two years after being set up, produced its final report in December of 2014.

The Truth Commission, set up in 2012, spent over two years studying and writing on the 'truths' that had been left uncovered between the 1946 and 1988, with an emphasis of the military regime begun in 1964. The document is the first of its kind for Brazil, in that it was a government project (Schneider, 2013), which allowed seven appointed members across various political parties to access government files and conduct necessary interviews which eventually led to the report published in December 2014. There are a number of things which stand out about Brazil`s final Truth Commission report (which we will refer to as NTC) on the topic of violence. It of course aims to deal with the topic in the context of the dictatorship through the discussion of the torture, murder, kidnappings and disappearances of 434 victims. However, as we will explore, there are interesting treatments of violence which become apparent when the document is compared with others.

The first can be seen through its definition and legitimation of torture, which the report contextualizes a specific cause and effect in mind. It begins by discussing the history of torture in a very wide context, stating that this method of extracting information came from France and was long ago used by both the French in Algiers and the USA in Vietnam. It claims: "*Seu uso no Brasil sofreu influência da posterior modulação dos Estados Unidos, que a utilizou na Guerra do Vietnã*" (NTC, vol. 2: 329). Although we will look at the question of responsibility later on, this as an introduction is important to understand that the document is only looking at, defining and even legitimizing, the use of torture as a means of information extraction. The report demonstrates how, when torture was used in Brazil, it was the only and necessary measure in the view of the military: "*não se trata, aqui, do combate a um exército inimigo passível de ser identificado no campo de batalha, mas de um inimigo que se confunde com a própria população*" (NTC, vol. 2: 330). In a study on the language of former torturers, scholar Martha Huggins (2000) notes that in many cases individuals displayed a shift in rhetoric regarding torture. Torture, which had previously been associated primarily with national security, was now being discussed in terms of professionalism, a shift which Huggins believes has more salience for democracy. When thought of in these terms, the document is returning to the more dated outlook.

Secondly, the reader will experience a sense that

the document intends to avoid responsibility. While it admits some form of institutional violence, it does so by comparing the Brazilian government to others: "*Como é usual [emphasis added] em governos que institucionalizam a tortura, sua existência sempre foi oficialmente negada*" (NTC, vol. 2: 343). In order to carry out this negation of violence on the part of the government, the document goes on to underline all the legal mechanisms that were in place (such as arrest procedures, habeas corpus etc.) in order to shift responsibility onto those individuals who ignored them rather than to see this manifestation of violence as having a more structural or institutional foundation, shared and in the hands of many. It also blames other authorities such as the School of the Americas or torture training given by the UK (NTC, vol. 2: 333) for the levels of torture used during the dictatorship.

Lastly, the manner in which instances of violence are communicated should be considered. The document is mostly very cold and clinical in its approach, despite the emotional nature of the topic. The list (also available alphabetically) of those killed or disappeared, for example, follows a simple uniform format of: name, biography, circumstances and location of death, and primary sources used for the investigation. In other words, these victims appear as scientific subjects. The language of the document which we will discuss in more depth later, is generally unemotional, technical and relatively complex, and comprises over 3.400 pages, begging the question of who might its intended audience be.

As mentioned above, documents such as the one we will now discuss, the report on the Bertrand Russell Tribunal II on Latin America (referred to as RT from now on), can be seen to play a large role in the internationalization of the question of human rights. However, the document also challenges Brazil`s own attitude in the three areas discussed above: in the legitimacy, the responsibility, and the topic of torture. But why should this much older, foreign document hold any value against Brazil`s own official one? To answer this, we might allow the tribunal report to speak for itself:

> "A society as little organized as that of the international society is governed by an authority that is diffuse, embodied not only by the moral authority of state, or by governments responsible to the peoples but residing in those peoples themselves. The only rational and real foundation of international law is the desire for peace of men and women who share the conviction to their mutual solidarity" (RT: 2)

As we know, the report of the Truth Commission in Brazil`s essay on torture at some stage explains the act by legitimizing it in military terms, i.e, as an essential means to extracting information or punishing (NTC, vol. 2: 329) for what was perceived as necessary to the population. However, the Russell Tribunal adds emphases to this analysis that underline their perception that this is not a simple act, but a crime against humanity. To them, torture "has become an additional and gratuitous means of punishment (...) it is used to neutralize the democratic and revolutionary forces (...) artificially inducing them to commit treasonable acts" (emphases added; RT: 10). One way this becomes apparent is through the perversion of the act, which, according to the report, is "used with increasing sophistication, by specialists whose imagination surpasses that of Dante" (RT: 5).

Another way torture can be seen as more than a means to extract information, lies in the fact that it affects far beyond the person being tortured. To the Russell Tribunal, torture is aimed at the population as a whole with the intention of creating a submissive and de-politicized society. It discusses the public crucifixion of peasants in a stadium that was carried out to be made an example of, or the mass killings of 'delinquents` and "emarginated people" left with warning signs on their publicly placed bodies (RT: 6). This shows how the violence of torture entered society not only in the abstract sense, through rhetoric and threats for example, but that it physically invaded the public space to be seen and experienced directly by society.

In a way that contrasts the report of the National Truth Commission most strikingly, is that it does not distance itself from the act of torture by using technical language, but chooses to remain emotional in the face of the stories it discusses. With a tone of disgust and sadness it presents the story of a one year old baby that was heartlessly electrocuted and immediately killed in a torture

session dedicated to one of the baby`s parents, as well as two other similar cases involving young children (RT: 5). While this particular baby`s case is not to be found in the Truth Commission report, the discussion of a similar case can be studied in comparison. Eliane Martins was a three month old baby killed during the "Massacre of Ipatinga" which occurred just before the military coup in 1964. The Truth Commission reports her death as follows: "*Eliane Martins morreu aos três meses de idade em ação perpetrada por agentes do Estado (...) Em via pública, em frente à Usinas Siderúrgicas de Minas Gerais*" (NTC, vol. 3: 63 - 65). While the report goes to great lengths explaining the events of massacre itself, not much more detailed information about Eliane herself is given. We know that she was shot, but no attempt is made to recreate any kind of image with the information available: that a police official used a weapon to kill a baby who was being held by her mother at the time. While the two cases might not be about the same child, they represent two ways of looking at and dealing with the death of a child by an official.

What stands out the most about this document however, is how it maintains humanity by ending on a note of hope:

> "the crimes of today herald the defeat of the executioners and the victory of the victims. Everything is still possible. The story of tomorrow is yet to be written. The future belongs to those who refuse to resign themselves."

This hopefulness in fact inspired a response from the *Comitê de Solidaridade aos Revolucionários do Brasil* (from now on: CSRB), a document which credits the Russell Tribunal Report directly (CSRB: 8). After taking up some pages to explain the structures and functions of institutions such as The Department of Information Operations/Center for Internal Defense Operations (DOI-CODI, which began in 1964 in order to suppress any dissent of the regime), The Department of Political and Social Order (DOPS, which dates back to 1924) and even the TFP (A Brazilian group in defence of tradition, family and property), they go on to take on one of the Russell Tribunal report`s own suggestions: the publishing of torturers` names. This task is not taken on lightly: it displays detailed biographies of the people they consider should be held responsible for violations of human rights, forming a list which goes on for an impressive 24 pages.

They also follow the emotional tactics of the Russell Tribunal report by using language which underlines the perverse and gratuitous nature of torture that goes beyond the simple extraction of information: "[*torturadores] sintam prazer com o gosto de sangue que jorra das chagas que se abrem nos corpos nus dos seres humanos que são por eles cotidianamente martirizados*" (CSRB: 8).

This kind of dialogue between the international and what is re-transmitted locally within Brazil is an impressive example of how the international human rights movements added to and influenced local awareness and knowledge of the dictatorship, and more specifically, violence. As a document which is not constrained by the same reputations and responsibilities as a government one is, it can explore sides of a topic such as violence in ways that the Truth Commission report could not.

Through the exploration of the theme of violence within documents produced both in and around the dictatorship, this article has shown how violence can appear in various forms and to various effects. While this study itself only proposes the beginnings of analyses into the documents in question, the hope is that it provides a starting point that challenges the ideas that limit the potential of the collections at Senate House. Ultimately, this writer hopes that others will be inspired to use these boxes in order, for lack of a better phrase, to think outside them.

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