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# THE RESOUNDING OF THE DRUMS OF THE MILITARY-CIVIL DICTATORSHIP IN BRAZIL: THE TORTURES, THE PERSECUTIONS AGAINST DOM HÉLDER CÂMARA AND THE MURDER OF FATHER HENRIQUE

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## ABSTRACT

Nothing seems more absurd than the resounding resounding of cries of pain in the face of the military arsenal that is often used as a silencer of the facts and contrary arguments that are raised in the sense of awareness and social mobilization for the well-being of all indiscriminately on the banks of the Ipiranga River, the Capibaribe River, the Beberibe River or even the Jordan River. Remembering and repudiating the tortures, the murder of Father Henrique and the attacks and persecutions against Dom Hélder Câmara in Recife is necessary for understanding popular religiosity in Brazil and the tortuous paths that the Catholic Church took during the military dictatorship in the country. Under the hallucinatory rhythm of the military's drumming, human bodies became drums emitting out-of-tune sounds. The impunity of crimes and the symbolic representations associated with them demand reflection and denunciation. Silence also becomes a crime due to the inertia of complicity. History and Justice are responsible for ascertaining the facts.

**Keywords:** Tortures, Dom Hélder, Father Henrique.

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## INTRODUCTION

When it comes to the struggle for the banner of human rights, voices echoed in silence during the long years of political repression between 1964 and 1985. From the crowd of faithful Catholics in Recife, two clerics stood up: Dom Hélder Câmara and Father Henrique, waving as a sign of peace and harmony among the men of ill will who claimed to represent law and order in the country. Law imposed by force of arms and order maintained at the cost of spilled blood. Blood that Christ had taught not to shed; concrete lessons of solidarity and love fought and banished by the human misery that is configured over the centuries in different social spaces and political times, but marked by the same adverse reaction of those who did not sow and did not reap the seeds left by Christ.

Nothing seems more absurd than the resounding resounding cries of pain in the face of the war arsenal that is often used as a silencer of the facts and counter-arguments that arise in the sense of awareness and social mobilization for the well-being of all, indistinctly, on the banks of the Ipiranga, the Capibaribe, the Beberibe or even the Jordan River. Remembering and repudiating the practices of torture, the murder of Father Henrique and the attacks and persecutions against Dom Hélder Câmara is necessary for the understanding of popular religiosity in Brazil and the tortuous paths that the Catholic Church took during the military-civil dictatorship in the country.

## THE STORY

It was the year 1964 in Brazil. The crisis of the populist model had become clearly evident during the João Goulart government; the President, politically isolated by the right, outraged by the advance of social participation in the country, whose representatives feared for private property, especially threatened by the advance of mobilizations and social struggles throughout Brazil that were already reaching the countryside, finally declared his support for popular demands and ratified the articulation of the opponents of the government that promoted the coup of 1964.

The political climate had made the government unsustainable, which, even though supported by the left, no longer had the strength to resist the coup articulated quietly, behind the scenes, involving many of the main actors in this play that the majority of the Brazilian population did not get to see; It was staged only for those chosen by the right, worthy of trust to sustain the farce of democracy after the military-civilian coup of 1964. The marginal line had been established in the configuration favorable to the basic reforms that President João Goulart had assumed at the beginning of the presidential phase of his term and had emphatically made public at the Central do Brasil rally on March 13 of that year.

The intended reforms affected the city and the countryside. Agrarian reform moved rural workers, especially in the Northeast, heir greatly to the inheritance of the monoculture latifundium and the land expropriation underlying the remaining agro-export economic model. The peasant leagues demanded efficient and immediate government action to guarantee access to land, which raised the old controversy about rights and usufructs in the country. This theme, addressed in the progressive wings of the Catholic Church, often articulated clergy and the low-income population in a web of ideals and social struggles of the most diverse political currents. Although the Church, as an institution, at its highest levels, supported the deposition of João Goulart, certain groups within it projected the expansion of popular participation and defended political openness, engaging in one way or another in the resistance to the military regime.

Bishops, such as Dom Hélder Câmara, were already standing out in the struggle for human rights and social justice, commitments assumed by the Second Vatican Council. under suspicion was Dom Hélder and his assistants such as Fr. Antonio Henrique Pereira da Silva Neto throughout the military-civilian dictatorship in Brazil.

## DOM HÉLDER CÂMARA

Ceará was the birthplace of Hélder Pessoa Câmara on February 7, 1909 in the city of Fortaleza. His life, from an early age, was permeated by the social misfortunes that affected even his family: of his twelve siblings, five died of diphtheria in twenty-nine days (CIRANO, 2004, p.6). Son of bookkeeper and journalist João Eduardo Torres Câmara Filho and teacher Adelaide Rodrigues Fonseca, these tragic events, since his childhood, may have contributed greatly to bring him closer to the social problems experienced by the low-income population of the Northeast. Hunger, drought, diseases and lack of medical care were just some of the indicators of the lack of effective action by the governments that succeeded each other in the country without establishing a public commitment to social welfare.

When he was ordained a priest, his religious and political trajectories were just beginning. Throughout his life, he went through Integralism and held several political positions such as the position equivalent, today, to that of Secretary of Education in Ceará in the government of Francisco Menezes Pimentel in 1934. Years later, he considered his passage through Integralism as a sin of youth, to which he refers by saying:

> I was ordained at the age of 22, in 1931. Shortly thereafter, Plínio Salgado began to write for a newspaper in São Paulo, called Ação. In Ceará, we read those articles with a certain avidity. I owe a lot to my seminary. I owe a lot, but for that very reason I feel free to say that, from a social point of view, I left poorly equipped. The social aspect was not the strong point of my masters. So much so that our vision was that

> the world would be increasingly divided between right and left, between capitalism and communism. So, when the Brazilian Integralist Action emerged, which was, in fact, Brazilian fascism, I was so convinced that the world would really go for this clash, for this division, that I consulted my bishop, when I was invited to join the movement. The Archbishop of Fortaleza thought it would be interesting and opportune for you to enter, because, he said, at least you will be with the young people, with the workers, and if it takes too wrong a turn, you will leave, with the people. (Interview with Jornal do Brasil, RJ, 24/04/1977 apud Cirano, 2004, p.8).

In 1936, he took up the position of technical assistant at the Department of Education of the Federal District, then located in Rio de Janeiro, when he abandoned Integralism. He was auxiliary bishop in Rio de Janeiro, where he dedicated himself to the protection of the less favored, which would mark his pastoral work throughout Brazil.

In addition to being the creator of the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB), he was its secretary general from 1952 to 1964, secretary of social action (1964/1968) and president of the migration commission. In 1955, CELAM – General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate was created, participating in it as delegate of Brazil and vice-president in 1958/60 and 1964.

Due to disagreements with the archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, Dom Jaime de Barros Câmara, he ended up taking over the archdiocese of Olinda and Recife in 1964, a few days before the coup, which he would lead until he retired in 1985. His work has been recognized worldwide in favor of human rights and social justice, and he has been nominated to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. He personified one of the most active leaders of the progressive wing of the Church: he was barbarously persecuted and repressed, suffered bomb attacks and his assistant, Father Antônio Henrique Pereira da Silva Neto, was cruelly murdered under torture during the military-civil dictatorship in Brazil.

## FATHER ANTÔNIO HENRIQUE PEREIRA DA SILVA NETO AND THE TORTURES OF THE DICTATORSHIP

The sound of the screams for the opening was silenced. Under the hallucinatory rhythm of the military's drumming, human bodies became drums emitting out-of-tune sounds. If only the public could at least hear them... The deafening sounds of the disciplinary cries of the military mob overlapped with the protests, the cries of family members and the cries of poignant pain of those torn apart by the weapons of the dictatorship. The electricity of the shocks generated unbearable psychological traumas for the survivors and led the drums to fall profoundly silent in the rhythm of the funeral march, accompanied by military marches and the marches of the reaction of those who protested and filled the streets, before Institutional Act number 5 took away the little freedom that still remained.

There was a priest in Recife. His name was inscribed in the book of the dead, not that book of the dead of the ancient Egyptians, but that of those killed by the military regime in Brazil: Antônio Henrique Pereira da Silva Neto. It was added only to the anonymous dead and to those who enjoyed, in the afterlife, some identity. The latter were collected as human remains or recognized as accidents along the tortuous course of the river of violence that spread like a plague through the country. Like many, he had walked the path of no return of those tortured and cruelly murdered by the military in the exercise of the excesses of the abuse of arbitration, an arbitrariness that not everyone could have. Both should obey ritualistically in a perpetual position of reverence for the owners of power; others received the reverences of those who voluntarily bowed or forced the curvature of so many others who insisted on not bowing, like that toy – the stubborn doll that, no matter how much it is pushed to the ground, always rises back to the starting position. I remember this toy in the distant days of my childhood... But childhood has passed and the innocence of the early years has been stolen. Life is not a toy! It is the most important thing you can have to at least be able to fight to achieve the happiness that only exists where there is love and freedom.

> I threw the stick at the cat to
> But the cat to I'm not dead reu reu
> Dona Chica ca ca was admired if it was
> From the scream, from the scream that the cat gave...
> (Cantiga de roda, unknown author, undated).

Parallel to the innocence of children who played in their childhood in the 1960s and 1970s, the maturity of young people and adults sometimes transformed innocent games, such as the game of marbles, into weapons of defense against the military and cavalry in the marches of protests and demonstrations in favor of democracy, when demonstrators against the 1964 coup threw marbles to the ground to knock down horses and marbles. knights and free themselves from persecution, beatings, arrests and torture in the police stations and in the underworld of the basements of the DOI-CODI. The marbles were seized as evidence and weapons used in the alleged crime of attack on the current social order "In general, each family locks itself in its apartment and makes no point of getting to know the neighbors and maintaining a relationship with them... Children and young people are the ones who often meet, get to know each other, play together..." (Câmara, apud CENDHEC, newspaper Cidade sem Violência, July 2009, p. 1)

> Sock, Marbles
> There's a boy
> There's a kid
> Always living in my heart

Every time the adult swings
He comes to give me his hand

There's a past in my present
A very hot sun in my backyard
Every time the witch haunts me
The boy gives me his hand

And tell me about beautiful things
That I believe
That will not cease to exist
Friendship, word, respect
Character, kindness, joy and love
'Cause I can't
I must not
I don't want to
Living like all these people
Insists on living
And I can't take it quietly
Any bullshit is normal

Sock ball, marble
The solidary does not want loneliness
Every time sadness catches up with me
The boy gives me his hand

There's a boy
There's a kid
Always living in my heart
Every time the adult falters
He comes to give me his hand
(Nascimento; Brant, 1995)

But the years passed... And childhood brought the maturity of the historian who insists on not silently bowing to the excesses that crossed my childhood and adolescence from the age of three to twenty-four. And I see myself today as a blind witness to the events that I only became aware of years later. Today, as a professor of History at the Federal Rural University of Pernambuco, I analyze with astonishment the symbols of the dictatorship: a body torn apart under torture found in a thicket of the University City. One priest, one life. Father Henrique, advisor to Dom Hélder Câmara, has died...

In the early hours of May 26, 1969, Father Antonio Henrique Pereira da Silva Neto was kidnapped and killed under violent torture. There is evidence of the participation of the CCC (Communist Hunting Command), but those responsible remain unpunished. Rogério Matos do Nascimento, an economics student at the time, was arrested as the only suspect on June 20, 1969 and later released in 1973. He pleaded not guilty and later began to accuse agent Henrique Pereira, a civil police officer of the Public Security Secretariat, known as X-9 and recognized for being one of the torturers of the military regime, and

Raimundo Ferreira, who later became renowned as Major Ferreira.2 The crime was associated with drug users to detach it from the category of political crime. He was 28 years old and worked as a leader of the Youth Ministry and worked at the Dom Vital Juniorate, which was machine-gunned as a form of threat and intimidation.

> His body was found, the next day, in a thicket in the University City of Recife, hanging upside down, from a tree, with evident marks of torture: beatings, cigarette burns, deep cuts all over his body, castration and two deep wounds produced by firearms. (Araújo et al, 1995, p.56).

The body - proof of the incontestable crime. This body, they did not want to hide. It was to be seen. The planned traumatic shock to students and clergy would also signal red for the general population. Red of the sign that stops traffic and orders the end of the movement; red of the blood that had flowed freely, without scruples or limits. There were no limits for some. There should be for others. The body, which would also symbolize the body of resistance to the excesses of the dictatorship. The body of the individual historical subject that represented the body of the collective historical subject that should also be stopped at the red light of the green field... A field where very close to it stood a university campus frequented by restless, inconvenient, reluctant students and the greens after the 1964 coup. Between the reds and the greens there could be the yellows... Yellow for the worms of the hinterland or the agreste in the peasant leagues or in the urban leagues in which the unhealthiness of the precarious housing generated yellowing; all the alloys under the yellow sun of energy or lack of it. This could come from the shocks of the pepper or even the yellow of the flag, remembered in those glorious moments of hoisting, which should represent greens, yellows, blues, reds, in short, the entire constellation of colors and stars of Brazil. Or it could even represent those who "yellowed" under the weight of repression and remained silent out of fear when the drums were silenced.

> March, soldier.
> Paper head.
> Whoever does not march properly,
> Go to jail for the barracks.
> (Cantiga de roda, unknown author, undated).

The march continued at the pace. The "paper heads" continued marching as the military band continued to tune the out-of-tune. Those who did not march the right march could certainly go to the barracks...

[2] See master's dissertation presented in the Graduate Program in History of UFPE de CUNHA, Diego Antonio Carneiro da. State of exception, Catholic Church and repression: the murder of Father Henrique Pereira da Silva Neto. Dissertation of History UFPE, 2007 Available at: https://attena.ufpe.br/bitstream/123456789/7465/1/arquivo3388_1.pdf, p. 144.

The barracks caught fire,
The police gave the signal,
Acode, acode, acode
The national flag.
(Cantiga de roda, unknown author, undated).

Those who tried to raise the flag sometimes also fired fire at the barracks or even at the greens, without also paying attention to the signs of peace and care for the danger that the smoke inspired... Attacks, bank robberies, kidnappings were used by the extreme left as guerrilla strategies to confront the dictatorship. Several left-wing organizations joined the armed struggle. There was no way to remember, in the midst of the shouts and guns firing, the nods of peace and love of Christ, Dom Hélder Câmara or even Fr. Henrique or even the Indians, our ancestors, who used smoke as a means of communication. Violence was understood, dialogue was not. They were different languages in a great Tower of Babel. And the historian, like Torres Bandeira, tried to understand the multiple languages spoken, written or even silenced in these Towers of Babel. But, like the twin towers of the World Trade Center, it plummeted into the void of the explosions and still tries to raise the flag of peace and love among men and women of ill will.

Walking
Walking and singing and following the song
We are all equal, arm in arm or not.
In schools, on the streets, in fields, in buildings,
Walking and singing and following the song.
(Vandré, 1968).

The year 1968 exploded, which, according to Zuenir Ventura (1988), did not end. Several strings were pulled in the streets expressing the multiple wills towards the end of the dictatorship. However, the cordon of isolation and hanging, represented by Institutional Act Number 5, silenced the population and separated the coup plotters from democracy, creating a stronger link with violence and with the line of torture that separated the living from the dead. Some who survived physical torture did not survive for long the psychological torture that reproduces itself mentally, even when the mechanisms and instruments that originated it cease, as happened with tortured people who, even though they were later exiled, ended up seeking relief in suicide. The final silence. They would no longer hear the resounding of the screams, the insults, they would not remember the endless pain and suffering they had to endure under the drumming of the military-civilian dictatorship in Brazil. This is what happened to Friar Tito.

It is important to remember that the sequelae left are not restricted only to the political dead and disappeared; they are countless, and they are also found in the category of the soul-mutilated, those in whom the action of the "sovereign power"

> has left deep scars. Especially of a psychological nature, more difficult to cure. They belong to the domain of unforgettable and dark marks, insofar as they accompany their victims inexorably, as if permanently reminding them that sovereign power acts, penetrates, disciplines, molds and imprisons body and soul, producing effects, affecting not only political prisoners, but also their families. (Silva, 2014, p. 291)

The tortures against clerics, who were accused of covering for Marighela, are remembered with regret. The disrespect for the cassock and its meaning for Catholics far lost to the disrespect for human beings materialized there in friars dedicated to the defense of human rights. According to Percival de Souza, the friars Tito de Alencar Lima, João Antônio Caldas Valença and Giorgio Calegari were subjected, after their arrest, to intense interrogation and torture sessions. Mocking Catholic rituals, police chief Raul Pudim Ferreira, better known as Pudim, opened the interrogation dressed in a Dominican cassock, saying:

> -Dear brothers, now you are going to confess with me...
> The verb to confess, pronounced with unsubtle irony, had a second meaning. Not to confess to obtain forgiveness for the sins committed, but to confess everything to the inquisitor of the Dops. [...]
> -Dear brothers, remembering the baptism of the Lord in the waters of the Jordan, let us renew the promises of our baptism, by which we have already renounced Satan and his works, and promised to serve God and the Catholic Church. (Souza, 2000, p.213)

After sprinkling water as in a profane purification ritual and having fun with his preparatory staging, he called the policemen who were going to proceed to the next stage, "leaving the psychological phase for what the policemen sadistically called pauligraph (a way of extracting confessions through torture, on the stick), he handed over to their care those "black sheep", diverted from the flock". (Souza, 2000, p. 215).

Arrested in 1968, accused of renting the Ibiúna site to the Congress of the National Union of Students (UNE), Friar Tito was arrested again in 1969 with other friars accused of maintaining links with the National Liberation Alliance (ALN) and Carlos Marighela.

> Friar Tito was tortured for 40 days by the team of delegate Sérgio Fleury. He was later transferred to the Tiradentes prison, where he remained until December 17. On that day he was taken to the headquarters of Operation Bandeirantes (DOI-CODI/SP), when Captain Maurício Lopes Lima told him: "now you are going to know the branch of hell". And that's what happened. Tortured for two days, hanging from the pau-de-arara, receiving electric shocks to the head, genitals, feet, hands, ears, with punches, clubs, "telephones", paddles, "Polish corridor", "dragon chair", burns with cigarettes, all accompanied by threats and insults. At one point, Captain Albernaz ordered him to open his mouth to receive the sacred host, introducing an electric wire that burned his mouth to the point of preventing him from speaking. (Araújo et al., 1995, p. 250).

Baptism of blood was the usual procedure. Information should be extracted even from those who did not have it to give. If the information sought had not been extracted, the

teeth, nails, hair, and certainly human dignity could have already been pulled out in the inhumane interrogations for which US agents were teachers in the technique of extortion of information. Brazil learned the lesson so well that it began to export the torture merchandise in the form of training to Central America.

> Father Francisco joined the circle
> Playing his guitar.
> Your delegate comes from there
> That father Francisco got out of prison.
>
> As it has been shaking,
> It looks like a gangly doll.
> As it has been shaking,
> It looks like a gangly doll.
> (Cantiga de roda, unknown author, undated).

How many "fathers Francisco" entered and managed to get out of prisons during the military-civilian dictatorship in Brazil? How many have not taken with them the tears of the body broken by the blows, the mistreatment, the sequelae as a legacy of a historical period marked by violence and abuse? How many delegates have not abused the power conferred on them by their office and the law to disrespect human rights like Fleury and Pudim?

> (...) That there were countless times when he was thrown into a cubicle that they called a "refrigerator" that had the following characteristics: its door was of the refrigerator type, measuring about 2 meters by one and a half meters; its walls were all painted black, with a barred opening connected to a cold air system; that, on the ceiling of this room, there was a very strong lamp; that, when the door was closed, they turned on producers of noises whose sound varied from the noise of an airplane turbine to a shrill factory siren; (...) (Gildásio Westin Cosenza, 28 years old, radiotechnician, Rio; qualification report and interrogation, 1975: BNM 684, V. 39a, p.24 to 33 apud Archdiocese of São Paulo, 1985, p.38).

The use and abuse of sounds and music rocked from childhood dreams to nightmares of torture in the "refrigerator" or in Nazi concentration camps, when Jews and other victims of social exclusion were forced to play classical music while family, friends and other convicts were tortured in the gas chambers, to hide the extermination activities promoted in the final solution applied by Hitler's followers. While the international commissions were deceived by the false culture worshipped there in the extermination camps, the gas chambers functioned freely, without any interdiction. And there are still those who insist on trying to hide the massacre of thousands of people who are victims of totalitarian regimes as happened in Brazil!

> The pawn entered the circle, the pawn
> The pawn entered the circle, the pawn
> Pawn wheel, bamboo pawn.
> Pawn wheel, bamboo pawn.
> (Cantiga de roda, unknown author, undated).

Circle games, so innocent for children, were also codified as torture techniques. Why Father Francisco's connection with the guitar, the roda, the police chief and the prison? Surveillance of popular culture has always been referenced in Brazil in different spaces and times; The guitar and play were synonymous with idleness, and idleness was associated with the danger of parties, drinks, and the disorder of the civilizing model of a society disciplined by work within the interests of the elites and established power relations. These samba circles or simple singing could go on all night and disturb the silence and public order of the workers or even generate explosions of contained joy during the moments of work, when idleness and leisure approached to generate a festive atmosphere within lives often lived in a bitter way, far from these fleeting moments that police repression insisted on mutilating.

> Viana's agents were ruthless and truculent. The most famous of them was Major Miguel Nunes Vidigal. Second commander of the new Royal Guard, Vidigal became the terror of Rio's trickery. He would lurk on street corners or suddenly appear in capoeira circles or in the drums in which slaves fraternized drinking cachaça until late at night. Regardless of any legal procedure, he ordered his soldiers to arrest and beat up any delinquent or just an ordinary citizen who was having fun. (Gomes, 2008, p. 234)

Scenes like this, which could be witnessed in the streets of Rio de Janeiro in the nineteenth century, point to the historical roots of authoritarian procedures in Brazil regarding leisure and samba or capoeira circles.

> These methods that allow for the meticulous control of the operations of the body, that carry out the constant subjection of its forces and impose on them a relationship of docility and utility, are what we can call the "disciplines". Many disciplinary processes had existed for a long time: in convents, in armies, in workshops as well. But the disciplines became, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, general formulas of domination. (Foucault, 1987, p. 118.)

It is thus evident that such initiatives did not constitute innovations to maintain the "social order" and guarantee the interests of the elites who felt threatened. It is interesting to articulate with the limits imposed on citizenship transposed to the twentieth century, when torture on the citizen became a strategy of investigation and social control under the batuque of the military. Although, in general, the suppression of public spectacles of torture is perceived, as Foucault points out, the punitive ceremonial became an administrative act, and could be performed in a private place (1987. p. 12). However, these practices of subordination and control over the body and mind of the citizen were not always hidden from the general population, as exemplified by the case of Father Henrique in Recife. They exposed the mutilated body in order to establish a sign to stop the resistance movement of

so many men and women who, like him and Dom Hélder Câmara, reacted to the arbitrary decisions of the military regime, although the ritual of torture was carried out quietly, in the dead of night, so that there would be no witnesses to denounce the explicit violence underlying the established model of social control.

> Song of the Three Races
>
> And it echoes night and day:
> You're the winner.
> Oh, what agony,
> The worker's song.
>
> That corner that should
> Be a song of joy
> It just sounds like sobbing in pain.
> (Pinheiro; Duarte, 1976).

Marcília Gama da Silva points out the relevance of the Department of Political and Social Order of Pernambuco in the repression and social control through torture in Pernambuco:

> The labyrinths of fear and terror, censorship and repression, personified in the actions of persecution, home invasion, imputation of slander, threats, intimidation, denunciation, blackmail, arrests, kidnappings, punishments and all sorts of violations/immolations developed in the torture rooms and outside them are part of the sad period experienced by Brazilian society. [...] The Department of Political and Social Order of Pernambuco was a fundamental part of the information and security network during the military regime, being considered by political prisoners as the workshop of terror. (Silva, 2914, p. 290)

The torturers of the military-civilian dictatorship in Brazil were extremely creative in associating the circle game with torture. Entering the circle could mean anything from beating to gang rape and injuries from sharp piercing instruments when the suspect was turned and pushed from one investigator to another, usually stripped naked to ensure his or her humiliation and stripping of self-love. In many songs, from the period of the military-civil dictatorship, the codification of the "rose" or "rosebush", which can represent rape, and the red of the blood, the roses, are used. "Defloration" itself is a terminology that has long been used to designate rape.

> To find the appropriate punishment for a crime is to find the disadvantage whose idea is such as to render the idea of a crime definitively unattractive. It is an art of energies that fight each other, art of images that are associated, the fabrication of stable connections that defy time. It is important to constitute pairs of representation of opposite values, to establish quantitative differences between the forces in question, to establish a set of signals-obstacles that can subject the movement of forces to a power relationship. (FOUCAULT, 1987, p. 87).

First, it should be noted that the representations about the conceptualization of what is a crime and the relative sanctions imposed have historically existed within temporal and spatial frameworks. Defending human rights became a crime during the military-civilian dictatorship in Brazil. Dom Hélder himself suffered assassination attempts and death threats; not being able to reach him without tarnishing the image of the complex machinery of power, since he was an internationally recognized citizen, the main target became his assistant, Fr. Henry. Thus, they hit both at the same time.

These power relations required consensus on the part of managers and a good portion of the population. According to Bourdieu (2000, p.7-8), "symbolic power is, in fact, this invisible power which can only be exercised with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they exercise it". As necessary representations, in order to guarantee social welfare and democracy, violent interventions appeared on a daily basis, although there was no access to the body of the crime, to the evidence or simple slanders presented behind the scenes to guarantee the execution of the penalty sanctioned for the resistance groups to the military regime in Brazil. What passed to the media was filtered by censorship and those who denounced the practices of torture, or had some family, professional or even affective connection with the accused, were in the focus of suspicion as potential criminals.

In the case of Fr. Henrique, his family suffered arrests and persecutions, demonstrating the danger represented by having any trace of critical sense, of autonomy to think or act within a regime sustained by force and consolidated by the representations of consensus to the procedures applied, accepted by social segments that supported the military-civilian coup in 1964. The social body also needed to be disciplined to be docile and useful to the excesses of the military in Brazil, and for this violence was used against the body of the individual historical subject. Thus, control over the effectiveness of the social troops, of the collective subject represented there, would be established.

> Torture puts pressure on confession and triumphs in all its functionality when it subdues the victim. This is the virtuous hyperbole of the torturer. It resembles the surgical act, extracting from the victim something malignant that he would not expel without aggression. (Gaspari, 2002, p. 38)

However, the former minister of the military government, retired Colonel Jarbas Passarinho, in an interview given to Jornal do Commercio and published on March 31, 2004, when asked if there were excesses in the methods used by the military to ensure order, states:

> In the middle of the Medici government, I answered a question on TV if there was torture in Brazil. He said yes, but that it was not a matter of government policy, but of personal deformations. (Passarinho, 2004, p. 6)

Also in the same interview, asked about his opinion at the meeting of December 13, 1968 called by President Costa e Silva, he declared:

> At the meeting of the Security Council – which included the ministers – President Costa e Silva, after listening to Vice President Pedro Aleixo, who was in favor of the decree of a state of siege, asked for our votes. I praised the vice-president's pronouncement, but voted for AI-5, saying: "Your Excellency, Mr. President, like me, is repugnant to take the path of dictatorship, but if I have no alternative, to my scruples of conscience." Before the meeting, the Minister of Justice said that the state of siege did not solve what the military ministers were asking for, because it maintained the habeas corpus. (Passarinho, 2004, p. 6)

This authoritarian posture comes back to haunt Brazil in the Bolsonaro government in the 21st century, exposing the fragility of the rule of law that we managed to build after the military-civilian dictatorship in Brazil that exposed our wounds between 1964 and 1985. Far-right movements such as the movement of the 300 threaten to reap human rights and the harmony and independence of the three powers that, according to the illuminist Montesquieu, should sustain the State. There is a hypertrophy of the Federal Executive that seeks to override and threatens to close the Legislative and Judiciary powers, especially, configuring frequent attacks on the Federal Supreme Court. The president of the republic himself and some of his representatives in the ministerial sphere are unaware of the democratic parameters already established by the 1988 Constitution that the president publicly committed to defend at his inauguration. Political disagreements between the federal, state and municipal spheres appear as symptoms of a serious illness that hit the Brazilian state in times of the pandemic of the new coronavirus, also called Covid-19, because it was diagnosed at the end of 2019.

Reflecting on the societies of the Ancien Régime, when expressions of absolutism linked to the monarchical form of government are found, Chartier (2002, p. 75) clarifies:

> The relationship of representation is thus blurred by the fragility of the imagination, which makes one take the deception for the truth, which considers the visible signs as sure indications of a reality that does not exist. Thus diverted, representation becomes a machine for manufacturing respect and submission, an instrument that produces an internalized imposition, necessary where the possible recourse to brute force is lacking.

Foucault (2006, p.14) analyzing the order of discourse states that:

> Certainly, if we place ourselves at the level of a proposition, within a discourse, the separation between the true and the false is neither arbitrary, nor modifiable, nor institutional, nor violent. But if we situate ourselves on another scale, if we raise the question of what has been, what is constantly, through our discourses, this will to

> truth which has traversed so many centuries of our history, or what is, in its very general form, the kind of separation which governs our will to know, then it is perhaps something like a system of exclusion (historical system, institutionally embarrassing) that we see taking shape.

Daring to make a bridge between absolutist regimes in monarchical states and dictatorial regimes in republican states, the appropriation of these representations, manipulated by the mechanisms of power in force, allows us to verify the timelessness of authoritarian procedures of governments that are established in the name of the majority, but neglect their own real bases of social support, attending to principles of force and representations imposed to guarantee the acquired power.

Media propaganda has become a fourth branch that is often used to spread so-called "fake news", fake news that emerges in judicial proceedings as tools for cybercrime. Forming public opinion seems quick and easy through the internet and the media channels it provides. Breaking spaces and times through remote activities seems to fulfill us from the point of view of sociability and communication mediated by the web. Technology deconstructs borders and creates social networks that can provide relevant services. However, misinforming the population with slander, unreasonable aggression and fallacious news result in crimes that must be punished by the rigors of the law. The awareness of being Brazilian demands respect for differences and responsible attitudes that guarantee democracy and solidarity with a view to social well-being.

Burke (1992, p. 24), embarking on the arduous mission of explaining the weaving of the new writing of History, observed that:

> Seen from within, everyday life seems eternal. The challenge for the social historian is to show how it is in fact part of history, to relate daily life to major events, such as the Reformation or the French Revolution, or to long-term trends, such as Westernization or the rise of capitalism.

Analyzing the historiographical production on the 1964 Coup, Carlos Fico points out crucial problems that were reflected in the articulation and implementation of the dictatorship in Brazil:

> The structural transformations of Brazilian capitalism, the institutional fragility of the country, the uncertainties that marked the government of João Goulart, the political propaganda of Ipes, the coup nature of the conspirators, especially the military – all are causes, macrostructural or micrological, that must be taken into account, and there is no theoretical fragility in considering as reasons for the coup both the structural conditioning factors and the conjunctural processes or the episodes Immediate. May such a conjunction of adverse factors - we all hope - never be repeated. (Fico, 2004, p.56)

This system of exclusion, configured in Brazil in the constraining form of a military-civilian dictatorship between 1964 and 1985, broke the limits of citizenship and human

rights by creating its own norms of conduct, imposed as legitimate, and made the drums of denunciation resound when the secret archives began to be opened and the path of redemocratization was sought again. This is a process that is still under construction in the power relations that emerge in the daily life of the twenty-first century. The impunity of crimes and the symbolic representations associated with them demand reflection and denunciation. Silence also becomes a crime due to the inertia of complicity. History and Justice are responsible for ascertaining the facts.

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