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'No memory, no desire': Psychoanalysis in Brazil during Repressive Times

Introduction

In his description of the emergence of psychoanalytic technique, Freud (1914, p. 147) devotes space to the importance of 'discovering from the patient's free associations what he fails to remember,' and to this day the work of rescuing the past and shaping it with meaning in order to construct a personal history remains a central task of the psychoanalyst. Psychosocial studies adds to this the claim that internal and external worlds intercept one another; and the mental processes that an individual experiences through the lens of the 'internal world', such as repression, denial, remembering and working-through, also operate to some extent in the external world, that is, in groups, institutions, and society (Frosh, 2010).

This raises questions about how we should approach the history of psychoanalysis. For instance, can we grasp it in the same way as we might grasp the history of related disciplines such as psychiatry or psychology? Or, is it necessary to appeal to psychoanalytic conceptions in a reflexive way? How may psychoanalysis, in dialogue with other disciplines, help to deepen the understanding of its own history? Furthermore, is the history of psychoanalysis equal to the history of the psychoanalytic *movement*?

To take the history of psychoanalysis seriously one should consider not only its sequence of external obstacles and contingencies, but also the idea of something intrinsic to the theoretical and practical developments of the discipline (Mezan, 1998). Laplanche (2014) famously described this process within psychoanalysis as one of 'going-astray': just as the patient may back away from the difficult truths revealed during analysis, so might psychoanalysis itself wander from the path of discovery when something disturbing is encountered. For Laplanche, this explains Freud's unwillingness to stick with the trauma theory that he uncovered under the heading of 'seduction'; but perhaps the same process occurs at times when psychoanalysis fails to confront its own history. There is some evidence, for example, that this has been the case in relation to psychoanalysis' encounter with Nazism (Frosh, 2012).

There is another point that intersects with this one, to do with the slow emergence of understanding about psychoanalysis that properly locates its international dimension. There is limited work available in English on the history and identity of the psychoanalytic movement beyond Europe and America, and this is especially striking in the case of Latin America, which has a reasonable claim to be currently one of the most vibrant psychoanalytic cultures in the world. Until recently, the growth and importance of Latin American psychoanalysis was neglected by English-language historians of the discipline. For example, Zaretsky (2004) offers only a few passing comments, despite his book being subtitled 'a social and cultural history of psychoanalysis'. Derrida (1998) famously commented scathingly on the International Psychoanalytic Association's (IPA) division between its societies in Europe, America and the 'Rest of the World'. According to Plotkin (2012), studies of the transmission, diffusion and

production of psychoanalysis in the so-called 'peripheral' areas in which Latin America fits, date back no more than thirty years. In regard to this 'peripheral' group, Plotkin (2012) stresses the fact that Argentina has currently six IPA-affiliate societies; in Brazil there are eleven, whereas in France the number drops to two. This would not only point to the questionability of terms like 'periphery', but also to the wealth of information one might be missing both about the history of the psychoanalytic movement as a whole and the specificity of a psychoanalytical culture that has been developed in turbulent dialogue with its social and historical contexts.

There have been some recent advances in publications on Latin American psychoanalysis. Recognising the importance of creating conditions for the publication of Latin American material in English that would enable the psychoanalysts of the region to participate in a broader psychoanalytic debate, the IPA has since 1996 invited distinguished Latin American psychoanalysts to edit collections of essays on different aspects of Latin American work (e.g. Lewkowicz and Flechner, 2005). Some historical accounts are now available; for example, a special issue of the journal *Psychoanalysis and History* (2012) included an important paper written by Russo (2012a) about Brazil that recounts in detail the early history of psychoanalysis there, attending to the social and political context of the time. Other psychoanalysts have traced some of the institutional histories and begun to formulate what is specific about the way psychoanalytic ideas and practices have developed in the region (e.g. Azevedo, Vannucchi and Sandler, 2005; Beceiro, 2005; Plotkin, 2001).

In the Brazilian case, the national literature on the history of psychoanalysis in the country is quite rich (e.g. Mokrejs, 1993; Facchinetti, 2001; Nosek, 1994; Oliveira, 2002; Perestrello, 1987; Coimbra, 1995; Birman, 1988). Nonetheless, there is still only a limited amount of Brazilian psychoanalysis available in English. In particular, there is a paucity of psychosocial reflection that might show how politics, culture and society contributed to the history of ideas in Brazilian psychoanalysis; and also the converse, how psychoanalysis impacted on Brazilian culture and society – a fascinating field of studies that has been better explored in the case of Argentina and recently Chile (Plotkin, 2001; Veto, 2013).

Nevertheless, Brazil is an important case study for the history of psychoanalysis. Not only is this history long and rich in its professional and cultural dimensions, but there was an especially important 'event' that took place during the period of the military dictatorship (1964-1985) which can be seen as dramatising some of the issues concerning the erasure of memory in psychoanalysis, especially in connection with political difficulties. This event, known as the 'Cabernite-Lobo Affair', has been hovering around in the awareness of international psychoanalysis for about thirty-five years, yet it is still not well known outside of the Latin American context, be it because of linguistic difficulties, as most of the debate on it is in Portuguese, or due to a kind of oblivion that falls from time to time over psychoanalytic institutions and that psychoanalysis itself might well explain. Our suggestion is that this event may say something important about how psychoanalysis engages with political extremism, and particularly about the consequences of an unthinking generalisation of the idea of 'neutrality' from the consulting room to the institutional setting. It is with this in mind that we reprise the

Cabernite-Lobo Affair, focusing on the institutional paths of psychoanalytic societies in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo during the episode and asking in particular about the nature of the psychoanalysis that was being produced there under restrictive political conditions.

To this end, we offer initially a contextualisation of how psychoanalysis first developed in Brazil in the early period of the movement – from the 1920s to the 1950s. After that, we focus more closely on the period after the 1960s and the institution of the civil-military¹ dictatorship, when the psychoanalytic movement not only escaped the government’s censorship but also in some ways seems to have consolidated itself. This part highlights in particular the Cabernite-Lobo affair and its institutional aftermaths. We have drawn where we can on English publications, but have focused mainly on work available in Portuguese,² and particularly on an extensive survey of the publications of the *Revista Brasileira de Psicanálise*³ from 1967 to 1985.

Generally, the history of psychoanalysis in Brazil up until the end of the dictatorship can be divided into three ‘moments’, marked by ruptures and modifications in the social function attributed to it (Russo, 2012a). Firstly, from the beginning of the 1900s until the 1930s was the moment of reception, diffusion and first attempts to apply psychoanalytic knowledge in different settings. These settings were, especially, psychiatry, where psychoanalysis was introduced as a new form of therapy; education, as an important tool to theorize a possible improvement of the ‘Brazilian character’; and cultural movements in search both of modernisation and construction of a national identity. The second moment, from the end of the 1930s until the mid-1960s, comprised the formation of the first generation of psychoanalysts and the institutionalisation of psychoanalysis following the canons of the IPA (Oliveira, 2002). The last stage documented here covers the period during which the worst years of dictatorship took place; in regard to this, we aim to examine what the Cabernite-Lobo episode tells us about Brazilian psychoanalysis in that period, and formulate some hypotheses about how the movement thrived during the military regime in its so called ‘years of lead’.

1. The reception and development of psychoanalytic knowledge in Brazil

The first occasion on which psychoanalytic theory is recorded as appearing in a Latin American country was in 1898, when Juliano Moreira lectured classes in the Faculty of Medicine of Bahia, mentioning Freud’s theories even before *The Interpretation of Dreams* was published (Lima, 1993). By 1914, he had presented psychoanalytic ideas in a meeting of the Brazilian Society of Neurology, and started to establish a psychoanalytically-oriented practice inside the National Hospice (Perestrello, 1993). The majority of the pioneers and precursors of psychoanalysis in Brazil attempted to apply psychoanalytic principles within psychiatric hospitals, as part of a

¹ This terminology has recently come into use in order to acknowledge the participation of elements of civil society in the unfolding of the dictatorship.

² Where Brazilian publications are quoted in English, the translation was carried out by the first author.

³ *Revista Brasileira de Psicanálise* (RBP) was the first and main psychoanalytic journal and channel of official communication of the main IPA-affiliated societies during the period analysed.

project to modernise psychiatric procedures (Costa, 1989). This in turn was a small part of a major social movement of identity and nation building. As the country was shifting from a slavery-based economy to a republican order, the massive contingent of ex-slaves, homeless, sick and malnourished people was seen as a barrier to modernisation (Facchinetti and Ponte, 2003). One way in which psychoanalysis started to gain traction in the country was by integrating psychoanalytic theories of sexuality into public policies aimed at the normalisation and hygienisation of the Brazilian population.

The Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene⁴ founded in 1923, had initially been aligned with the tendency to biologise madness, race and cultural aspects of society. However, by 1926 the psychiatrists in the League started to elaborate projects that went beyond the initial eugenic framework (Costa, 1989). In this context, following the teachings of Juliano Moreira, the psychiatrist Julio Porto-Carrero collaborated in the creation of the psychoanalytic clinic of the League. Russo (2012a) explains that Porto-Carrero's application of psychoanalytic theory to educational projects was based on two main aims arising from the psychoanalytic theory of sexuality: first, to bring sex to light and remove the taboo that surrounds it, working towards a non-repressive morality; and, secondly, controlling and sublimating the sexual instincts towards more 'civilised' ends. Russo proposes that, although psychoanalytic practice first developed within the domain of hygiene projects, physicians like Porto-Carrero saw in its non-moralistic attitude a way to humanise the psychiatric movement. Another possibility is that this was a way of ensuring that psychoanalytic discourse did not have any destabilising effect on psychiatric knowledge in the country, in the sense of ameliorating its theoretical rationality or its established practices, as well as restricting its impact to providing one more therapeutic modality within the psychiatric model (Oliveira, 2002).

Psychoanalysis in Brazil, like everywhere else, was affected by its political context but also actively marked the social and cultural life of the country. For example, psychoanalysis had a notable presence in the art world and in debates surrounding the Week of Modern Art, held in São Paulo in 1922. Not only did writers and painters like Mario de Andrade and Ismael Nery 'explicitly' enter into dialogue with psychoanalysis in their works, but the main document of modernism in the period, the *Manifesto Antropofagico*, written by Oswald de Andrade (1928), mentions Freud at least three times, in the context of defending an original Brazilian identity free from repression and social restrictions. Moreover, the social and cultural elites of the period also absorbed psychoanalysis in their search for modernity along European models.

In São Paulo, Durval Marcondes, who would become the most eminent figure in the beginning of psychoanalysis in the city, got together the first group of physicians, educators and intellectuals engaged in psychoanalytic debate, and helped found the first Brazilian Psychoanalytic Society, in 1927. He was very much involved in disseminating psychoanalytic

⁴ The Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene, founded by Gustavo Riedel, and the Brazilian Association of Education were groups engaged in a project of sanitisation and hygienisation of the Brazilian population, based on eugenic theory. In this period the country's racial mixture was seen as a problem and cause of Brazilian 'backwardness' that had to be overcome (Russo, 2012a).

knowledge inside the university and the scientific environment, and one important result of that effort was the creation of the journal *Revista Brasileira de Psicanálise (RBP)* under his direction, still today the official channel of the Brazilian psychoanalytic societies (Galvão, 1967).

In the political arena, the country had shifted from a democratic model to an authoritarian regime. Getúlio Vargas led a coup d'état in 1930, establishing a long period of authoritarian rule, which reached its peak with the creation of the 'New State' in 1937, lasting until 1945. Inspired by Mussolini's fascist model, Vargas promoted economic development and a powerful bureaucratic state apparatus and focused on policies of social welfare. His second period in power, from 1951 to 1954, was marked mainly by populism (Oliveira, 2012). Vargas symbolically adopted a 'paternal' stance as the protector of the vulnerable and argued that the nation's progress depended on governmental responsibility in regard to children. With this in mind, he appealed to the intellectual elite of the time to develop education policies, and the psychoanalysts, in their turn, saw the opportunity 'to occupy public space and to pursue this agenda for their own ends' (Oliveira, 2012, p.115). The end of the 1930s accordingly saw the insertion of child psychoanalysis within a government project to produce 'healthy, educated and patriotic youth', based on the model of the American Mental Hygiene Movement and the idea of childhood as the keystone to adult character. It 'justified the state's investment in childhood services from the point of view of the prevention of mental illness and the perceived ability to modify human personality' (Oliveira, 2012, p.116). In this way, through governmental programmes that enabled children to access special services and education with a psychoanalytic orientation, psychoanalysis collaborated with national policies of social control.

2. Brazilian modernization and the institutionalisation of psychoanalysis: Rio and São Paulo⁵

Towards the end of the 1930s, a major concern of the Brazilian Societies, reflected in publications of the *RBP*, was to institutionalise psychoanalysis and to regulate it as a profession along lines approved by the IPA. Perhaps, as Facchinetti and Ponti (2003) suggest, this concern emerged from the deep structural changes in politics and the industrial development that Vargas' tenure established in the country, in particular its emphasis on expertise and technique.

⁵ Our focus in this paper is on the development of psychoanalysis in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the two main centres in Brazil. Nevertheless, it is important to note that psychoanalysis was not restricted to these two cities. For example, in Porto Alegre in the south of Brazil, psychoanalysis had been taught within institutes of medicine since the 1930s. In 1940 and 1950, many clinicians from there travelled to London and Buenos Aires to do their training analysis and returned to Porto Alegre in order to found a society. In 1963 the Psychoanalytical Society of Porto Alegre was granted IPA certification. Our research in official journals showed a significant presence of publications from members of this society, mainly as theoretical works. David Zimmermann was one of the eminent figures of this society and president of the Psychoanalytic Confederation of Latin America (COPAL) in the 1970s. However, the history of its institutionalisation seems to have occurred along different lines to that of Rio and São Paulo, be it because it did not have any immigrant psychoanalysts or because the scandal of the Cabernite-Lobo affair was geographically distant; however, political repression during the dictatorship was no less strong there.

According to Galvão (1967), Marcondes thought that the only way to guarantee the proper institutionalization of psychoanalysis was to get analysts in Brazil trained by international training analysts of the IPA. After extended correspondence with Ernest Jones and other members of the IPA, Adelheid Koch, a Jewish doctor from Berlin trained in the Deutsche Psychoanalytische Gesellschaft (DPG) by Otto Fenichel, agreed to migrate to Brazil. In fact, sending Koch to Brazil was Jones' way of helping her escape Nazi persecution; she had not even finished her training in Berlin when she arrived in São Paulo in 1936. By 1937, she had started the training analyses of Durval Marcondes, Virginia Bicudo and Darcy Uchôa, among others who became the main precursors of the institutional movement in São Paulo. Luz (1976, p.508) states, 'the reasons that motivated her immigration were Hitler's persecution of the Jews in Germany and personal communication with Ernest Jones.' As documented elsewhere (e.g. Frosh, 2005), this is a slightly misleading statement: under Jones' influence, the Jewish analysts in Germany were left with little choice but to resign from the DPG and therefore to leave the country, so the way in which Koch was 'motivated' to move to São Paulo might benefit from further analysis.

By the mid-1940s, within the context of the 'New State' regime in Brazil and the end of the war in Europe, the psychoanalytic group of São Paulo (SBPSP) was granted partial IPA affiliation (Oliveira, 2002). At this point Marcondes, who offered great support to Koch, was still fighting not only to establish psychoanalysis according to the IPA regulations, but more than that, to convince doctors and the medical class of the value of this new profession, represented at that moment by a woman who was Jewish and German (Facchinetti & Ponte, 2003).⁶

In Rio de Janeiro, interest in the official formation of psychoanalysis in an institutional setting increased just before the end of the Second World War. Like Marcondes, physicians there thought that the only way to achieve this was either to go abroad for training or to attract IPA-trained analysts to come to the country. Suitable candidates were sought amongst psychoanalysts from Argentina, Europe and North America. There was little interest in Rio in the school of psychoanalysis to which prospective candidates were affiliated, or their origins and ideological approaches, even in a period of intense global conflict; the focus at the time was on the title provided by the IPA (Vianna, 1994).

In 1947, the Institute of Brazilian Psychoanalysis (founded by psychiatrists in Rio de Janeiro, with the coordination of Arruda Câmara) started to correspond directly with Ernest Jones. His responses initially claimed complications in finding an analyst who might take a training role in Rio due to the cultural and geographic distance of Brazil from post-war Europe as well as the lack of knowledge of the language. However, in the same year, he wrote about the possibility of one analyst who 'emerged as a pioneer' (Prado, 1978, p.141) and wished to go to Brazil. This

⁶ An interesting consideration is raised by Oliveira (2002, p.120), that in the same year as Adelheid Koch left Berlin with her family to immigrate to Brazil, the Brazilian government was handing over to the Nazis the communist activist Olga Benário.

was Mark Burke, a Polish Jew and member of the British Psychoanalytic Society, who in 1948 arrived in Rio. After a while, however, Burke started to struggle to meet the demand for training analysis, and in 1949, again on the recommendation of Ernest Jones, a second psychoanalyst arrived to work together with Burke, in order to contribute to the project of founding the first Psychoanalytic Society of Rio de Janeiro (Ibid). However, this second analyst's history and cultural background was rather contrary to that of Burke: Werner Kemper was the director of the polyclinic in the so-called Göring Institute during the Second World War and a collaborator with the Nazi regime. Not surprisingly, a few years after the arrival of Kemper, he and Burke faced serious divergences.

The profile of the psychoanalysts who immigrated to Brazil helped shape the history of Brazilian psychoanalysis, especially in the Rio-São Paulo axis. In this regard, Ernest Jones' attitude in sending to Brazil two psychoanalysts of such different backgrounds seems curious to say the least: first Burke, coming from victorious post-war England and, on the other hand, Werner Kemper, who actively worked in the national psychotherapy clinic under the guidelines of the Nazi regime. Frosh (2005) suggests that Jones showed some flexibility and imagination when placing European analysts around the world, and that he seemed to have carried out a very careful plan of action in considering the attributes of each of them and the context of what was available in terms of each society's orientation and stability. Jones had a crucial role in saving the lives of many Jewish psychoanalysts, and indeed may have enriched the psychoanalytic scene worldwide; but he also had to deal with the situation of German psychoanalysts after the war ended. In the case of Brazil, personal idiosyncrasies such as the political beliefs and ideology of those psychoanalysts who wished to immigrate do not seem to have been so thoroughly examined.

At the same time, these psychoanalysts were very much in demand in Brazil, which took advantage of this situation, their arrival being seen as an important step towards the institutionalisation of psychoanalysis. Burke, as previously mentioned, was Polish but trained in the British Psychoanalytical Society and lived in England for a large part of his life. For that reason, in Brazil he was taken to be an Englishman who brought an important British and Kleinian background to the development of psychoanalysis there.⁷ Although Kemper's arrival set in motion complex issues in the history of psychoanalysis, it is important to note that the Brazilians also did not question the activities or position that he had adopted during the Nazi regime in Germany. Moreover, it is difficult to see any discussion in the literature of the time of why Burke and Kemper split. The main reason given tends to be that Kemper appointed his wife, Katrin Kemper, as a training analyst, even though she did not hold a medical degree as

⁷ The influence of the IPA and Kleinian ideas dominated Brazilian psychoanalysis until the late 1970s. This can easily be demonstrated through analysis of the *RBP*, where the majority of the papers were either theoretical or clinical and usually anchored in Kleinian or object-relational concepts, such as transference and regression in the analytic process, depression and ego defences, acting-out, and so on. The main sources used to reference these ideas, apart from Freud's work, were the writings of Klein, Rosenfeld, Winnicott, Segal, Bion, Federn, Mahler, Hartmann, among others.

required by the society.⁸ Others only comment that it was due to a 'dissension' within the Brazilian Institute of Psychoanalysis, but give no further details (Prado, 1978).

Vianna (1994) offers a somewhat more elaborate justification, saying that at the same time as Kemper was arriving in the city, Burke contracted a very distressing psychological condition due to all the noise of Rio de Janeiro. Burke had lived in London in the period in which the Germans were bombing the city, so perhaps the 'noise' related to this trauma; although one might also speculate that it had to do with the arrival of Kemper and the unpleasant echoes he brought with him. Whether or not it was in response to this, Burke returned to England in 1953. At roughly the same time, a few Brazilians who had gone to Argentina and England to train as analysts returned to Brazil; thus, Burke's previous analysands and the returning Brazilians founded the 'Burke followers' group, splitting the psychoanalytic societies in Rio.

In 1957, during the 20th IPA Congress in Paris, the Study Group headed by Kemper was recognised as a society and named the *Psychoanalytical Society of Rio de Janeiro*, later to be called Rio 1. At the same congress, the Burke group obtained recognition as a Study Group and by 1959 became an official society under the name of the *Brazilian Society of Psychoanalysis of Rio de Janeiro*, or Rio 2.

This first moment of institutionalisation was marked by an intense debate on whether only physicians could practice psychoanalysis or not, and this discussion was perhaps fomented by the split between groups representing Kemper and Burke and the polemic surrounding Katrin Kemper and her qualifications. This insistence that only physicians should be trained as psychoanalysts continued to dominate scientific discussion during the 1960s and 1970s, as shown in the publications of the *RBP*. According to those defending the regularisation of psychoanalysis as a profession under medical rules, it would grant a protective shield of professionalism and integrity to the practice. However, as we shall see, it was precisely the affiliation of one psychoanalytic candidate with medicine – and his role as a doctor in a medical squad of the military – that was going to trigger the most severe crisis in the societies of Rio de Janeiro.

From the 1950s onwards, the country experienced a phase of intense modernisation, with rapid urban expansion and economic development. This growth gave rise to a new urban middle class, including the petite bourgeoisie and liberal professionals. The second tenure of Vargas ended tragically in 1954 when, with institutional crises and the threat of a military coup, he took his own life. The next president (1956-1961), Juscelino Kubitschek, assumed the

⁸ Katrin Kemper was trained in graphology in Berlin and had worked alongside Kemper in the Göring Institute. Before leaving for Brazil, a friend of the family wrote a fake certificate stating she was able to practice psychoanalysis; however in Berlin she had only attended short courses on psychoanalysis. In Brazil, she initially worked in an education centre for children and adolescents, together with other colleagues who were being analysed by Kemper. Years later, they were accused of not holding the proper qualification to practice. In 1951, the polemic involving her increased with her nomination as a training analyst by Kemper (Füchtner, 2007).

presidency under the slogan 'Fifty years in five'. His successor resigned in 1961, after only seven months of mandate, putting the country again into crisis (Russo, 2012b). In this context, João Goulart, a representative of Vargas who was politically aligned to the leftist movement, assumed the presidency. However, his tenure evoked fears on the right of a new populist regime, and from there on the military started to gather strength. It was within a context of industrialisation and integration with the global economy that the 1964 civil-military coup took place, putting in motion a range of authoritarian and repressive measures that would last until 1985. It is within this critical period of Brazilian society that the psychoanalytic movement would finally consolidate its institutional presence in Brazil.

3. The psychoanalytic 'boom' in the context of political repression

A series of constitutional acts restricting democracy followed the civil-military coup, and in 1968 the 5th Institutional Act, or so-called AI-5, was implemented. Prior to 1968, the military regime had mainly victimised its political opponents; however after AI-5, repression spread violently around the country, and any kind of opposition to the regime was suppressed and persecuted by the CCC (*Communist Hunt Squad*) (Russo, 2012b). The AI-5 also inaugurated the 'years of lead', the most repressive phase of the dictatorship, during which torture was widely used. It became in effect a government science, controlled by doctors, with its own schools and instructors, and its own technical apparatus (Vianna, 1994). According to a report launched by the National Truth Commission (CNV)⁹ in 2014, the number of dead or disappeared between 1968 and 1974 was 279, out of a total of 434 between 1946 and 1988. Many of them were young people, students of medicine or the social sciences, and professionals in journalism, engineering and law, as well as two psychologists and many physicians.

Towards the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, Brazil experienced a period of 'economic miracle'. Aided by its political associations with the USA and the procurement of foreign funding, the country reached its highest ever rates of economic growth. This 'developmentalism' was accompanied by strong authoritarian propaganda, symbolized by the national slogan 'Brazil, love it or leave it'. Vianna (1994, p.30) interprets this as: 'one should either accept the country with its current configuration or leave it to go to a different country, and any attempt to criticise institutional repression would be punished with prison, torture, disappearance, or even "suicide" or accidental death.' This conservative morality, however, could not contend with modernisation and consumerism, which were fundamental to economic development; these meant that telecommunications and the media continued to provide the population with access to events, fashions and attitudes that prevailed in Europe and America at that time (Russo, 2012b). Furthermore, the trend towards modernisation aimed at implanting the values of modern capitalism within society, and this resulted in an emphasis on the individual as an independent 'moral subject', as well as a questioning of the

⁹ This commission was instigated in 2011 to investigate the violations of human rights in Brazil from 1946 to 1988.

hierarchical model of the traditional family (Ibid, p.172). But individuals seeking self-knowledge found themselves hindered by the political repression operating in society; however, the 'protection' of the analytic setting seemed to offer a suitable alternative. It is in this sense that the spread of psychoanalytic culture among the middle class during the 1970s is linked to the process of authoritarian modernisation of the military regime.

Although Russo (2012b) advances the theory that psychoanalysis benefited from the nation's development project and that the impossibility of social or political engagement led people to start a journey of subjectivism within the 'safe walls' of the consulting room, she also points out that it would be reductive to consider this as the sole cause of the spread of psychoanalysis under conditions of political repression. Many other elements were involved and influenced the development of psychoanalysis in both São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

During the 1970s, the youth of the country were afflicted by anguish and fear, which in some cases would only find relief in armed conflict. Among the middle class, the 'Generation AI-5', as they would later be called, found an alternative way to stem their anxieties through drug use, and there was also an interest in the 'romantic' notions of madness that were partially linked with the anti-psychiatry movement. It was precisely this moment that saw a significant spread of psychoanalysis among the urban middle classes in Brazil, with a growing demand for individual, group and family psychotherapy. According to Filho (1982), not only did the number of people accessing psychoanalytic treatment expand during this period, but there was also an increase in the 'social prestige' or status conferred on those practicing or attending psychoanalytic treatment. Although it is true that the psychoanalytic movement before 1964 was already institutionalised and well established in the main capitals of Brazil, one might still wonder how it managed not only to stabilise itself under the threat of a repressive and violent political regime, but also to spread and thrive under these circumstances.

In considering this question, it is clear that there are many relevant factors, ranging from the accidents of particular key figures and their situations, through to complex links between political, social and religious aspects of Brazilian society. Here, we focus on one particular element: a specific type of doctrine represented by the ideology of neutrality, show-cased by the Cabernite-Lobo affair.

3.1 An ideology of neutrality

The idea of the analyst's 'neutrality' has often featured as an issue both in clinical work and in discussions of how psychoanalysis might engage with or withdraw from politics – beginning with the controversy over, and expulsion of, Wilhelm Reich from the psychoanalytic movement (Frosh, 2005). This was also evident in debates within the Brazilian psychoanalytic movement when faced with the strictures of living in politically agitated times. In its second edition of 1968, for example, the *RBP* carried a translation of the opening speech to the 25th International Congress made by Van Der Leeuw, the IPA President at the time, talking about

the dynamics of psychoanalytic societies. According to him, problems existed in almost every society all over the world, so that 'local colour' such as race, language, social and cultural factors are only a cover for more general (even universal) dynamic problems, which are attributed to the role of hostility and destructive forces inside the group, interfering in training and other activities. Difficulties in candidates becoming independent of their analysts, or the omnipotent feelings of the analyst as a defence against the anxiety of annihilation, were also discussed. Although these are important psychoanalytic perspectives, the tendency to ignore the social, economic and cultural factors that might influence the life of a psychoanalytic society is clearly displayed. Furthermore, in all the papers about training analysis or how the institution should be regulated, there was no discussion of situations where a candidate should be expelled or have his or her training stopped, a point that became salient in the Carbenite-Lobo case.

This speech of Van Der Leeuw displays a tendency of the IPA to recommend that psychoanalysts maintain a neutral position towards intrusions of the social and political world. This attitude was 'imported' into the psychoanalytic culture of Brazil in the 1970s and 1980s. Interestingly, from 1972 onwards, a strong concern about the interference of social reality in analytic work is noticeable in publications in the *RBP*; this is precisely the period of the 'years of lead', and also when the Cabernite-Lobo affair gained the attention of the national and international psychoanalytic class.

Following this logic, the 2nd Brazilian Congress in 1972 had as its theme the social and historical influences on the analytic attitude. The concern here was predominantly to find ways to resist the incursions of the external world on what should be an internally focused psychoanalytic practice. Adelheid Koch – who had immigrated to Brazil due to Nazi persecution – said that the psychoanalyst should hold social reality at a distance, and via a mechanism of splitting should not introduce any personal ideology into the analysis (Koch and Capisano, 1972). But a question arises as to how far this should go. For instance, Facchinetti and Ponti (2003) note the complete silence of Koch in regard to Kemper's involvement with Nazi ideology, which might be a reflection of her strong adherence to the principle of neutrality, or might have a simpler explanation in relation to institutional politics and personal or social discomfort.

One of the few dissenting positions came from the Brazilian Psychoanalytic Society of São Paulo (SBPSP) in a report to the Pre-Congress of 1972, claiming that

As in any other society, we take the risk of creating a hierarchy, a caste structure, where the Society ends up being managed in an environment separated from social reality, leading it to remain apart from new cultural tendencies and from self-questioning and finally, paradoxically, ignoring deep social and cultural changes.
(Ferrari, 1972, p.7)

More generally, however, the main discourse on the relation of psychoanalytic institutions to political society can be exemplified by the opening speech of the 10th Latin American Congress,

when Zimmermann (1973) argued that the most serious and harmful conflict a psychoanalytic society can face is exposure to political ideologies. According to him, these ideologies awaken persecutory anxieties and their intrusion can risk the neutral position and objectivity needed for research and treatment. Furthermore, he claimed that the biggest merit of Freud and many other psychoanalysts was to reveal the importance of the internal world in the determination of mental health or illness; therefore this incursion of political thinking represents an attack on psychoanalysis precisely where it is most vital. This is an example of how some aspects of Freudian theory were used to underpin the institutional ideology of neutrality advocated by the IPA, even when the country was experiencing the worst period of repression and violence and social reality was in different ways invading the consulting room. The setting should be maintained and every fact brought up by the patient regarding the external world should be interpreted through the lens of his or her internal fantasies.

Zimmerman summarised this position, and also the connection made between Freudian doctrine and IPA ideologies, when, in another paper on the criteria for selection of new candidates, he wrote:

It happens generally with those with insufficient analysis or qualification, these analysts attempt to democratise psychoanalysis and to make the selection criteria more flexible, they are against the Freudian orthodoxy and always have a new theory, they try to avoid the *elitism* of it. They will cause the destruction of all traditions and the integrity of psychoanalysis, established by Freud and conquered with the constant efforts of the IPA. (Zimmermann, 1982, pp. 58-59)

Katz (1985), analysing IPA official discourse from 1930 to 1946, makes a bold comparison between the ideology of the psychoanalytic institution and Nazism. He claims that the IPA's intention was never to concretely interpret any political event unless it passed through a phenomenon he calls *conversion*: political and social facts could only be part of psychoanalytic discussion when converted into psychoanalytic theory, in that way avoiding any institutional implications. In this sense, the IPA's traditional way to deal with history and politics was, first, to avoid talking about them, and if splits or dissensions could not be silenced anymore, getting into the details as little as possible. The idea of politics conducted under the notion of 'apoliticism' was replicated by the psychoanalytic doctrine in Brazil and, consequently, was used as an excuse to ignore political events which were taking place inside the institution, even inside the consulting room. In this sense, psychoanalysis efficiently and in a concrete way reduced social processes and conflicts to psychological processes and conflicts, isolating the subject from its social field (Filho, 1982).

In order to illustrate the reasons why psychoanalysts should not bring their ideologies into the clinic, Prado (1976) used the case of the Berlin Society during the Second World War, which according to him,

received a call to adapt and accommodate with Hitler's *Mein Kampf* if it wanted to

survive. It is clear that violence can block the internal capacity for thinking freely; however if the analyst, as happened in Berlin, introduces political and racial ideas to guide clinical research, it is obvious that that research loses its authenticity and becomes something functional (Prado, 1976, p.267).

Although Prado makes direct mention of a social and political situation – in this case the adaptation of psychoanalytic theory to the national-ideology of the Nazi regime – and he seems to be warning the Brazilians about the threat that psychoanalytic societies in the country could be under with the dictatorial regime, the conscious use of the ideology of neutrality adopted by psychoanalysis justified the failure to speak clearly about political facts that might affect and change the psychoanalytic movement itself. This was later taken up by analysts heavily influenced by their own reading of Bion's (1967) recommendation that the analyst's posture should be one of holding to 'no memory and no desire'.¹⁰ The attitude of Brazilian psychoanalysts at the time, who were encouraged not to pay attention to social reality, might have protected psychoanalysis from government repression. However, it also had consequences both for the functioning of the psychoanalytic societies and for the construction of a psychoanalytic institution with no memory, or without desire to remember its own history.

We should note here that there are many reasons for staying silent under conditions of political repression, some of them completely rational: it can be extremely dangerous to speak out, as many people amongst the middle class in Brazil discovered. Nevertheless, the ideology of apoliticism was a machinery through which the psychoanalytic institutions (Rio 1 and 2) justified an attitude of omission, conformity and scientific neutrality, and more seriously, its adherence to the current social and political order. This logic is detailed further in the next section, where we try to recount how the psychoanalytic societies of Rio 1 and São Paulo dealt with the emergence of an ethical dilemma in the Lobo case. This case is one of the traumas – or perhaps the central trauma – of Brazilian psychoanalysis; it both expresses a set of issues around the engagement or otherwise of psychoanalysts with political processes, and also continues as a kind of stain that is both widely known today, and yet also not fully spoken about.

3.2 The Cabernite-Lobo affair and its institutional response

In a paper published in 1985, Hamer and Filho, from the SBPSP, claimed that ideological

¹⁰ Interestingly, when Bion gave a seminar in Rio in 1974, Vianna (1994, p.47) asked him the following question: 'Were you to receive a patient in your consulting room who expresses the wish to become an analyst, but where his main difficulty is to face his perverse side and the atrocities he had committed against other people, would you accept a patient like that or not?' Although there is no record of Bion's answer, it is known that Vianna was denigrated within the psychoanalytical society for asking a 'non-scientific' question in a public debate.

formations within the institution were used to validate certain procedures (and not others) and to legitimise the power of established social relations. The argument was that inside the Society, the 'analytic setting' shaped the relationship between people in general. As a result, candidates were seldom invited to give an opinion and felt afraid to comment on the training system as it could damage their qualification. Furthermore, they tended to affiliate themselves to specific analysts and professors.

The histories of affiliation constitute a very fundamental characteristic in the institutionalisation of psychoanalysis in Brazil. They can be traced back to the 1930s with the collapse of German psychoanalysis and the IPA policy in dealing with the migration of Jewish psychoanalysts, when the first analysts arrived in Brazil to train the first generation. This attitude of the IPA, paradoxically, was enacted under the doctrine of neutrality; thus, if on the one hand the very act of sending one analyst to another country was fundamentally political, on the other, it was held that these historical and concrete facts should be put aside in order not to interfere with psychoanalytical work.

The IPA policy represented a controversial position in the psychoanalytic movement and may have contributed to the conditions under which at least some psychoanalysts collaborated with the Nazis (Frosh, 2005). In Brazil, a similar event occurred in which representatives of both Rio 1 and Rio 2 societies, under the guise of neutrality and 'safeguarding psychoanalysis', covered up participation in torture and repression. As documented by Vianna (1994) and many others (Pellegrino, 1982, Filho, 1982), the Cabernite-Lobo affair coincided with the 'years of lead' of the dictatorship, and revealed that the psychoanalytic societies, in some measure, were susceptible to processes that echoed the actions of the military regime itself. This episode was documented in detail by Vianna (1994) in her book *Don't Tell a Soul: the confrontation of psychoanalysis with torture and dictatorship*. The book title was inspired by a request of the IPA vice-president in 1993 that the author, who was in some ways a 'victim' of the affair, should not talk about this subject any more.¹¹ It was translated into French in 1996 and Spanish in 1998, yet it has not appeared in English. However, the book was reviewed in English in 1999 by Janine Puget in the *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* and also by Peter Hildebrand (1999) in the *Bulletin of the British Psychoanalytic Society*, leading to a lively discussion (Karas, 1999; also Wallerstein, 1999a).¹²

One might argue that the lack of information or commentary about the case at the time can be attributed to the repression that fell upon all sectors of society, generating an atmosphere of fear, including fear of speech. This does not, however, apply to the subsequent cover-up, which continued well after the end of the dictatorship. The case started in 1973, when a clandestine revue published a note naming some 'torturers of Guanabara' (as the state of Rio de Janeiro was then known) in which was included the name of Amilcar Lobo, a trainee analyst

¹¹ Interestingly, the *RBP* in this period did not once mention the Amilcar Lobo case or, more generally, the effects of the dictatorship on society or on the subjectivity of individuals.

¹² This journal is only accessible through the Librarian of the British Society.

in the Rio 1 institute. Lobo had been in analysis for years with Leão Cabernite, who was at the time President of Rio 1 and of the Brazilian Psychoanalytic Association, editor and director of the *RBP* and a spokesman on matters of psychoanalytic practice. In addition, Cabernite was part of the first generation of analysts trained by Werner Kemper.

This note was anonymously forwarded to *Questionamos*, a psychoanalytic Journal in Argentina edited by Marie Langer on behalf of an opposition group inside the Argentine Psychoanalytic Association. Information about it soon spread, firstly through letters sent by Langer to the presidents of the IPA and COPAL (the Psychoanalytic Confederation of Latin America) (Vianna, 1994). Serge Lebovici, IPA president at the time, immediately contacted Rio for information (Ibid, p. 37). David Zimmermann, then president of COPAL, wrote first to Lebovici asking him to be clearer about the problems referred to, in order to avoid getting the Brazilian psychoanalysts involved in rumors and slander; and second to Cabernite, seeking 'clarifications regarding the "problem with your candidate".' Subsequently, a letter sent to COPAL and signed by Cabernite, La Porta and Dahlheim (the three members of the Board of Directors of Rio 1) castigated the denouncement as 'entirely false and empty of any foundation', and asserted that 'Lobo was only a physician summoned by the military service to work in a civilian prisoners unit to undertake general medical tasks' (Ibid, p.40-1). The IPA president Lebovici accepted their denial of any wrongdoing by Lobo and no further investigation was taken. However, he advised Cabernite to immediately dismiss Lobo as a candidate (Wallerstein, 1999). It is interesting to note that according to the *RBP* newsletter of 1973 (Noticiário Especial, *RBP*, 1973, pp. 413-417), the Brazilian Psychoanalytical Association had a meeting with the board of directors of the IPA to discuss the financial year and also matters regarding the structure and regulation of the Brazilian Association, yet no mention of this special issue was made. Furthermore, in this same edition it was reported that Cabernite had become Training Coordinator of COPAL.

After Helena Besserman Vianna, a trainee with Rio 2, was revealed as the one responsible for the anonymous letter,¹³ Rio 1 wrote to Rio 2 requesting appropriate punishment for someone whose intention was to 'destroy and demoralise Brazilian psychoanalysis' (Vianna, 1994, p. 46). At some point some psychoanalytic societies seem to have behaved with a logic which replicated that of the larger societal context, and this action might be the first to exemplify this: punishing someone for reporting a crime or a violent situation. From this point on, Vianna's career was sabotaged and more repressive actions followed within the Institute. In 1975, the *RBP* bulletin presented the new direction of Rio 1 for the years of 1976-1977, again with Cabernite as president, as well as a review of his new book. During the following years there was complete silence from both Rio societies and the IPA concerning all these events.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the repression was starting to lift in Brazil and, during a public

¹³ To do this, Rio 1 commissioned an expert in graphology, who compared the note handwritten on the margin of the journal sent to *Questionamos* with the enrollment cards handwritten for the 3rd Brazilian Congress of Psychoanalysis.

seminar about Psychoanalysis and Nazism, a participant announced himself as a former political prisoner and claimed that he had seen Lobo among the torturers. Following that, Rio 1 decided to expel Lobo, who for years had been trying to get a new training analyst to accept him. However, they also expelled Helio Mascarenhas and Eduardo Pellegrino, two politically active members of Rio 1, for having talked about 'forbidden subjects' outside the institution. This triggered a larger institutional crisis between followers of Cabernite, who protested his innocence over the affair, and an opposition defending Pellegrino and Mascarenha (Vianna, 1994, p. 88).

Puget (1999), in her review of Vianna's book, states that the IPA took no action when it was most needed – when those involved in reporting violations against human rights were vulnerable to being persecuted – and that the first IPA president to have the situation revisited was the Argentinian psychoanalyst Horacio Etchegoyen. Wallerstein (1999b), however, claims that it was Adam Limentani, the IPA president from 1981-85, who acknowledged the crisis between the two groups in Rio 1, and decided to freeze the society and send a Site Visit Committee to take over the situation. The committee, chaired by Wallerstein and accompanied by Hanna Segal and Ramon Ganzarain, visited Rio in December 1982 and, in the space of three or four days, managed to meet every member of the society (more than 90 people). After the visit, a series of institutional requirements was stipulated, as a condition of the Rio 1 society recovering its independence. This included barring Cabernite from any administrative responsibility in Rio 1 (Wallerstein, 1999b, p. 970). They did not demand Cabernite's expulsion for his 'grossly unethical behaviour' (Wallerstein, 1999b, p. 970) because he was already facing charges before the medical authorities and they thought that such a judgement would be more appropriately carried out by a legal authority rather than by the psychoanalytic institution itself. In the event, momentum was created by a clandestine group created in 1976, 'Tortura Nunca mais' ('No more torture'), organized by the families and friends of people who suffered human rights violations during the dictatorship. This group managed to become official in 1987 and won a ruling process to suspend Lobo's medical licence. As an extension of this, in 1992, the Medical Association temporarily managed to suspend the licence of Leão Cabernite and also that of Ernesto La Porta, another analyst accused of covering up for Lobo (Pernambuco, 1995). Under the threat of being banned from practicing psychoanalysis, Cabernite claimed that medicine and psychoanalysis were different institutions, and his profession as a psychiatrist was not related to his work as a psychoanalyst. In fact, it was Cabernite himself who had written in 1972, just a year before the case became known, that the medical authorities should regulate psychoanalysis, in order to assure its future.

Wallerstein (1999b, p. 971) claims that after subsequent visits by the Committee from 1982 to 1985, little was heard about Rio 1 until the 1990s, so they 'were lulled – mistakenly – into feeling that the Cabernite affair had been effectively put to rest.' In 1993 the IPA Executive learned that Cabernite had not only remained a major influence in the society, but that he was also being honoured for his distinguished leadership. It is surprising to note how, after such a long time and so many discussions, Cabernite still occupied a significant role within the

psychoanalytic movement in Rio. Faced with this situation, Wallerstein, with the support of Segal, proposed Cabernite's expulsion to the IPA Council, and after heated discussion on whether the IPA had the right to require expulsion of someone who had not been found in violation of the constitution of that society – as if his wrongdoings did not concern psychoanalysis as a whole – the decision to expel Cabernite was taken. The refusal of Rio 1 to accept both the IPA's recommendation and the conclusions of their own Ethical Committee led to a major split within the institution, in which six members resigned and another thirty withdrew from the society, creating a group called *Pro Etica* (Hildebrand, 1999).

According to the Bulletin of the *Pro Etica Group*, the mantra of IPA apoliticism was still operating in 1998, when Otto Kernberg, paying a visit to Brazil, refused to talk to the dissident groups in Rio 1, stating that 'when psychoanalysis is made into a political movement, we are no longer on the grounds of psychoanalysis.' Further, he accused the group of conspiring to defame psychoanalysis and asserted that it was 'destructive, perverted and anti-ethical, they resented the fact they could not leave the past behind' (Hildebrand, 1999, pp.32-3).

Vianna's main criticism is that this episode reveals the attitude of the psychoanalytic societies – national and international – which, instead of speaking up against torture and violence, were complicit in covering it up. The original motive for this could have been a very rational fear for their own lives, as during the 1970s one could not speak freely. However, this silence was maintained beyond that period, and was officially cloaked by the ideology of 'psychoanalytic neutrality', or justified through the logic of 'safeguarding psychoanalysis'. For Hildebrand (1999), the attitude displayed by the IPA in face of the controversy showed its avoidance of any genuine response to the actions of those who had covered up for the torturers and the violence. On the other hand, it was argued that his claims were biased and 'seriously incomplete, leading therefore to unbalanced conclusions that can unwittingly injure individual reputations and, just as importantly, impugn the institutional integrity of the IPA' (Wallerstein, 1999a, p.35). Nevertheless, the IPA never really tackled the issue of how psychoanalysis had itself been connected with torture, totalitarianism and repression, how it avoided taking a stance against what is intolerable, how it renounced its ethical responsibility by adopting a so-called neutral posture – and how this remains difficult to talk about, to work through, or to understand.

4. Other routes and resistances of the Brazilian psychoanalytic movement

Although strong adherence to the IPA principles characterized the energy of the pioneers in Brazil, the history of splits and dissensions in the psychoanalytic movement in the country was also important. They started just after the first societies were founded and gained strength partly due to the authoritarianism or rigidity of the IPA in relation to selection and training of new analysts, but also because of an emergent appreciation of French psychoanalytic thought in the many Lacanian institutes that were founded from the 1980s (Vale, 2003). As Puget

(1999, p. 965) puts it, 'In Rio de Janeiro, some members were led to create a new institute so as to distance themselves from one in which grave ethical mistakes were not only committed but also tolerated.'

During the institutional crisis inside Rio 1 in the 1980s, there was an opposition movement named *Forum of Debates*, whose main objective was the reinstatement of a space of discussion about internal problems. The creation of this forum was connected to the slow democratisation of political life in Brazil (Pellegrino, 1982). The fight for equal votes for all members was the ultimate aspiration of the Forum, and this was in synchrony with the demands of the wider society in relation to the political regime. Pellegrino was an important leftist, who coordinated the creation of the *Social Clinic of Psychoanalysis*, offering free psychoanalytic-oriented assistance to the population. He was expelled from the Rio 1 society together with Mascarenhas for their opposition in regard to the apoliticism of the institution and the way it dealt with the Cabernite-Lobo affair (Vianna, 1994). In 1983 he published the famous psychoanalytic text *Pacto Edípico e Pacto Social*¹⁴ in an important Brazilian newspaper, though this paper had first been presented in a conference in Chile several years before.

The debate on the role of psychoanalysis with regard to politics took a major turn in France after Vianna's book was launched there. Discussions of her book culminated in the organization of the 'States General of Psychoanalysis', an event that took place twice, one in Paris (2000) and then in Brazil (2002), gathering important psychoanalysts and cultural scholars from a number of countries together for a discussion on the place of psychoanalysis in the contemporary world (Roudinesco, 2000).

Conclusion

We have attempted to reconstruct aspects of the history of psychoanalysis in Brazil according to the literature, some only available in Portuguese. This material describes the early period and the social functions psychoanalysis played within Brazilian society, but also how psychoanalytic institutions positioned themselves in relation to repression and violence, pointing to the indissolubility of psychoanalysis and politics, even when the official ideology supposes a 'neutral' psychoanalytic shield. Research into psychoanalytic publications of the time showed that, although it was clear that there were significant effects of the repressive regime on the life of the main psychoanalytical societies in Brazil, there was no direct reference to the social situation in these papers. This posture of not directly mentioning the events of social reality, following an ideology of neutrality and 'apoliticism', was also in agreement with the IPA's official communications.

We have highlighted an important chapter of affiliation in the history of psychoanalysis in

¹⁴ Pellegrino, H. Pacto Edípico e Pacto Social (The Oedipal Pact and the Social Pact), *Folhetim da Folha de São Paulo*, 11/09/1983.

Brazil and suggested how the immigration of psychoanalysts might have contributed to the episode of repetition in the Cabernite-Lobo affair. Puget (1999) recalls how the ideology of an institution's founders may determine its future; in this case, the Cabernite-Lobo affair set a model for how perversion can settle over an institution when messages that intentionally obscure the truth are transmitted, and also for how analysts may ignore reality under the guise of neutrality.

Finally, one can notice that, in the attempt to strengthen the scientific life of the psychoanalytic institution in accord with the modernization that Brazil was undergoing, which included the consolidation of psychoanalysis, the 'official' psychoanalytic movement displayed very little critical activity, especially in relation to the ethical dimensions of psychoanalytic practice. This was partly because of its strong idealisation of Freud and the IPA guidelines, but most importantly because of the efforts of the main actors to protect themselves from the external threats and fears of the time, that in some way were internalised and converted into the rationale of 'safeguarding psychoanalysis'. However, we should not forget that a resistance movement was alive, as we can see from Vianna and the efforts made by psychoanalysts like Mascarenhas and Pellegrino in their struggle for a more transparent and ethical psychoanalysis.

As mentioned in the opening of this paper, psychoanalysis is concerned with filling in gaps in memory and, in that way, overcoming resistances due to repression. Some of the history of psychoanalysis in Brazil has suffered repression and also denial. In this sense, we aim to draw attention to the importance of bringing to light the complexity of this history, which was for some time kept distant from memory, and without a desire to remember. This history depicts the fragility and vulnerability of the psychoanalytic institution in respect to its own destructive forces as well as to certain lines of power and ideology.

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