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## **Itineraries of the relationship between psychoanalysis and politics in Brazil: a historical overview from the early period to the military dictatorship**

### **Introduction**

It may seem an intellectual extravagance to try to historicize the relations between psychoanalysis and politics in Brazil, notwithstanding Freud saw psychoanalysis as a powerful instrument of reading social life and politics in their widest sense. *Totem and Taboo* (1913), *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930), *Mass Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921) or *The Future of an Illusion* (1927) are some of the indispensable and obligatory texts not only for psychoanalysts and scholars of Freudianism, but for all who are dedicated to understanding the psychic effects of social life and its destinies in the Western world.

Passing so hurriedly by such influential and decisive texts in western intellectual culture, it is to be wondered why the relationship between psychoanalysis and politics had such a bumpy course in Brazil with discontinuities and ruptures when not even the father of psychoanalysis intended to do so. The relationship between psychoanalysis and politics "for a long time" was a "taboo subject" in Brazil. "One could not speak" because talking about politics would imply in a notorious psychoanalytic expedient of delegitimation: "this is not psychoanalysis". We will make use of the quotation marks, precisely because they are contents that we hear generally in informal conversations of personal and intimate tone. We have not yet encountered any attempt at periodization that considers the thematic nucleus here proposed, no systematization of documents, texts or even archives regarding motives that reveal the nature of such taboo, nor direct answers that would strategically de-legitimize certain debates or actors in the field.

It should be remembered, for example, that the above-mentioned social texts of Freud were not the main gateway to Freud's reception in Brazil. It is true that texts with a vocation that is primarily of a clinical nature would draw the attention of Brazilian psychiatry in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. We agree with Castro's analysis that sought to delineate interest in psychoanalysis within a program of modernization of conduct, racial whitening and child sex education (CASTRO, 2015). Hence a clear civilizing project, since making Brazil more modern (more European, in this case) converged sexual correction, discipline of the body and the adoption of first-world behaviors.

It is in this context that the intrinsic relation between psychoanalysis and politics, something that today can be taken as elementary, primary or fundamental, can only become such after a complex dispute over legitimacy. After all, historicizing the relationship between psychoanalysis and politics in Brazil can be nothing more than a way of looking at and understanding our own history.

### **Historicize the field: progressive objectification and chronological proposition**

Understanding the choice of a particular debate in a field at the expense of other debates can be done in several ways. In our case, we are inspired by Pierre Bourdieu – more precisely, in the words of the sociologist, in the disputes between "specific instances of selection and consecration proper to the intellect ... and placed in a situation of competition for cultural legitimacy" (BOURDIEU, 1968: 106). The specialization of selectors and consecrators should be understood here less as the index of intrinsic qualities of agents, but above all as a way of authorizing legitimacy from the precepts of mutual "internal" legitimacy, whose associations of reciprocity deference begin to behave according to particular rules and with relative independence and freedom in relation to the parameters and constraints external to the field. The analysis of this expedient leads to unusual choices of historical analysis, flagrantly in history and in the historiography of psychoanalysis. Elements that are apparently secondary to the more traditional and conservative studies of the history of psychoanalysis will be considered in our analysis, such as 1) the movements of the publishing universe in psychoanalysis – being a necessary but not sufficient condition for the autonomization of a certain intellectual field, the editors are instances of consecration and selection of intellectuals and intellectual products, as well as (2) their correlates of intellectual professions – the preacher, the commentator in specialized and non-specialized media, and especially the critic as the objectifier of the work, outside the subjective intention of the creator that, depending on the position they occupy in the field, the intellectual professionals make the work exist within the field); and 3) its developments in the media, such as the recurrent appearance of reviews in literary reviews of newspapers and periodicals. Including criticism in analysis is a way of establishing a progressive objectification: it is a way of understanding that the work is not exhausted at the time of its publication. The critic finally fixes the intelligibility of the work and becomes, in a way, one of the creators of this work. The works come to us in the present through the successive historical layers of the field, and it is worth noting how editorial labeling also influences the reception and propagation of the work, with their respective para-texts (jacket-flap, preface, fourth cover, review, or even prestigious news reports integrated or added to the work). All this to make, also with Bourdieu, the relation between production and receptivity more complex than the simplistic creation-reception equation.

By the way, it should be borne in mind that the idea of reception may give the impression that we are dealing with an eminently passive process. To overcome the active-passive polarity, there is a notion that seems interesting to think about the

implantation of Freudianism in Brazil in relation to its intersections with politics. It is sociologist Sherry Turkle's idea of appropriability:

“Appropriable theories, ideas that capture the imagination of the culture at large, tend to be those with which people can become actively involved. They tend to be theories that can be ‘played’ with. So one way to think about the social appropriability of a given theory is to ask whether it is accompanied by its own objects-to-think-with that can help it move beyond intellectual circles.”

“For instance, the popular appropriation of Freudian ideas had little to do with scientific demonstrations of their validity. Freudian ideas passed into the popular culture because they offered robust objects-to-think-with. The objects were not physical but almost-tangible ideas, such as dreams and slips of the tongue. People were able to play with such Freudian ‘objects’. They became used to looking for them and manipulating them, both seriously and not seriously. And as they did so, the idea that slips and dreams betray an unconscious started to feel natural.” (TURKLE, 1997: 162)

That is, it is not about fidelity or loyalty to the constructions of Freudian metapsychology, its epistemological or even clinical presuppositions. The idea of appropriability allows us to understand how concepts spread in a given culture, regardless of their strict origin, as well as their purpose initially proposed. If it is not possible to recognize the importance of this relative distance, the reading of the process becomes shallow and restricted to simplistic parities.

If we want to have a map of how this historical process took place in periods, we turn to the current literature on the history of psychoanalysis in Brazil, in which an important periodization was established that we suggest to adopt for the first time. According to the historian of psychoanalysis Carmen Lucia Valladares de Oliveira, the psychoanalytic movement in Brazil can be divided into three stages:

- 1915-1937, the time of reception and diffusion of psychoanalytic ideas
- 1938-1950, the moment of formation of the first psychoanalytic generations
- 1951-1969, the institutionalization phase of the IPA movement with the creation of training and practice organizations in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre (VALLADARES DE OLIVEIRA, 2002:146)

We propose that the adoption of this chronological division can be approached in its complexity. Traditionally, the marks historians of psychoanalysis generally use for the determination of historical periods, which justify their cuts in such a way that they do not appear arbitrary, are marks of the psychoanalytic movement itself. Therefore, how can we propose a history of psychoanalysis that is described and justified from chronological criteria that are external to it? In the case, for example, of the study by Lucia Valladares on the history of psychoanalysis in São Paulo, it is noted that the final cut of the research occurs in 1969, since this year four institutions of formation of analysts linked to IPA were created in Brazil – in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre (VALLADARES DE OLIVEIRA, 2005).

In order to cross the chronology of the events proper to the psychoanalytic movement with the chronology of political events in Brazil, it is worth briefly

recovering some discussions that have taken place around the problem of chronologism, which questions the naturalization of habituation to the need to think about chronological cuts for the purpose to organize realities, to establish temporal regularities and to order events, serializing them or sequencing them. Terms such as "epoch," "period," "age," "cycle," or even "century" seek to designate, with greater or lesser precision – and here the very expectation of precision an adversity – a certain set of phenomena. According to Michel de Certeau, it is a matter of grouping them in such a way as to make them "susceptible to offer common starting points to different affiliations", in order to "guarantee the conditions of possibility for a discourse, to establish a common scale" . Inheriting from Christianity's attempt to have "a well-suited tool for maintaining continuity threatened by differences" that the pagan world presents, chronology occurs in the Christian West's attempt to understand other civilizations. (CERTEAU, 2011) We could say with Certeau that chronology, by marking the before and after, marks out the pure difference; at bottom, it is a position of organization of otherness: there is a before and after which, in the now, unfolds in a heterogeneous finally thinkable in the key of "we" and "they".

Jacques Le Goff in *The story must be divided into pieces?* (LE GOFF, 2015) also reminds us of periodizations such as "the four seasons" or "the six ages of life"; they exemplify some attitudes towards the division of time that arise, above all, from an undeniable symbolic meaning, which values the intervals of time according to parallels (the time of the living being). Consequently, the horizon of the "aging of the world" is read in the manner of the "aging of man" – at least until the idea of "progress" introduced by the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, with the dissemination of such values, a globalization of the western view in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, whose experience of the subjects in time is translated according to such a model, results in the colonial naturalization of such an experience in time.

In the case of the cutting off of the history of psychoanalysis, the sketches for a chronological cut that determine the inauguration of an official psychoanalysis in Brazil, as well as its effects, are well known. The privilege of certain events over others for chronological determination is the choice of the historian who decides that heterogeneous who will be within the field of the thinkable and the one who will be outside. From the outset, one already has the premise that the official history of psychoanalysis informs its choices about the heterogeneous thinkable and the heterogeneous unthinkable (seeking to signal the homogeneous in the horizon of the chronological promise) already from the moment in that it takes by parameter of mark in the time their own internal criteria. That is, in the manner of Julio Canhada's research on the history of Brazilian philosophy, we think that the installation of a "before" and a "after" creates "weak canons" (CANHADA, 2017: 41). The heterogeneous becomes thinkable by the maximum avoidance of noises between "we-now" (predicting a "we-after") and "they-before", whose objective is to point out from internal criteria ("ours") something like a "Progress" or "evolution" inherent in intellectual pathways. The overlapping of chronologies is therefore the assertion of a position of opposition to this type of spontaneously internalist-progressive assumption, from an informed method orientation to such, aiming precisely to problematize the perception of psychoanalysis as a field.

Much has already been warned about the nominalist conventionality of such determinations. It would be quite trivial to think that the twentieth century, for example, did not end at the end of December 31, 1999; with the forgiveness of the truism, it should be remembered that to determine the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 or the attack on the twin towers of 2001, for example as possible frontiers of the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth, is not only to confer greater reliability of events in comparison with the strictly timeline dimension of history, but also, in the very act of defining chronology, to announce the angle by which heterogeneous phenomena will be read once assembled within a given time interval. To put it another way, the chronological definition is still, albeit indirectly, a declaration of the historian's intentions. To introduce from this angle such a discussion helps us here to introduce the problematization of the expectation of objectivity in the chronological section, as well as not to expect that it is from a supposed nature of the chronological cut "in itself" something more than a formal response to a system of conventions.

Beyond the internal frameworks of institutionalization, it must be understood that the institutionalization processes themselves are direct correspondences of a deeper process of field autonomization – as if, in a vertical descending line, it was possible to visualize the graduality and succession of the movements from the psychoanalytic field towards autonomization. That is, beyond the descriptive and factual perspective, the key moments of twists and turns of the psychoanalytic movement in Brazil are the corollary of a growing independence and relative detachment from the psychoanalytic agenda in relation to the guidelines of the State.

Having said this, in a schematic way, we understand that the chronology proposed by Carmen Lucia Valladares de Oliveira must be added (and not replaced) to the following perspective, which we intend to propose in the following provisional framework:

- 1) 1915-1937 – configuration of the diffusion of psychoanalytic ideas and heterogeneous psychoanalytic clinical practice, exercised by self-taught despite the IPA officialdom and organized from the demands of the State
- 2) 1938-1951 – formation of the first cadres of psychoanalysts in Brazil through didactic analysis and beginning of the process of autonomization of the psychoanalytic field in relation to the demands of the State
- 3) 1951-1969 – institutionalization of the psychoanalytic movement along the lines of the IPA, which correlates with the autonomy of the internal guidelines of the psychoanalytic field in Brazil, but whose patrimonial relationship between psychoanalysis and the State through state financing of the formation of psychoanalytic staff in Brazil is still present
- 4) 1969-1985 – the boom of psychoanalysis during the military regime, understood as the fulfillment and consummation of the historical process of autonomization of the Brazilian psychoanalytic field, whose legitimacy via internationalist institutionalism establishes stable rules of self-legitimation and distinction.

We will try to understand the process of autonomization in the implantation of psychoanalysis in Brazil through the analysis of four distinct books, to finally

contribute in the dictatorial period, which would reconfigure the panorama of the relations between psychoanalysis and politics in Brazil.

#### Four cases of intersections between psychoanalysis and politics

We present four works by four authors as distinct moments of the relationship between psychoanalysis and politics in Brazil. These authors would be "weak canons," beacons for official history to operate its "before" and "after", its "inside" and "outside." First, a brief biography of each of them:

1) Julio Porto-Carrero (1887-1937). Psychiatrist, self-taught psychoanalyst, Professor of Legal Medicine at the Faculty of Law of the University of Rio de Janeiro. He was an honorary member of the National Academy of Medicine and one of the main articulators of the Brazilian Association of Education. He worked in the Navy and the National Hospice of Rio de Janeiro. Freud's reader since 1918, claiming for himself the place of "convinced of the science of Freud" and having translated some of his works (like *The Future of an Illusion*), Porto-Carrero seemed to make to live in paradoxal harmony his peculiar Freud with the hygienist and eugenics guidelines (FACCHINETTI, 2012). Having been one of the most active members of the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene, he was a persistent critic of representative democracy and a defender of technocracy in the early years of the Vargas Era<sup>1</sup>, advocating such standards as birth control and prophylaxis of alcoholism, not without a certain amount of nationalism eugenic. (RUSSO, 2002; MOKREJS, 1989)

2) Gastão Pereira da Silva (1896-1987), physician, journalist, self-taught psychoanalyst and playwright. A great enthusiast and promoter of psychoanalysis with more than forty published works, he devoted himself to various forms of use of Freudianism in his writings of "political biography." Columnist of magazines aimed at the general public, like *Vamos Lêr!*<sup>2</sup>, he had organic relations with the publishing universe that shaped the media field of the Getúlio Vargas government. His interpretations of psychoanalytic inspiration of the life and work of notable Brazilians were dedicated, for example, to the playwright Procopio Ferreira, former presidents Prudente de Moraes and Rodrigues Alves, the abolitionist Xavier da Silveira; also dedicated two books to the then president Getúlio Vargas, the military and political Brigadier Eduardo Gomes, the painter Almeida Junior, biographical portraits of the constituent post Estado Novo of 1946, as well as a

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<sup>1</sup> The Vargas Era is what we call the period between 1930 and 1945 in the history of Brazil, when Getúlio Vargas was president of Brazil for 15 years continuously and uninterruptedly.

<sup>2</sup> Edited between 1936 and 1948 by the conglomerate Noite S/A, the magazine *Vamos Lêr!* was one of the popular publishing fronts in the newspapers *A Noite e A Manhã*, in magazines such as *Síntese*, *Carioca* and *Noite Ilustrada*, as well as in the National Radio. The Noite S/A conglomerate was part of the Vargas government's National Heritage Companies, in order to bring its content, in terms of psi knowledge, to the policies of the Ministry of Education and Public Health (MESP) of Gustavo Capanema. (CARVALHO, MATIAS & MARCONDES, 2017).

study on women in Russia. He wrote *Lenin and Psychoanalysis* and *The Worker and the New Society*, having also prefaced *Lampião and the Sociology of Cangaço* by Rodrigues de Carvalho and Karl Weissmann's *The Money in Erotic Life* (1937). (RUSSO, 2002)

3) Maurício de Medeiros (1885-1966), a pharmacist and a medical doctor, worked as a journalist and columnist in several newspapers throughout his career. Brother of the writer and politician Medeiros e Albuquerque, he entered the political life, having been elected federal deputy in two periods, from 1921 to 1922 and from 1927 to 1930. Professor of General Pathology of the Faculty of Medicine of Rio de Janeiro and of Psychology in the School Normal of the Federal District (now the Institute of Education). Army Medical Lieutenant, he headed the post-Armistice Neurological Assistance Service in 1918. Critic of presidentialism and defender of parliamentarism, he made a trip to the Soviet Union in 1930 that would accuse him of being a member of the Communist International. Retired from university activities in 1934, he returned in 1946 to succeed Henrique Roxo in the chair of Psychiatry at the University of Brazil, whose Institute he would become director this year. In 1955, the year in which he retires from the university, he is decorated as a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. In November of this same year, Mauricio de Medeiros was appointed Minister of Health by then-President Nereu Ramos, a post he maintained in the early years of Juscelino Kubitschek's<sup>3</sup> administration until July 1958<sup>4</sup>. Some of his books are *Other Revolutions Coming* (1932), *Ideas, men and facts* (1934), *Thoughts of Medeiros and Albuquerque* (1935), an essay on Joaquim Nabuco (1949) and *Notable Men* (1964), his last book. Medeiros will also make a critical preface to *The Prince* of N. Machiavelli, first published in Brazil in 1933<sup>5</sup>. With more than twenty books published in his lifetime, in his last four years he has been a columnist for the newspaper O Globo<sup>6</sup>. (MOKREJS, 1993; CALICCHIO, 2015; PENNA, 1989)

4) Karl Weissmann (1910-1990), hypnologist and self-taught psychoanalyst. Austrian by birth, arrives in Brazil as a child in the early 1920s. He is introduced to the Freudian doctrine by Gastão Pereira da Silva. Columnist of the newspaper O Cruzeiro, was one of the responsible for the popularization of psychometrics in Brazilian popular culture. He practiced psychoanalysis at the Neves Agricultural Penitentiary in Minas Gerais. Author of *The Money in Erotic Life* (1937), *Hypnotism: Psychology, Technique and Application* (1958), *Masochism and Communism: Contributions to the Pathology of Political Thought* (1964) and

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<sup>3</sup> Hereinafter referred to as "JK". The reference to the "JK years" designates Juscelino Kubitschek's presidency years, but more generally his developmental politics.

<sup>4</sup> The post of Minister of Health is the highest decision-making post on the directions and destinations of the health field in the country. Mauricio de Medeiros was probably the most emblematic case of a health minister who was clearly sympathetic to psychoanalysis.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the preface by Mauricio de Medeiros to *The Prince*, see BAGNO, 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Grupo Globo is the largest media and communication conglomerate in Brazil and Latin America, composed by TV Globo (the second largest television network in the world), as well as the radio, the publisher, the internet portal, among others.

*Psychoanalysis: Essays and Experiences* (1967). (AFONSO & MANDELBAUM, 2017)

Let us note how the works that we will deal with here are organized. First, it is worth remembering that the books of Gastão Pereira da Silva and Julio Porto-Carrero date back to the 1930s, representing the passage from the first to the second period in a confrontation of analysis plans. Mauricio de Medeiros's book dates from 1959, but contains texts from previous years; therefore, it is a text that contemplates interests and concerns of previous years, representing both the second and third moments. Weissmann's book was published in 1964, a fateful year in which the military carried out a coup and started a military dictatorship that would last 21 years in Brazil. This book is not only a way of understanding what interests were at stake in the use of psychoanalysis for the psychopathological accusations of the Brazilian left, but is also a representative of the exclusion strategies of those who claimed psychoanalysis "nonetheless," ignoring the requirements of official formation and depoliticizing international guidelines.

Julio Porto-Carrero can be understood as an intellectual whose guidelines were directly crossed by the demands of the State and by the political situation of his time. It is worth remembering that Getúlio Vargas assumed the presidency in 1930, ending the period called the Old Republic and initiating what became known as Estado Novo (New State). Measures such as secret voting, labor rights and the prevalence of the industrial model of economic development (in comparison with the agrarian model) established the progressive horizon of the Vargas Era. At the same time, Vargas populism was patriotic and authoritarian. He was seen with reservations by much of the Brazilian intelligentsia, including Freud's psychiatrist reading of the time. This is what we can read in *Psychoanalysis of a Civilization* of Julio Porto-Carrero. Accusing Vargas of being a despot president, Carrero considered hypocritical the intention to install a representative democracy in the country, since the people would not be up to this task. According to him, Brazilians at that point in history would be incapable of sustaining a democracy through universal suffrage because it is a "weak or imbecile people – it is thus the rule of mediocrity" (CARRERO, 1933: 30). Therefore, to withdraw Brazil from its idiocy would be to invest in eugenic policies to improve race and morals. This explains why Brazil's anti-migratory policies of the 1930s were mixed with nationalist initiatives of obligatory learning of the Portuguese language for immigrants, anti-miscegenation policies and projection of a promising future for our population. The struggle against alcoholism, for example, was not understood as a social problem inherited from the days of slavery, in which the "cachaça" was (actually is to this day) the pharmakon of alleviating the suffering of the poor and black classes. In an argument that unfolds in his next book, *Greats and Miseries of Sex* (CARRERO, 1934), Porto-Carrero believes that a technocracy and a government of those duly biologically and mentally qualified for this would be the way to ensure the country's progress toward of a civility and of a First World social and political organization. This is what has been termed the "civilizational project", the convergence between the systematic discouragement of racial miscegenation and the recognition of this step eternally behind the conditions of possibility of a real and effective democracy for Brazil (ALVES LIMA, 2018; CASTRO, 2015). It is curious how Porto-Carrero, who at the time made the first translation of Freud's *The Future of*



*an Illusion* into Portuguese, envisioned a kind of Freudian "utopia" in a rather eccentric reading of this work. With this, the project of progress of the "New State" was united with an eugenics psychiatric doctrine that had no care in affirming itself also psychoanalytic, in spite of the ideas of the own Freud.

A precision is needed here. It should be emphasized that eugenics in Brazil is not exactly analogous to Nazi eugenics, for example. We agree with Nancy Stepan's analysis that while Brazil was more consumer than science producer, eugenics appeared as "part of a widespread enthusiasm for science as a" sign "of cultural modernity" (STEPAN, 2004: 337). According to the author, in the eyes of British eugenics, for example, eugenics in Brazil sounded more sociological than biological, more indebted to a certain neolamarckism than to geneticist mendelism, whose "eclectic style" mirrored "the uncritical use of European sources" (STEPAN, 2004: 347). The presence of hygienism and eugenics in Brazil was not only restricted to the field of public health. They also went through the anthropology of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the agricultural sciences at the Luiz de Queiroz School of Agriculture in Piracicaba – the largest university research center in agricultural science in Brazil, now belonging to the University of São Paulo (USP).

It will not be by chance that the creation of the Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental (LBHM) – "Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene" – ends up finding its due correspondence with the borders of our chronology. Started in the 1920s and extended throughout the 1930s, the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene was in line with Vargas' plan to expand childhood health policies – including mental health. Since childhood is a central theme, it will be within the LBHM that the first free psychoanalysis clinic (REIS, 2000) will be created in May 1926, headed by Porto-Carrero itself and kept in operation for approximately one year. Any attempt to find similarities with the consecrated free clinics of psychoanalysis in Europe between the wars (DANTO, 2005), apart from the gratuitousness of the treatments and attention to the treatment of children will be in vain. There would be no ideological correspondence between the Brazilian experience and those of Berlin, Vienna, Budapest and others. Even the concepts inspired by psychoanalysis proposed by the authors of the time were more substantially determined by the commitment to the reason of State under way in Brazil than by the elemental premises of Freudianism. A great example is the concept of "euphrenia", an example of the explicit solidarity between mental hygiene, eugenics and educational project for the country (OLIVEIRA, 2011). The neologism "euphrenia" is forged with the purpose of sustaining the conjugation between a certain idea of "nuptial selection", as a form of birth selection of dysphrenic individuals (genealogical eugenics), and an adaptive and functionalist idea of the normal child in relation to (medical and pedagogical eugenics). It is a chapter of the introduction of psychological tests and psychometrics in Brazil. Through them, the developmental model of pathological understanding gains form, including a horizon of normality that would have a first sketch of discernment in relation to the paradigm of degeneracy. The emphasis on family structuring and the call for parental participation in the constitution of the psychological health of children solidifies the moral and normative values linked to the idea of the centrality of the family. In the weak transition from heredity to morality, there is the ground for an

appropriation of a tangled Freudian whose concepts of Oedipus complex, frustration and castration appear under the penalty of combating child masturbation in the prevention of social delinquency.

Still under hygiene, it is also observed, under the tutelage of the Ministry of Education and Health – at the time they were only one ministry<sup>7</sup> – whose direction fell to Gustavo Capanema between 1934 and 1945, the enthusiasm with the Escola Nova (“New School”), which inspired the work of Arthur Ramos. Seeking to understand the social causes of psychic pathologies with one of the most remarkable virtuosités and abilities in dealing with psychoanalytic concepts at the time, Arthur Ramos would take care of 2000 children between 1934 and 1938 in public schools in Rio de Janeiro. In his proposals, there was a mixture between (1) the hygienic patterns, (2) the educational "progressivism" of Vargas’ reasoning, (3) a significant advance in relation to the appropriation of Freudian metapsychology, (4) the integration of clinical techniques inspired by Melanie Klein for the treatment of children, 5) the horizon of adjustment and adaptation in the curative purposes of this clinic, and 6) the rudiments of a social psychology in open dialogue with ethnography and anthropology in the studies on folklore and blackness (GARCIA, 2010). Elements that today would frighten by the harmonious coexistence, but that inhabited the perspectives of Arthur Ramos without major conflicts. In short, whether in Arthur Ramos or Porto-Carrero, we have in Vargas politics that Facchinetti and Ponte call "engaging the intellectual at the service of the national":

“It is worth mentioning [...] that in the dictatorship, and even before it<sup>8</sup>, Vargas’s politics did not confine itself to capturing the intellectuals identified with the right; it produced something more impressive: it homogenized different discourses in favor of Brazilian unity and identity. Seeking to consolidate social development, the State made a civic campaign that ended up engaging the intellectual at the service of the national. To the profound structural changes in politics and to the important industrial increase that took place in the Vargas government, a new type of thought was added: the valorization of the specialist and the technique, which also affected the Brazilian psychoanalytic movement.” (FACCHINETTI & PONTE, 2003: 67)

Gastão Pereira da Silva is another author who cannot be understood outside the relation with the State policies of the Vargas era. The work of popularization promoted by Pereira da Silva was supported by Medeiros e Albuquerque (an important journalist and politician from Rio de Janeiro, brother of Mauricio de Medeiros) and seems to have amplified the presence of psychoanalysis in public and lay discourse. Despite a

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<sup>7</sup> The deployment of the Ministry of Education and Health in two distinct ministerial agencies (Ministry of Health and Ministry of Education and Culture) occurred only in 1953, through Decree 1920 of July 25, 1953 of the then President Getúlio Vargas. From this moment, the National Service of Mental Illnesses will then be subordinated to the Ministry of Health.

<sup>8</sup> The first Vargas Era government, which runs from 1930 to 1945, can be divided into three phases: the first, from 1930 to 1934, in which Vargas presides over the country as head of the "Provisional Government"; the second, from 1934 to 1937, as president of the republic of the Constitutional Government, having been elected president of the republic by the National Constituent Assembly of 1934; and, from 1937 to 1945, as dictator, during the implantation of Estado Novo after a coup. It is for these reasons that the authors divide Era Vargas into the "dictatorship" and the "period before it."

certain bond with Porto-Carrero, he remained distant from the university academic medical circle. Pereira da Silva preferred to bring general interest messages about sexuality (RUSSO & CARRARA, 2002), with dream interpretation columns that readers sent him by letter, covering topics as diverse as criminology, motherhood or war. In a certain sense, Pereira da Silva seemed to represent, through his vast bibliography, the Vargas speech to suspend the "intermediaries between the government and the people" (REIS, 2002): the great press vehicles were under the tutelage of the presidency, and the management of the "myth" Vargas was aware of the ordinary problems of ordinary citizens. Pereira da Silva becomes a public figure in the midst of the Vargas populism and will be one of the main responsible for the presence of the Freudian discourse in the most diverse media between the 30s and 60s, from the most specialized to the most popular. We shall see later that the phenomenon of the boom that will characterize the dictatorial period does not cease to be the heir of this popularization front, crossed by a class diagonal and available for the circulation of the ordinary yearnings and anxieties of the social life of the middle and upper classes.

*Lenin and Psychoanalysis* (PEREIRA DA SILVA, 1933) is one of several books that prolix Pereira da Silva would publish in the first half of the 30s. The first part is dedicated to reconstructing the spontaneous movements of 1905 that led to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Vladimir Lenin is portrayed as the person in charge by the "awakening" of a people whose idea of freedom was "repressed" and whose power was "asleep." The vocabulary that refers to a vulgar and second-hand Freudian metapsychology does not appear by chance. He will be decisive in the final part of the book, in which Pereira da Silva retrieves Lenin's biography – especially based on Leon Trotsky's *The Young Lenin* (1925) and *Lenin* by D. S. Mirsky (1931). The author states: "It is concluded that Lenin was very affectionate and that, in his childhood, he broke a strong and intense Oedipus complex" (PEREIRA DA SILVA, 1933: 127). Through a reading of Freud's *Instincts and their Vicissitudes* (1915), Pereira da Silva says that Lenin did not love or hate: his passion would be the investigation, and that all his libido was displaced for sociological studies and revolution. Freud's (1921) resource for *Mass Psychology and Analysis of the Ego* also appears to distinguish Lenin from Mussolini, since he was a manipulator of the masses, while the former truly identified himself with his people. There is also a scene that Pereira da Silva takes from Lenin's biography written by Trotsky, in which he would have told him about the legality abruptly installed by the Revolution and made the sign of the cross<sup>9</sup>. According to the author, in an unusual reading of *Totem and Taboo*, the gesture of Lenin is a clear sign of convergence between the religious resource of taboo and the institution of the Law in the new social reality after the Revolution.

These are some of the exotic examples offered by the book itself – we could list others, admittedly – in the sense of what we call "political biography," resorting to a certain psychoanalytic inspiration. Pereira da Silva is a character who exemplifies well

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<sup>9</sup> The reference to this book and this story is absolutely inaccurate. Gastão Pereira da Silva makes no reference to the year or the translation of the edition consulted, merely stating in a footnote: "In this regard, cf. Trotsky -" Lenin """. It is supposed that the controversial mention that Trotsky had said that "Lenin made the sign of the cross before his face" was probably taken not from Trotsky's writings between the late 1910s and mid 1920s about Lenin. Probably Pereira da Silva is reproducing a passage from John Reed's book, "Ten Days That Shocked the World", whose first English edition had been circulating in Brazil since 1919.

the "savage" psychoanalysis that was made in the 30s and 40s outside the circle that sought institutional officiality via IPA. They are representatives of a direct rapprochement between psychoanalysis and politics, whose direct conceptual application of Freudian metapsychology in the biography have made psychoanalytical vocabulary equitably ordinary and widespread. Formulations valued by the Freudian conceptual universe as "repression", "libido" or "taboo" are summoned in disorder. There is no "accountability" to the concepts, nor the scrutiny of their elemental purposes. What remains of texts such as *Lenin and Psychoanalysis* is a certain purposive stylistic obscurity, a prevaricated epistemology, but which propels the proliferation of psychoanalytic vocabulary in popular culture beyond the medical and psychiatric circle.

In relation to Mauricio de Medeiros, we noticed in *The Diabolical Unconscious* the presence of subjects as diverse as alcoholism, prostitution, psychological themes such as the relations between motor and intelligence, military medicine, the history of modern psychiatry, psychometry and criminology. The thematic abundance is a demonstration of erudition, a kind of encyclopedic knowledge that is expected of a member of the most prestigious association of writers and intellectuals of the country, the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Having been revered as "immortal" in 1955, Mauricio de Medeiros also gives an example in *The Diabolical Unconscious* of a distance taken from the supposedly psychoanalytic eugenics of previous decades, although Medeiros was also (as Porto-Carrero) a member of the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene in the 1920s and 1930s. The work is mainly the mirroring of the political ambience of the 1950s in Rio de Janeiro and accompanies the transfigurations through which the intellectual projects of Freud's psychiatrists passed over the previous decades. It is worth remembering that in the publication of *The Diabolical Unconscious*, Brazil was governed by President Juscelino Kubitschek. His government's economic and social development framework was known as the "fifty years of progress in five years of government" program, with high investments in the automobile industry, mass-media vehicles (mainly music and television) and goods (household appliances, for example), constituting a search for alignment between Brazilian and North American economic and subjective developmentalism. JK's populism was still deeply nationalistic, but significantly different from Vargas's authoritarian strategy. As a training physician, President JK would garner enormous sympathy from the medical profession, which included psychoanalysts with whom he had personal friendships. During his rule, the capital of the country is transferred from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia, built under the sign of progress; as we saw previously in the biographical note, it is also during the JK years that Maurício de Medeiros will be the Minister of Health of the Federal Government.

One can observe in the work of Mauricio de Medeiros a striking difference between what was called psychoanalysis in the 1930s and what it became in the 1950s. With very different themes, *The Diabolic Unconscious* is a collection of texts from conferences, lectures and tributes that Medeiros had received during his career; the book is configured as a heterogeneous anthology, which oscillates between the old eugenic rancor and Brazilian developmental liberalism. Nevertheless, if we look more carefully at the essay that gives the book its name, we note that it is only a set of little stories and anecdotes of jokes, faulty acts and "incidents" proper to the Freudian

unconscious. Here, it is no longer a question of making "political biography", as Pereira da Silva did, nor of fantasizing "Freudian utopias" in an eugenicist tone for the country, as we have seen in Porto-Carrero. It is all about simply adapting interpretations of *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* and *The Joke and its relation with the unconscious* to a certain Brazilian reality, in line with the experience of ideologically promoted progress in the JK years. The unconscious is portrayed as a "deposit of past things" (MEDEIROS, 1959: 11-12) as a "basement" (MEDEIROS, 1959: 12). Therefore, the strategy adopted would be different: rather than applying Freudian theory to second-hand political biographies, one chooses to dilute the presentation of the phenomena of the unconscious in day-to-day situations. In other words, *The Diabolical Unconscious* concludes the appropriability process we discussed earlier here, as Sherry Turkle puts it: psychoanalysis finally presents itself as a promoter of objects-to-think-with through the association between the unconscious and the trickery, the prank. It is in this sense that for him the unconscious is diabolic, less in the religious sense and more as a cheater. It is as if Medeiros harvested benefits of the popularization of psychoanalysis of Pereira da Silva, but enjoying a position of greater recognition and prestige in the intellectual field.

As for the political position of Mauricio de Medeiros, it is worth remembering that his prestige as Minister of Health will be decisive for the destinies of psychoanalysis in Brazil in our most liberal period. According to Melloni (2009), the state's funding and granting of scholarships policy was largely developed within the Serviço Nacional de Doenças Mentais (SNDM) – "National Mental Health Service". In 1949, for example, the SNDM provided fellowships for eighty-eight psychiatrists, including thirteen fellow psychoanalysts to carry out their training in psychoanalysis both within and outside the country. The grants were not exclusively intended for psychoanalysts, but these were contemplated within a policy of training more qualified professional staff on the part of the State. This policy contemplated in an absolutely significant way the cadres of psychoanalysts in Rio de Janeiro. Even the trained analysts brought to Brazil to form psychoanalysts (the Polish Mark Burke and the German Werner Kemper, both received in RJ in 1948) also received a government grant. Two groups of Carioca psychoanalysts are contemplated, one goes to Argentina to perform the psychoanalytic formation, while another goes to London. The exchange with São Paulo also intensifies in this period. Founded in 1927, the Brazilian Society of Psychoanalysis of São Paulo had an intention of relevant intellectual production and since 1936 with the presence of the first learned analyst in Brazil – the German psychoanalyst Adelheid Koch –, which will lead to recognition by the IPA in 1951. That is, communication between the two great centers of psychoanalysis in Brazil is encouraged in this historical period, permeated by nepotism and by policies of favoritism that shuffle the public and private sphere in Brazil, which we call *patrimonialism*.

It should be understood that the policy of massive granting of funding by the State for the training of psychoanalysts in Rio de Janeiro, which extends until 1959, will not be without effects for the understanding of the situation of psychoanalysis during the dictatorial regime. According to the psychoanalyst Maria Manhães, who is trained at this time,

“[...] most of the candidates, with a rare exception, came from a common source at the time: the National Mental Health Service / SNDM – current DINSAM. It was a group of colleagues with a certain leadership in the service where they worked [and to which] [...] the Director-General of DINSAM also belonged.” (MANHÃES, 1988: 432)

Clientelism therefore characterizes SNDM insofar as it incorporates the same hybrid frames of political psychiatrists from the old Eugenic Societies, Mental Hygiene Leagues, and Pro-Sanitation Leagues. It is this patronage that is blatantly revealed during the psychoanalysis of the 1950s in Brazil. Therefore, we cannot forget the double role that Mauricio de Medeiros exercises when he becomes the Federal Government's Health Minister: while the ministry finances the training of psychoanalysts with public money, the first steps towards a depoliticization of psychoanalytic knowledge are given insofar as unconscious phenomena are understood as the mere inconvenience of everyday life. Without being a psychoanalyst but having been a key player in the development and diffusion of psychoanalysis in Brazil, Mauricio de Medeiros writes and publishes *The Diabolical Unconscious* as a subject of Brazilian intellectual history that is commonly called *dilettantism* – that is, a kind of intellectual amateurism that gives in spite of the rigor of the concept, but which links the pleasure of reflection with the sense of belonging to a certain intellectual and academic class.

After the JK years and less than 7 months of the disastrous government of Jânio Quadros, João Goulart assumed the presidency. The so-called basic reforms proposed by his government were intended to solve Brazil's structural problems, such as agrarian reform (democratization of access to land through expropriation of unexplored rural areas), educational reform (combating illiteracy via the Paulo Freire Method), electoral reform (granting the right to vote for illiterates), among others. Now, fighting the deep inequalities that shaped Brazilian society was enough for Joao Goulart (nicknamed "Jango") to be understood as "the communist threat" that haunted the country under the spirit of the Cold War. Obviously, such measures generated a strong reaction on the part of the Brazilian ruling class and paved the winding road that led the country to a military coup in 1964.

It is not by chance that the work *Masochism and Communism* (1964), by Karl Weissmann, is published in the context of the military coup. Written in 1963 and published in 1964, the volume brings together a number of elements that deserve a little more analysis. Weissmann's theatrical spectacles of mass hypnotism in large Brazilian capitals and his television appearances advocating the use of hypnosis for painless tooth extractions throughout the 1950s would ensure him a singular popularity. Published by the prestigious Editora Martins, *Masochism and Communism* generates repercussion in newspapers and popular magazines and is hailed in the media of the time. In fact, the whole effort of this unique character in the history of Minas Gerais psychoanalysis consists in carrying out a psychoanalytic reading of communism as "social masochism", in the same measure as fascism would be "sadistic." Turning against canons of the so-called Freudian-Marxist thought (W. Reich, H. Marcuse and Erich Fromm), using the theoretical expedient of Karl Menninger, the psychoanalysis of Freud and Theodor Reik, Weissmann mobilizes a

confrontation curiously not with his psychoanalytical pairs in Brazil, but especially with the current psychoanalytic literature in the country<sup>10</sup>. The Freudian-Marxism read and debated in the newspapers and magazines of the time was ruled by those who enjoyed prestige and legitimacy in the Brazilian intellectual field. It is in this sense that Weissmann appears as the mouthpiece of a current (but not so properly stated) discourse of depoliticization of psychoanalysis – which in the military coup of 1964 meant simply "anti-leftism" of psychoanalysis. In other words, it is as if the strategy taken is not to declare direct intellectual combat against the psychoanalysts themselves, but, above all, to declare the intention to cure them of the psychological "leftist" evil that affects them. It was intended to place the psychopathological and psychoanalytic discourse at the service of the opposition between democracy – which Weissmann calls the Free World – and communism. The author emphasizes the premise of civility that allows the bond of friendship between "democrats" and "communists", but never giving up the psychopathological attitude to subjugate, dominate and subalternate those who would be qualified as subversive by the military regime. There is thus an unprecedented and unique moment of the pathologization of communism in the history of psychoanalysis, opening its way into the dictatorial period. It is openly stated in the body of the text, in footnotes and in the ear of the book, the claim of the work to be a response to the "communist threats" that supposedly afflicted the country. In fact, the purposes of the military coup – which were based on the deception of a "provisional"<sup>11</sup> withdrawal of President Jango – claimed from the intellectual point of view a counter-mobilization, which can be described according to Saes:

“The counter-mobilization of the traditional middle classes is defined as anti-popular and anti-communist. While the ‘women’s movement’ undertakes the moral condemnation of communism, counter-mobilization organizes another sector of the traditional middle classes: liberal professionals. At this level, anti-communism is defined as the defense of democratic institutions; more clearly, it is a question of condemning populist ‘mass democracy’ in the name of respect for liberal-democratic principles. [...]. In short, associations of lawyers, doctors and engineers, traditionally oriented towards oligarchic liberalism, will be charged with disguising the asymmetry of the opposition between ‘democracy’ and ‘communism’, as well as of assigning it an obligatorily alternative character. Hence the archaic aspect of the 1964 counter-mobilization: on the one hand, the ‘feminist movement’ and its moral and religious themes; on the other, the return to the political scene of a character – the liberal professional – typical of the oligarchic period.” (SAES, 1984: 137)

To a large extent, psychoanalysts have inherited the identity of the liberal professional in Brazil. They enjoyed great prestige in the medical circle, although many of them became training psychologists since 1962, when they implemented the standardization of the first degree in psychology and the regulation of the profession of

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<sup>10</sup> Especially Erich Fromm, who had been translated since the 40s in the country and was frequently among the best selling books of psychoanalysis in Brazil.

<sup>11</sup> The use of the quotes is due to the fact that the coup was far from provisional, since the military regime in Brazil lasted 21 years (1964-1985).

psychologist in Brazil. The military period will, in the end, be the culmination of the achievement in Brazil of the great international directive headed by Ernest Jones since the end of World War II (HERZOG, 2017). The countermobilization will encase psychoanalysis in Brazil during the military regime, under the assurance that political affairs were not of its domain.

### **The military regime and psychoanalysis**

It is true that each of these works cited would merit a detained analysis. Our interest here is first to map the bibliography developed parallel to the traditional medical literature of psychiatry or to the bibliography instituted as official by psychoanalytic societies linked to IPA. Through this mapping, we defend the thesis that it is in these products that we find the most decisive clues for understanding the relationship between psychoanalysis and politics in the Brazilian intellectual and editorial universe. It will not be in the official or institutional production that we will verify the most direct reception of the Freudian social or political work in Brazil. For this, it will be necessary to look for it in the political biographies written by Pereira da Silva to mirror Vargas' populism, in Porto-Carrero's utopian eugenics, in Mauricio de Medeiros's vulgar "diabolic unconscious", in Weissmann's platform for the pathologization of leftism, or in other possible "marginal" works such as these.

Now, it will not be mere chance that self-absorbed official history, which will elect as pioneers of psychoanalysis in Brazil those who will only be recognized as such according to its own criteria, will be unfolded in a "clean slate" historiography with regard to the characters we have brought as an example. Gastão Pereira da Silva, Karl Weissmann, Mauricio de Medeiros and Julio Porto-Carrero are four names (among others we could highlight) that will hardly be included in official historiography as pioneers of psychoanalysis in Brazil, except as "weak canons". What about their dangerous experiments and disquisitions toward politics? There are at least two hypotheses capable of interpreting this phenomenon. One is because these characters never submitted to the psychoanalytic training scheme of the IPA – precisely, didactic analysis. Gastão Pereira da Silva and Julio Porto-Carrero were self-declared psychoanalysts and were acting clinicians, actively participated in the creation of some societies that would be linked to the IPA, but never claimed positions within them. Mauricio de Medeiros, without declaring himself a psychoanalyst, directly influenced the psychoanalytic field for his political action in the field of public health. Karl Weissmann, who claimed to be a hypnologist, psychoanalyst, psychotherapist, and psychologist, represented not only the danger of hybridity, eclecticism, and charlatanism, but also that of the levitical and impatient political judgment. For these four figures of publicly notorious intellectual importance, it would be a kind of moral-professional affront to undergo a didactic analysis for official recognition of psychoanalytic training.. If we remember, for example, that the prestige of the medical profession in Brazil is enormous (until today), it is as if the didactic analysis were a kind of humiliation and disgrace, since psychoanalytic formation would be secondary to basic medical education.



The second interpretation would be that the positions of these authors "were not good for business." The political debate in psychoanalysis in Brazil gradually goes from extravagant to undesirable, *pari passu* accompanying the movement of history. In 1969, when three of the country's largest capitals had their psychoanalytic institutions lauded with the IPA seal, we were exactly under one of the toughest moments of the Brazilian military dictatorship. Psychoanalysis summons the paradigm of neutrality to fulfill a triple function: 1) to guarantee the *scientific neutrality* proper to every scientific procedure of positivist intention (namely, minimizing the participation of the subjectivity of the scientist observer in the scientific process, in order to make extractions more neutral); 2) scientific neutrality would be a substitute for the experience of *analytical neutrality* (the emptying of the analyst's subjectivity in the process of listening); 3) the silence and abstention from analytic neutrality removes from reflection what lies outside the psychoanalytic setting, intensifying *political neutrality*.

Between 1975 and 1976, the Institute of Psychoanalysis of the IPA in São Paulo suggested with vehemence the removal of activities of a political nature, prejudicial to the life of the Institute. There would not even be any effort to declare a move away from critical reflection on the situation of the military dictatorship in Brazil. As well summarizes Luiz Meyer, a psychoanalyst from the SBPSP:

"Explaining clearly: the analytical production of a good part of my generation – and I repeat that I speak from the Society to which I belong [SBPSP] – has turned its back on critical reflection because it was not necessary for the ongoing project. For the objective professionalized practice, the imitative character of the thought was more than satisfactory." (MEYER, 2008: 209).

In other words, it will be neutrality, in its triple crowning (scientific, clinical and political), culminated by a historiography that is dedicated to constitute the history of psychoanalysis in Brazil in this way, which erases the proper inscription of the incursions of the "savage psychoanalysts" in the field of politics. During the military dictatorship, political issues were openly avoided and unsettled, not only in the psychoanalytic field, but in public life in general. The Brazilian military dictatorship persecuted, threatened, tortured, killed and made hundreds and thousands of Brazilian citizens disappear during its 21 years of existence. In the state of exception, talking about politics was no longer simply an institutional or economic question of "not good for business": the consequences could be truly deadly. In a dominant climate of fear in social life in Brazil, the denunciation of Helena Bessermann Vianna on the Amílcar Lobo case erupts in the psychoanalytic field (VIANNA, 1994). He was a candidate under training in one of the IPAs of RJ that acted as a torturer in the torture centers of the Brazilian army. The scandal was fatal to the project of maintaining the "neutral" image of psychoanalysis held at hard cost by the intended hegemony of IPA. With the overthrow of the Amílcar Lobo case, the recovery of the debate between psychoanalysis and politics in new bases becomes a major ethical urgency in the Brazilian psychoanalytic field. With the rare exceptions (mentioning the names of Helio Pellegrino, Eduardo Mascarenhas and Helena Bessermann Vianna herself), the prevailing depoliticization of official psychoanalysis begins to lose strength in the face of the accusation of collaboration and connivance of at least one psychoanalyst with

the schemes of torture , murder and disappearance of bodies in the military dictatorship. The international repercussion of the Amilcar Lobo case would seal once and for all the time when psychoanalysis and politics would not be talked about, opening space for a new order of readings and intellectual agendas for psychoanalysis in Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro from the late 1970s to the late 1980s, authors such as Chaim Katz (1985), Sérvulo Figueira (1981), Gisálio Cerqueira Filho (1982) and Heitor O'Dwyer de Macedo (1988) gathered compilations of texts on psychoanalysis and politics. Thus, the Amilcar Lobo case would demand from the psychoanalytic institutions a political position other than that of neutrality and abstention in the 1970s to the 1980s, when the country was headed for redemocratization.

Therefore, we defend the idea that affirmations such as "we do not talk about relations between psychoanalysis and politics in Brazil" are a continuation of the criticism of the neutral position assumed by official psychoanalytic circles during the military dictatorship, including through the systematic denial of works and authors of previous years who dedicated themselves to this intersection. It is necessary to recognize that statements such as these bear a kind of testimony, a truth that reminds us that the state of exception imposed a restriction of freedom of thought and threatened to kill all those who dared to declare themselves against the military regime. Such statements still echo to this day precisely because psychoanalysis in Brazil until a short time ago took very little responsibility for its own history – or at least it did not settle the accounts with its historical moments, let's say, more depoliticized.

## **Conclusion**

Reacting to the urgency of taking responsibility for its own history, there is a great intellectual debate currently underway in Brazil that aims to overcome the strict dichotomy between texts of clinical vocation and social texts. Thus, since the clinic is considered political, it is not by chance that the most frequent is that those psychoanalysts who work at the cutting edge of interventional clinical work are also in the field of academic and intellectual production, since the need for theoretical elaboration of the experience and its respective publication it becomes almost an urgency for the one who performs it. The flow between intellectual activity and clinical exercise at the front line respects the necessary differences between academic discourse and psychoanalytic discourse, but does not make these differences an insurmountable barrier. In fact, quite the contrary. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to encompass the totality of initiatives taking place today in Brazil at the intersection between psychoanalysis and politics, since the work proliferates at an unreachable speed and, above all, in an ethical commitment to psychoanalysis that finally announces scientific neutrality. At bottom, it is probably this fruitful scenario that seeks to rehabilitate the political question that runs through the work of Freud and post-Freudians. The requirement to reexamine the more consecrated psychoanalytic tradition in the light of a critical and sophisticated historiography is what will allow us to understand why certain authors, certain works and certain taboo themes disappear

from history, while others consecrate themselves. After all, at this point it seems too naive to believe that the only factor responsible for the authors' consecration is the "intrinsic virtue" of the work – and therefore the disappearance of the infamous stems from textual imperfections. We suggest, therefore, that history can become so much more relevant and profound as we face *textual imperfections as historical objects*.

It is therefore necessary to finalize our article by recovering the intention of rewriting the itineraries of relations between psychoanalysis and politics in Brazil through its most marginal clues, through its imperfect authors. It will not be in the history told by the official media that we will find it, precisely because the intention was to eliminate any trace of political reflection from the psychoanalytic field during the military regime. Julio Porto-Carrero, Gastão Pereira da Silva, Mauricio de Medeiros or Karl Weissmann will be remembered either as "weak cannons" or as "savage psychoanalysts" or as "exotic collaborators" of the pre-psychoanalytic period, in which they thought and practiced psychoanalysis in Brazil without the norms centralized by the obligatoriness of didactic analysis. Our position is in opposition to this caricature. We do not want to make the denial and erasure of these authors of the official history of psychoanalysis in Brazil a new form of "canonization"; on the contrary, we made it a point to underline how the social appropriations of Freudian theory were done in a dilettante and ill-finished manner, more mirroring the historical moment in which they were produced than by reflecting critically upon it. This is the aspect that most interests us: if it is through the meanders that we must consider their works, it is also by marginalization that the presence of the intersection between psychoanalysis and politics in Brazil must be emphasized. Otherwise, we are bound to repeat eternally that the relations between psychoanalysis and politics in Brazil are a "big taboo subject," when in fact the so-called "taboo" is just another topic excluded from the official historiographical ranks in favor of an expedient of legitimation and recognition that is only capable of respecting the self-absorbed history that they make of themselves.

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