

# **VIOLENCE AND INVISIBILITY DURING SALAZARISM**

THE POLITICS OF VISIBILITY THROUGH THE FILMS 48 AND O ALAR DA REDE

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I, Sofia Lopes Borges, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Date: November 9, 2017

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S.L. Borges', is written over a horizontal line.

I am grateful to Dr. Julia Ng, who walked me through this project particularly during the initial stages, and then to Dr. Ros Gray who also guided me to completion with insight.

I am most indebted to my love, Stéphane Blumer for his patience and graciousness in assisting and encouraging me throughout the course of this research.

This investigation analyses the relations uniting the long endurance of the Salazarist dictatorship in Portugal and the political processes of its cryptic violence. Departing from the differentiation between different types of violence, this thesis shows that structural violence was used intentionally by the regime within the limits of a spectrum of visibility, in an effort to create its own normalisation.

This research examines the mechanism and manifestation of both direct and structural violence through a study of different filmic data. Film served as key propaganda medium for the regime, holding together the concealment of direct violence and generating structural violence. Undermining this authoritarian gesture, this enquiry further explores the device of visibility, intrinsic to filmic material, which challenges the Portuguese regime's politics of self-censorship.

By articulating recent political theories and image philosophy with two films *O Alar da Rede* by Michel Giacometti, (1962) and *48* by Susana de Sousa Dias, (2012), this thesis reflects on the moment when a process of rendering visible exposes a form of resistance to violent hidden policies. With elaborated methods, both films manage to reinsert in the present, a violence from the past. The filmic paradigm described in this paper exposes original tools to fight a violence that was previously concealed within normative conundrums.

**Keywords:** Structural Violence, Visibility, Invisibility, Film, Cinema, Estado Novo, Portugal, Salazarism

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Estado Novo has based much of its ideology on the idea there that was a Portuguese ethno-cultural heritage common that ought to be implemented on the Portuguese society with an unquestionable acceptance. From Salazar's ideology we can subtract very strongly the idea of moderation. Despite the fact that the policies then enforced were violent, the Salazarist regime is described, even so, as a moderate one if considered against the background of the remaining European dictatorships of the 20th century. The Portuguese dictatorship was, however, the longest in Europe, existing between the years 1926 and 1974, and that is not without relevance. If one defines dictatorship as a political structure not subject to democratic elections and deploying violent means, Salazarism was no different. It resorted to *direct violence* (a term used by Galtung, *subjective violence* in Zizek's terms) in order to sustain itself. It is not, however, here that we find the secret to the regime's longevity. The key to the durability of Salazarism seems to be linked, precisely, to the *apparent moderation* with which the regime imposed its violence, and such appearance seems to endure until the present. This *modus operandi* of the regime confounded to a great extent the violence (which was also a lack of attention and care with culture and society in general) with the development of things. Such naturalization of violence made it invisible to the eyes of the folk. . A personal example: my mother.

Two small anecdotes will help me clarify my estrangement: on the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1974, the forces that were to attempt the first state coup were ready to depart from my home city, Caldas da Rainha. My mother, who then worked in Lisbon as a policewoman, was on the bus for the weekend and saw the tanks leaving the military quarter in Caldas. She remembers well that situation and the difficulties the bus faced to head backwards. The mission was aborted later that day and the state coup did not happen. The second anecdote happened on the day of the revolution, the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1974: it was about lunchtime and a lot of people were out on the streets in Lisbon, shouting revolutionary slogans. All the restaurants were closed and my mother could not find a place to eat and so decided, together with a friend, to travel for almost 2 hours to her home-town, where she found restaurants that opened, as usual. There is probably more than one explanation for this of behaviour but, even though I question

the lack of revolutionary feelings in my mother back then, I also question the reasons for it. Why didn't she care? I guess the question that strikes me the most is: why didn't she see it?

I start from this personal note in order to try and establish the connection between violence and perception in the Portuguese regime's *modus operandi*. In order to understand this connection it is necessary to depart from the idea that violence is not something that happens only through acts external to oneself, where clearly an unwanted force is exerted upon others – direct or subjective violence. To acknowledge this violence it is necessary to step back on different forms of non-explicit violence (*objective violence* according to Žižek: 2009). This step back will allow the identification of a kind of violence, which is structural, in which we are embedded and of which we are a part, enabling us, at the same time, to fight off those forms of normalized violence.

This is the point of departure: direct violence is merely the most visible form of a more general kind of violence. This more general kind derives from *systemic* (structural) political and economical relations that find in direct violence a way of revealing the most extreme confrontations. Seen in this way, direct violence cannot be contrasted with the *zero degree* (Žižek: 2009) of violence but, rather, it must be thought of as the visible side of a more latent kind of violence. The visibility of this latent / objective / structural violence is bound, necessarily, with the means that make it visible, with its mediation.

The question of violence during Salazarism gains, under this view, a different dimension. The Portuguese regime was the longest in Europe and part of the secret for this longevity lies in the *feeling of peacefulness* that was propagandised and in the absence of visible forms of violence. It is this latent kind of violence that is important to demystify, and that is only possible if we understand the mechanisms of visibility that helped, on the one hand, to perpetuate this form of structural violence and, on the other hand, to hide more extreme forms of violence. It is easier to respond and position oneself against a regime whose violence is obvious. But it is difficult when this

violence remains invisible. We can thus conclude that the longevity of the regime was due to the ways in which non-extreme violence was used.

This thesis proposes a study on the forms of violence of the Portuguese regime through the language that makes them visible. More concretely, and since it was one of the strategies of Salazarism, I will investigate the use of film as a way of showing and hiding different forms of violence. I shall assume that the Portuguese dictatorship enforced and instilled, through propaganda and brute force, a set of policies and ideals highlighting the sense of honourable poverty that ought to be made the foundation of Portuguese culture, operating as a form of violence over society, one consequence of which was the development of a desire for self-invisibility within the people. This is the ideological principle kept invisible that we will seek to question, as well as the forms that gave it visibility. From the vantage point of a study of Salazar's regime according to which the Portuguese dictatorship deliberately built a system of invisibility within Portuguese society with emphasis on the Portuguese uniqueness, a system which was inherently violent, this dissertation argues for the claim that particular films addressing the dictatorship bear the capacity to challenge the system of invisibility created by the regime. The process through which the state's politics of invisibility is challenged will be clarified in three distinct moments in each of the three chapters.

The first step in elaborating this claim is to clarify a theoretical framework (drawing on José Gil and Fernando Rosas) vindicating the idea that the policies of the Portuguese regime led to a culture of self-censorship, whose corollary is a society where people shun individual responsibility towards the public space, a refusal which affected Portuguese society. The second step focuses on how, through specific films that bring into presence (that re-present) specific forms of past violence, it is possible to identify and challenge the system of invisibility imposed by the regime, as well as some further consequences of those policies; and finally on how this questioning of the regime's system of invisibility is directly linked with, and plays against some of the ideas of what Portuguese collective identitarian memory is today namely the sense that the Portuguese identity is built over a feeling of individual inferiority over the nation and

that the essence of being Portuguese can be found in the unattended culture of the interior.

This study is carried out through movies that address, simultaneously, the invisibility of violence and the way it was enforced under the aegis of moderation. Drawing on the movies, and as a conclusion, I suggest that the recording of violence from the past that remained invisible, when transformed into something visible re-establishes a sense of justice towards the victims. As Didi-Huberman's identifies in his book *Images in Spite of All*, the image is responsible of showing itself in the present moment in which it is seen. This movement of bringing into presence creates a new form of visibility from which its observers cannot escape. In this way, the act of giving to sight is also that of demanding responsibility. In making visible the previously invisible act of violence, movies demand also justice to the victims of such violence. The films selected to illustrate the new way of thinking the culture of invisibleness imposed by the regime are *O Alar da Rede*, directed by Michel Giacometti, and *48*, directed by Susana de Sousa Dias. These will be the two case studies on the basis of which I will elaborate, respectively, in chapters 2 and 3, about the conditions in which filmic works challenge an established order of invisibleness.

Drawing on José Gil's book, *The Rhetoric of Invisibleness* (1995), and on *Salazar and Power: the Art of Knowing Outlast* (2015), by Fernando Rosas, I will delineate the political setting of the regime leading to a culture of self-censorship, which, according to those authors, allowed for the regime's longevity and became deeply embedded in Portuguese society. Salazarist politics raises questions about the nature of the regime's institutional power and the manner in which it was established. The procedures used by the regime in order to consolidate itself and to rule are peculiar to the Portuguese case. Rather than foster the uprising of the individual, the regime sought to exclude the people from the public space. It deployed violent political means that caused a wish for self-invisibility to grow from within the Portuguese society. According to Rosas and Irene Flunser Pimentel (2007), the violence exercised by the regime, deterrent and repressive (*law-making* and *law-preserving violence* — in Walter Benjamin's terms in his essay *The Critique of Violence*, book *Reflections* from 1986) had a critical role in

creating and sustaining the regime and that was also due to the way such policies influenced the behaviour of individuals in their relation to society. Such violence is embodied in multiple forms, of which the political was the main one and which unveiled to me a necessary distinction between direct and structural violence (to use Galtung's terminology). Violence is, in some cases, both structural and can take cultural forms, and it was from this hypothesis that sprung the culture of invisibility, as devised by Gil. The regime used direct violence to establish structural sociological ideals and those ideals had a direct impact on the way people behaved in the public space. The regime's ideology was a means to enforce certain forms of behaviour with long-term violent consequences. Within structural parameters, violence is to be found among the consequences of the ideology. This dissertation argues the case that the violence during the Portuguese dictatorial regime can be found both in the direct violence it inflicted and in the long-term consequences of that violence, namely the lack of interest of individuals in their own visibility in the public sphere. More specifically, and following Hannah Arendt's (*The Human Condition*, 1998) definition on the meaning of being political in the public space, this thesis seeks to define the relationship between public visibility and social responsabilization, arguing that there is a close connection between both and that, as the Portuguese case exemplifies, the lack of visibility in the public scene meant, from some perspective, a lack of political action: in not participating with a vision of living in society with others, the individual relinquishes his/her political right. The theoretical and contextual framework of this thesis will be clarified in Chapter 1, where the terminology to be used in the following chapters is established, and further detailed in Chapter 2, by elaborating on how the regime strove to keep the working class in a state of invisibility via an intricate game that would make it just visible enough so as to convey the idea of honourable poverty; and in Chapter 3, by elaborating on how the regime exercised direct violence through the political police (PIDE) and how this was a mechanism enforcing individual invisibility.

Film was one of the main propaganda tools to extend the regime's politics and it provides this thesis with the context wherein the preference for film as a medium to oppose an institutional power geared towards a culture of individual self-effacement is

substantiated. Chapter 1 provides a contextualization of cinematic propaganda in Portugal, as well as a preclusive approach on the particularities of propaganda film (and film more generally) and traces the consistency of the politically motivated usage of film and how such practices benefit state power. The fact that propaganda film supported institutional power in producing a culture of invisibility is also suggestive of its ability to do the reverse, that is, to undermine such cultural enforcement. The supposition that film can function so as to counteract the condition of invisibility produced by the regime grows from the idea that it has the power to place in the present an expression of past violence and this will be the second argument of my thesis. From the Deleuzian idea (in *Cinema 1* and *Cinema 2*) that film places in the present something that belonged to the past, affording with this gesture a space for visibility and actualisation of the past, I will analyse film as a political tool capable of challenging the rhetoric of propaganda that initially characterized the use of film by the Portuguese regime. Within this new perspective, film inspires a new dialectic that, rather than projecting a space of invisibility on the viewers, opens up a space for political action in society. The importance of this space lies in its challenging the form in which the past is seen, countering the consequences of structural violence brought about by the regime's ideology. This idea is introduced in purely theoretical terms, in Chapter 1. In the following chapter, it is fleshed out with recourse to the film *O Alar da Rede*. In this film the fishermen are portrayed in their working environment. This is an environment that had been neglected by the regime for the course of generations, and this was a result of conscious politics. Even though Michel Giacometti's filmed documentaries were broadcasting national television in the later years of the dictatorship (not as strict in certain aspects, after Salazar's demise) and used as a form of propaganda aimed to show Portuguese culture in its purest expression, Giacometti himself was uncompromisingly critical of the abandonment, by the regime, of the people in rural areas and their culture, when he filmed *O Alar da Rede*. So as to call into question the neglect he found, and using methods that respect the purely filmic rhythm and the relation between viewer and film, Giacometti immerses the viewer into the pace of the working movements and songs he filmed. Using approaches such as the building up and frustrating of expectations, or through habituation and deception, the film evokes feelings of extracted pace in the viewer, leading him/her to

absorb, to entrain to, and, by the same token, to question the whole building of rhythms and paces to which the bodies of working people are subjected. This act of questioning through the filmic medium becomes materialized because the film puts in the presence of the viewer a kind of working rhythm that is itself a consequence of the regime's politics of invisibility. In this sense *O Alar da Rede* lends visibility to a working condition that was hidden for decades, challenging the rhetoric of the regime.

In the next chapter, the argument that film can challenge the condition of invisibility enforced by the regime is further illustrated through the film *48*. In this film, the idea of a deliberate policy towards the silencing of political prisoners and their removal from the public sphere is elaborated. The movie is developed from the point of view of a country already free, looking back to the images of a dictatorial past, with the intent of restoring them some sense of justice. The methods employed by the regime are analysed in the film *48* by focusing on the representational devices used with political prisoners during the periods of imprisonment. The use of mug shots by the political police served, at a representational level, the regime as a means of reducing the experience of imprisonment to a single image form, in the sense that the experience of the prisoner is completely removed, remaining only that representation of his face, almost as an abstraction of the individual, an ironic (and iconic) vindication of the superstitious idea that "photography steals one's soul". This unique device lead me to elaborate on how the use of photographic technology by the institutional power reduces the violence in the experience of imprisonment to a single instant, removing the prisoner's own perception of the events from the public space, thus suppressing the opinion of the oppressed. Within this line of argument, this is a moment where a specific kind of violence materialises. Such violence is reversed when the director, Susana de Sousa Dias, adds the testimony of the victims, many years after those events took place. By doing this, the director is giving the victims back their power to speak in a visible public space, reversing or undoing in this way what had been done by the regime.

Finally, I will elaborate on the consequences such challenging of the regime's system of invisibility bears for the Identitarian Collective Memory in Portugal. I will distinguish

two different aspects in this regard: one that is upheld by Eduardo Lourenço, (in *O Labirinto da Saudade*) and José Gil (in *Portugal, Hoje*), that the regime's rhetoric of invisibility is responsible for a complex of inferiority in Portuguese society that balances out with a sense of superiority in the idea of what is the national identity. Gil also defends that Portuguese identitarian collective memory is defined by the suppression of individual responsibility by the regime, which still affects the Portuguese society today. This will be considered as following the pre-conceived idea that the regime's ideology had no response from the people. Different to this I am inclined to follow authors such as João Leal and Pina Cabral that find in the search for the essentiality of the Portuguese culture the main matter of the Portuguese collective memory. This comprises the idea that as a collective, the *Portuguese identity* was much focused on finding its roots on the rural Portugal — its music (the folklore), its traditions, etc. This was provoked by a modernization of the coast that was not followed by the interior provoking the sense that the interior carried a sort of essence of the Portuguese identity. These authors are more reluctant in stigmatize the collective memory as still suffering from the regime's ideology and instead they find in the approach to the rural a response to the lack of interest of the regime in power. However, both views share the idea that the regime aimed for the people to dig the truth in the very essence of their culture and that, for many years, created a culture of closure in oneself.

How this culture of invisibility is challenged will be approached differently in each chapter but the main consequences will be considered in a more general fashion in chapter one, holding that films are a means for visibility that may present and re-present a desire or willingness to question institutional power. More specifically, in chapter 2 we will see how Giacometti attempts in his film to deconstruct the idea that the working pace and the culture built around the working conditions should remain veiled and provides them a space through two different filmic strategies: habituation and deception. In similar lines, in Chapter 3 the institutional determination that claimed a society where the individual would not be seen is reversed by the visible space the film *48* affords the victims and that brings to light the struggle of political

prisoners for public space, as well as by the director herself, striving for that visible space. Also through the film a new temporality erases, one that gives the viewer a something from the past he or she did not yet know. This form of knowledge from the past, one that relates to a common memory of identity, changes the viewer in a political way in the sense that, through the film, he has gain new resources to combat the said violence.

In sum, while using different strategies, both films challenge the regime's purpose of creating a desire for public invisibility in the individuals, turning it into a claim for public visibility. In *O Alar da Rede* the reversion takes place through the visibility given to the working gesture: in giving the rhythms of work a visible form the director, in a certain sense, forces the viewer to experience them. In *48*, the questioning takes place when the film brings to the public space the desire for political difference, which plays against the use by the political police of institutional images meant to categorise the prisoner in accordance with the system of political power and hierarchical relations. The visibility shows that not only were there people actively engaged against the politics of invisibleness of the regime while it prevailed, but also that the legacy of such politics is contradicted in the very act of the film, *48*, providing the oppressed with a voice.

The selection of two such historically and chronologically different films is purposeful rather than fortuitous. What links both films is not so much their historical perspective on the past but the will for visibility and the effort of putting that visibility in presence. The second reason for choosing these films is the relation to violence they purport to make visible and which allows me to focus on a wide range of the different forms of invisible violence exercised during the regime: the film *O Alar da Rede* brings into question the visibility of an entire swath of the working class, while the film *48* engages with issues of direct violence enacted by the political police.

This chapter argues that in the Portuguese context where the institutions of Salazarism employed methods of invisible violence against society, film was a privileged tool to reverse the invisibility of the oppressed and to re-establish a sense of justice, as it has the ability to put in the present time what was made invisible in the past. This reversion acts directly on the kind of collective image we have nowadays of what a Portuguese identity is, an issue which has been for so long one of the central problems in our cultural heritage.

The Portuguese regime, through political mechanisms demanding individual behaviours of modesty and stripping individuals of their say in public decisions, in favour of its own aims, built a system of invisibility inside Portuguese society that was inherently violent. This violence through the demand of invisibility is part of some of the present-day discourses of the Portuguese collective identitarian memory, a type of memory which, according to Maurice Halbwachs in his book *Collective Memory* (1992), that is sustained by a cultural memory guiding the experience and behaviour of individuals in a social context, and repeats itself throughout generations. Different scholars have raised different discourses on this matter in Portugal. Eduardo Lourenço in the book *Labirinto da Saudade* (1991), defends that the Portuguese collective identitarian memory is centred on an inferiority complex that constructed its own national identity as a form of superiority, the whole of which is widely linked to the conditioning enforced by the regime; José Gil defends the idea that today's collective memory is embedded with a complex of self-denial; or João Leal and Pina Cabral find this common memory in the search for an essentiality of the Portuguese culture. The discourses are arguable but it is undeniable that the regime influenced majorly the common memory of today.

The use of films in the regime's propaganda was of critical importance in establishing this culture of invisibility. It was, to a great extent, through cinema and propaganda films that the regime spread its ideology among the common folk. The secretary of national propaganda used *itinerant cinemas* (vans with cinemas) to get to the villages

that had no movie theatres, many of which did not even had electricity. Different kinds of propaganda film were used but, generally, the films served the purpose of showing the ideology of the regime. Propaganda films reinforced the official narratives subserving the regime in the establishment of a culture of invisibility, yet the fact that film can be made to serve such political goals in a massive and systematic way is always accompanied by the suggestion of its ability to function in the opposite way, undermining state ideology.

Throughout the history of Portuguese film there have been different ways of addressing the issue of invisibility as an active manifestation of violence by the regime. Considering that film is a form of presenting things or events that happened in the past or, in other words, that film reproduces in the time is being exhibited as something that once belonged to the past so one must conclude that by making something from the past present again (by re-presenting it) the film lends new visibility to something that was hidden in the past. In this sense, film becomes a privileged tool to question the regime's politics of invisibility, as it could be used in a way that reclaims visibility and by doing that it creates some sense of social and political justice. It is within these terms that the condition of invisibility and its reversion are approached in the first chapter.

The Portuguese regime configured a political system that greatly influenced the cultural and behavioural patterns of society, one consequence of which was the longevity of the regime itself, the most long-lived of its kind in Europe, and which most decisively contributed to shape the Portuguese collective identitarian memory. These structural politics were imposed both through the exercise of visible violence by the political police, and through state ideology, with its standards of modesty, self-restraint and self-effacement of the individual vis-à-vis the goals of society at large, in a word: of self-invisibleness. In order to circumscribe and conceptualise the kind of violence through and towards invisibleness the regime imposed on Portuguese society it is necessary to narrow down the concept of institutional violence, its applications and finally its mechanisms of visibility (how can we see the effects of such violence?). The conceptual clarification of the several mechanisms of violence, with their degrees of visibility, aids us in identifying the different categories of violence under Salazarism.

The limits of institutional violence are not easy to pin down, because the relations that hold between the authoritarian institutions and the individual assume multiple forms, involving both the public and private space. The priority is to answer the question what is violence? For Johan Galtung (1969) violence is the cause of inequalities between the actual and the potential of an individual. The author establishes five dimensions of violence. The first concerns the distinction between physical or psychological violence exerted on the body or the mind; the second concerns the distinction between negative and positive violence; the third concerns “whether or not there is an object that is hurt.” (Galtung, 1969: 170); the fourth pertains to whether there can be a recognised subject or persons who act violently; the fifth is about the importance of acknowledging the difference between intended and unintended violence in order to ascertain guilt. A final aspect concerns whether we are referring to manifest or latent violence. In Galtung’s approach to the definition of violence does not invoke particularly to the violence exercised by one individual over another, or by a group of individuals over another, but may also include that which is exercised by a political institution over individuals or groups of individuals, in a systematic fashion, which is

precisely the kind of violence perpetrated by Salazar's regime. To the latter, Galtung applies the label of *structural violence*.

The term *structural violence*<sup>1</sup> was originally introduced by Johan Galtung, at least as early as 1969. According to the author, *structural violence* denotes the kind of violence taking place in a society, which is productive of structural social inequalities. For Galtung, this specific form of violence is "present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations." (Galtung, 1969: 168). Structural violence relates to the process whereby people are made impotent within society and cannot produce what they would otherwise be able to produce on external motivations. "Structural violence is silent, it does not show – it is essentially static, it is the tranquil waters. In a static society, personal violence will be registered, whereas structural violence may be seen as about as natural as the air around us." (Galtung, 1969: 173). In other words, violence is exerted systematically and indirectly. Galtung approaches this issue from the perspective of the subject who uses violence and of the legitimation of that use<sup>2</sup>. Structural violence is illegitimate violence exercised by the state on the community, using silent and invisible methods to achieve its objectives.

It is in a context of structural violence producing huge social and economical inequalities in Portugal that the Salazarist regime, so to speak, comes into its own. Salazarism, through its political ideology, configured a state of centralized control and structural impositions on society. This ideology emanated in great measure from its dictator. António de Oliveira Salazar effectively assumed control in 1932 as the Prime Minister<sup>3</sup>, but already in his speech of April 27, 1928 he had expounded his ideals and proposed four unwavering principles which would, in his view, save the country:

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<sup>2</sup> The term structural violence is highly contested and many times simply seen as evolution, disparity, inequality. To use a term for all the types of violence sounds unfair and not large enough. Wacquant argues that it is not productive to call violence in the name of all social inequalities. "In short, structural violence may be strategically useful as a rhetorical tool, but it appears conceptually limited and limiting, even crippling. One can adopt "a deeply materialist approach" to the anthropology of suffering without resorting to a notion that threatens to stop inquiry just where it should begin, that is, with distinguishing various species of violence and different structures of domination so as to trace the changing links between violence and difference rather than merging them into one catchall category liable to generate more moral heat than analytical light." (Wacquant, 2004: 322)

<sup>3</sup> António de Oliveira Salazar assumed the role as the Finance Minister in 1926. He then served as the Prime Minister of Portugal from 1932 – 1968.

“That each ministry commits to limit and organize their services within the budget global assigned to them by the Ministry of Finance; the measures taken by the various ministries, with direct effect on revenue or State expenditure will first be discussed and adjusted with the Ministry of Finance; That the Ministry of Finance can oppose its veto all spending increases [...]; That the Ministry of Finance is committed to collaborate with the different ministries in measures for reductions in expenditure or revenue collection [...].”(Salazar, 1961: 3-6 (adapted))

Furthermore, Salazar disposed of antagonistic military leaders, a decision that would enable the institutionalisation of the regime; he disciplined and integrated national syndicalism and promoted the assimilation of right wing sectors that opposed him. He also fostered the myth that the armed forces should be closely dependent on the government in order to save the nation. The historian Fernando Rosas writes, in 2012, an important book, *Salazar and Power, The Art of Knowing Outlast*, where he defines 7 different ideological motifs of the regime:

1. The regeneration of the Portuguese. The regime aimed at healing the wound of the past and nurture O Homem Novo (The New Man). O Estado Novo (The New State) was the institutionalisation of being Portuguese.
2. The new nationalism, the “ontological essence” of the regime.
3. The imperial myth – the idea of the colonies as part of the multicultural and multiracial empire. Colonies were not referred to as such but considered as parts or extensions (“ultramarine provinces”) of the Portuguese territory.
4. The myth of rurality as one of the main constituents of a Portuguese identity. The land was considered the main source of wealth. Salazar defended this through a discourse of moderation and restraint.
5. The myth of honourable poverty. Poverty was thought of as a vocation of a rural nation.
6. The idea of a natural authority organising corporations and the nation: a natural hierarchy of things and classes (starting from the state down to the family structure etc.)
7. The catholic myth of the essence in natural identity and in the moral re-education of society, through respect for God's established order.

Rosas also categorizes three structural strategies that would bear a significant influence on Portuguese society and account for the regime’s endurance: the first is the role of the Catholic Church and its political and ideological complicity in supporting

and sustaining the regime, within its aim of re-Christianising the nation<sup>4</sup>. In exchange for more social space – bank holidays for example – the Church would commit to promote the regime and ask its devotees to denounce destabilizing groups. The second is the implementation of Corporatism. The corporatist organisation associated with the regime functioned as the medium between the working class and the higher echelons of power within society (in a manner which was definitely skewed or biased) while prohibiting strikes and the freedom of association. It operated as an enforced discipline and control of labour and trade union movements in the name of a new order embodied in the regime, in defence of the national interest. Corporatism was the practical realisation of illiberal authoritarianism that promised to organise public finances, submitting workers to the discipline of capital, which made corporatism into a form of totalitarianism. As a consequence, the working class never enjoyed a truly independent form of defending its interests, thus neutralizing any kind of serious political demand. Finally, the advent of the *Homem Novo* (New Man). This idea of creating a “new man” in society is of key importance to understand the ideals of the regime. “The old strategic design of the dictator seeking to change the mentality and character of the Portuguese, to correct their ‘defects’, to mould them, as well as their souls, in accordance with the ideological values of the ‘new order’” (Rosas, 2015: 188)<sup>5</sup>, the totalitarian project of the regime. By defending National Interest, the dictator purported to rescue the souls of the nation. The ideological specifics served as a filter for culture, politics, education, economics. The ideology of the regime became embedded in all forms of the Portuguese society. This latter point is of major importance: in order to understand the ideology it is imperative to understand this *Homem-Novo*, a product of the regime, which was also a producer of the regime. Who was then the *Homem-Novo*? The *Homem Novo* was Portuguese, of rural background or with a concern for the rural condition, a worker honourably proud of his own poverty, respectful towards God and the authority of the Regime. The construction of this “new

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<sup>4</sup> The relation between the church and the regime is perverse: In 1940 with the bankruptcy and missionary agreement, the church agrees to be the image and legitimize the regime. It is the beginning of the new privileges to the church in compensation of the instrumentalization of the church by the regime. It did not offer all that the church wanted (religious holidays, heritage etc.) but uses it to defend Catholic morality. The scheme was presented as a divine thing. In 1958 the complicity breaks up.

<sup>5</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "O velho desígnio estratégico do ditador visando mudar a mentalidade e o carácter dos portugueses, corrigir-lhes os “defeitos”, moldá-los, bem como às suas almas, de acordo com os valores ideológicos da “nova ordem”"

man” was to occur in several stages of life; a process that was to start with primary school teachers and, later, within every sphere of culture. Both work and leisure<sup>6</sup> time were re-ordered in the image of the regime itself. Popular culture was redefined and the image of the supposed *real people* was central. New customs and traditions such as Fado or the Portuguese pavement were highlighted at the same time as the old politics was left behind. The aim was for a national healing, a great rebirth, a rhetorical consummation in the period that was supposedly taking place before and during the Second World War with the emergence of the so called "new man":

“The people, the ‘true people’, as António Ferro<sup>7</sup> called it, was the participant in this mythical recreation of an essential rural character as a framework for life, of that corporative national-ruralism that reinvented musics, dances, ‘folklore’, habits, customs, behaviours, in accordance with the spirit of an ethnography developed in its image. The ‘working-man’ that stood out from all of this was a striving, respectful, obedient, simple-minded head of a family, tethered to the small world of his family and neighbourhood, faithful to long-standing traditions and to the ‘natural order of things’, even when destiny tore him from his village to throw him into that hostile and dangerous environment of the factory and the city.” (Rosas, 2000: 1046)<sup>8</sup>

The regime upheld a mythical idea of a Portuguese essence that would persist through time; the Estado Novo meant end the dark times of liberalism, from which it would come to re-educate the Portuguese as part of the “regenerated nation, once again reconnected with itself, with its eternal essence and its providential fate” (Rosas, 2000: 1034).<sup>9/10</sup> Salazarism aimed to treat the nation’s soul and regenerate it, to reconfigure

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<sup>6</sup>Two forms of manipulating leisure time: Ministry of National Education (Portuguese Youth, and Women's Moc Port, and Organization of Mothers for National Education - OMEN) these educational structures defined people. And corporatist political organization National Labour and Welfare (INTP) and the control of leisure National Federation for Joy at Work (FNAT) also acted to control people in rural areas. It was the creation of a habitual fear of "normally live" - very important for the durability of the regime. One could not organize anything (a chess tournament is an example) out of the above organizations. There was the massive indoctrination, but passivity, submission and obedience.

<sup>7</sup> António Joaquim Tavares Ferro (1895 - 1956, Lisbon) was a Portuguese writer, journalist and politician, in charged of the propaganda associated with the Estado Novo.

<sup>8</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “O povo, o «verdadeiro povo», como lhe chamava António Ferro, era o que participava nesta recriação mítica de uma ruralidade essencial como quadro de vida, desse nacional-ruralismo corporativo que reinventava músicas, danças, «folclore», hábitos, costumes, comportamentos, de acordo com o espírito de uma etnografia elaborada à sua medida. O «homem-trabalhador» que disto avultava era um chefe de família esforçado, respeitador, obediente, simples, ancorado no pequeno mundo da sua família e da vizinhança, fiel às tradições de sempre e à «ordem natural das coisas», mesmo quando o destino o arrancava à aldeia para o lançar nesse meio hostil e perigoso da fábrica e da cidade.” (Rosas, 2000: 1046)

<sup>9</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Nação regenerada e reencontrada consigo própria, com a sua essência eterna e com o seu destino providencial”

the country and the condition of being Portuguese, which for the regime should be closely linked.

The creation of the *Homem Novo* through this rhetoric of invisibility and the endurance of the regime should not be thought of as a separate phenomena: “The ‘national interest’ and the durability of the regime were one and the same thing, and everything should be subordinate to it as a structuring logic of all political, economical or social logics of government. To know how to endure would be, doubtless, the supreme art of the dictator” (Rosas, 2015: 44)<sup>11</sup>. The ideology of the regime constructed logic of self-protection. By defining the *Homem Novo* as someone who should be modest and respectful of the authority and by showing itself as little as possible, the regime made itself into the longest of its kind in western Europe. Slowly and placidly, the regime sought to create a society that would identify with its ideals and that was done, I argue, in a structural and violent manner. But what kind of structural violence is at issue when speaking about Salazarism? The politics of the regime and its strategies created, as I see it, a structurally violent system fostering the self-effacement of the individual in his or her relation towards society. The Portuguese philosopher and essayist José Gil was the first to introduce in our theoretical context the realisation that violence during this period operated in a system that demanded (not always successfully) of the individual his or her self-denial for the sake of a higher good (the state).

In his analysis of the violence perpetrated by the regime, José Gil foregrounds the idea that by forcing on the individual the notion of an ideal man (*Homem Novo*), the regime created an effect of self-censorship on the people and that was directly connected with Salazar’s oratory. In the author’s view, Salazar created a regime to his own image in a time of necessity. The *Estado Novo* (New State) came into being in a time of

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<sup>10</sup>A short note to add when this idea of *new man* stopped being a problem: the question of man's regeneration would only really be putted into question in the '50s with the socio-economic changes: industrialization, urbanization etc. The nationalist utopia has managed to keep these changes invisible but not for long. Slowly and invisibly, the need to increase the economy replaced the need of the *new man*. In the background the *new man* was the old man, conservative but also a kind man, devoted, peasant, worker, simple. "In any event it is. It was for so long and so quietly as if threatened never to ceased to be".

<sup>11</sup>My translation from the original in Portuguese: “ O “interesse nacional” e a durabilidade do regime eram uma e a mesma coisa, e de que tudo a ela se devia submeter enquanto lógica estruturante de todas as lógicas políticas, económicas ou sociais de governação. Saber durar seria, sem dúvida, a arte suprema do ditador”

prolonged social conflicts throughout Europe and within the country<sup>12</sup>. These conflicts divided and debilitated both right and left wing parties and swamped all revolutionary movements. Amid the confusion,<sup>13</sup> after the coup of 1926, when neither the left nor the right were coming forward with a leadership, António de Oliveira Salazar arrived in 1933 as an undisputed intellectual reference. He had specialized finance, was perceived as a rational, knowledgeable person, aware of the financial situation of the country, which he proposed himself to solve. He appeared to save the country from what he himself called the “error of excess of politics” (Salazar, 1945: 72)<sup>14</sup>. Supported in António Ferro’s discourse that defended that the need for regeneration of the country, legitimized a “politics without politics, a politics of unity” (Ferro, 1978: 66), Gil defines the dictator as asserting this kind of politics using a *rhetoric without rhetoric* (Gil, 1995: 8). As outlined by Gil in his book *The Rhetoric of Invisibility*, Salazar tried from the outset to distance himself from the discourses of the first republic (previous to 1926), which he considered hollow and devoid of meaning. Salazar considered, in his speeches, that pure rhetoric is “deceiving, hypocrite, demagogical, irresponsible” (Gil, 1995:8)<sup>15</sup> and that he, on the other hand, was not an orator and would practise a “Rethoric of Truth, a rhetoric without rhetoric, bent on transforming men” (Gil, 1995: 8)<sup>16</sup>. Salazar's speeches were mostly written in a way that, for him, would produce an effect more lasting than the mere spoken words, which means that “His speeches gain in intelligibility, persuasion, lasting influence” (Gil, 1995: 9)<sup>17</sup>. His speeches, from which feelings are absent<sup>18</sup>, do not appeal to violence and mostly exhale an air of prudence, reasonableness and rationality. Gil defends that Salazar purported to speak in the name of the nation's salvation, against a state of vulnerability and disorder. His discourse followed, with some nuances, always the same model: they start from the

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<sup>12</sup> Europe suffered still the consequences of the World War II which would allow the rise of Nazism (led by Hitler), the emergence of Italian Fascism and Salazarism in Portugal

<sup>13</sup> The civil war between 1927 and 1933 that had weakened the other political parties leading to the election of Oscar Carmona for president in a direct suffrage.

<sup>14</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “erro do excesso de política”

<sup>15</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Enganadora, hipócrita, demagógica, irresponsável”

<sup>16</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Retórica de Verdade, uma retórica sem retórica destinada a transformar os homens”

<sup>17</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Os seus discursos ganham em inteligibilidade, força de persuasão, durabilidade de influencia”

<sup>18</sup> In Salazar's rhetoric one can see a speech that is read and rarely spoken to crowds, and if so, is made through radio and newspapers to individuals. Salazar does not use many metaphorical images in his speech and when so, he uses “movement-images, or rather images resulting from the speech of the movement of the discourse itself” (Gil, 1995: 21).

disorder (of the previous regime) to death or sacrifice, which would, in his words, lead to the regeneration of the country and its people, according with the ideal model of the *New Man*. In Salazar's speeches, each individual is responsible for the country's situation. There was a permanent need for self-sacrifice and to rescue the nation: "negation of disorder through sacrifice and suffering, redemption and rebirth, a new national order" (Gil, 1995: 29)<sup>19</sup>. And for that to happen sacrifice (synonym of deprivation and restraint) was necessary. The symbolic death of the Portuguese resided "in anonymity, that is, in their invisibility as individuals" (Gil, 1995: 30/31)<sup>20</sup>, which would happen in the individuals lack of participation in the public sphere. This discourse appeals to the suppression of the individual, his symbolic sacrifice and death. The abolishment behaviours against the state would lead people back to their essence. Salazar removed himself from society by rarely appearing in public as an orator, remaining silent for extended periods of time.

For José Gil, in contrast with the salvation proposed by Salazar, his rhetoric induced paralysis and apathy. Gil defends that the language used in these discourses is one of violence; it "is a contour that concentrates in itself the twisting violence" (Gil, 1995: 40)<sup>21</sup>. Salazar deprives both the Portuguese people and his own political opponents of their use of the word. "This form becomes the receptive and emitting focus of other registers (verbal or non-verbal), will resume the template inscribed in the unconscious" (Gil, 1995: 40)<sup>22</sup>. For José Gil the latent discourse of Salazar had issues of scale. Salazar would ask to people: "Show yourself to be small and you shall become great" <sup>23</sup>(Gil, 1995: 52). The silence was used as rhetoric and Salazar's speech became about what was not said. Salazar used what could arguably be called Rhetoric of silence, in the sense that Salazar would speak to say himself was silent and did not seek attention; Salazar would appear on the news, for instance, to say that it was socially invisible and, in the meantime, he asked the same invisibility to the ones who listened. That

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<sup>19</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Negação da desordem através do sacrifício e do sofrimento, redenção e renascimento, nova ordem nacional"

<sup>20</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "No anonimato, isto é, na sua invisibilidade enquanto indivíduos"

<sup>21</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "É um contorno que condensa em si a violência da torção"

<sup>22</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Esta forma torna-se o foco receptor e emissor de outros "gestos" violentos que, exprimindo-se por meio de outros registos (verbais ou não verbais), retomarão o molde inscrito no inconsciente"

<sup>23</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Mostra-te pequena e tornar-te-ás grande"

created a certain blurred image of the regime to the people. In fact, very little is said about the characteristics of the regime. Was the Estado Novo secular or religious? Is the regime a totalitarian one or does it abide by the rule of law? The more invisible the dictator was the heavier and more violent his exercise of power. The regime wanted to create a sense that “an invisible power was watching us” (Gil, 1995: 49)<sup>24</sup>.

The rhetoric of invisibility analysed by Gil can also be translated in the rhetoric for invisibility in the sense that Salazar used the fact that he did not have much visibility in the public space to demand the same from people. Salazar used his own invisibility in the public space as an example of humbleness that should be emulated. This behaviour was meant to create the idea, even if not always successfully, that the dictator himself did not rule the country but only its finances, that he did not use the public space and did not act politically. This kind of behaviour created a complex system where invisibility acts in a way that creates more invisibility and that is also true of the exercise of violence. The invisible power amidst the people and guarding the people was not possible without objective aggression and physical violence, even though Salazar never described his regime in terms of violence. The dictator preferred the word force. For the dictator the regime used force and never violence. He held that violence was condemnable but force was necessary to re-establish order — the order of the state — and that it should be used only in the absence of better alternatives. By replacing the designation of *physical violence* (or direct violence, as Galtung would put it) by that of *force (necessary and indispensable)*, Salazar advertises the idea of a system where violence is not in fact seen as violence. The rhetorical use of “force” replaced the meaning of violence.

In fact, the *Estado Novo* managed violence in a very selective way, holding that force should only be applied when necessary and that a strong regime did not need this kind of violence, as the benefits of the regime would be recognised by its people. Nonetheless, violence during the regime is recognisable in two ways: preventive violence, by employing intimidation, and repressive violence, exercised through punishment. Through the Political Police (PIDE) the regime would suppress freedoms

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<sup>24</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Um poder invisível nos vigiava”

of speech and association, forbidding political parties and strikes or any independent organization of the working class, in favour of the supreme goals of the nation. The preventive (and invisible) violence worked together with the punitive and repressive one. Violence was meant as a form of prevention and it was silent and invisible “pointed to the discussion, favoring restraint and permanent vigilance of behaviours” (Rosas, 2015: 196)<sup>25</sup>. Three different preventive methods were applied. The first was censorship through telephone tapping, mail interception and informants. The regime permanently observed the behaviour of everyone, or at least it gave the impression that such was the case. The second preventive method was implemented through the two law enforcement institutions PSP and GNR<sup>26</sup>. Any suspected subversive action was supposed to be reported to the police. The fact that the PSP and the GNR were absolutely unaccountable, that the officers were uneducated and took advantage of their power to solve their personal issues created fear among the people. The third preventive technique was implemented by organisations whose range of action included schools, the work and leisure times (through propaganda), disseminating the idea that the nation needed to be treated and regenerated through the formation of a *Homem Novo*.

Repressive violence was registered in more scarce numbers and only happened in cases of civil disobedience. According to the historian Fernando Rosas and Irene Flunser Pimentel (2007 and 2011), intensive torture was used by the state on prisoners but would rarely, in mainland Portugal, end up in murder. (However, the case was different in the ex-colonies, where murders took place in much higher numbers). The numbers are not easy to establish, as many of the political prisoners were never taken to court. It was legal for the political police to jail suspicious people for interviews without formal charges. This could happen until the single extension of 18 months in prison. Often the suspects were jailed again shortly after being released. In rural areas the disobedience against any decision of the regime had more severe consequences. The police were more brutal in such areas and it was more likely for them to shoot at

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<sup>25</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Apontada à dissuasão, à intimidação, privilegiando a contenção e a vigilância permanente dos comportamentos”

<sup>26</sup> PSP (Polícia de Segurança Pública) — Public Safety Police; GNR (Guarda Nacional Republicana) — National Republican Guard

demonstrations in the countryside and urban areas to the south of Lisbon then against students, for example. The legal protection that the PIDE enjoyed from the regime permitted their constant practice of torture. These practices took place mostly after the 1950's, when the regime was at stake after being questioned nationally and internationally<sup>27</sup>.

As we can see, even if disguised, direct violence existed and enabled the regime to consolidate and endure. In his book *Critique of Violence*, Walter Benjamin distinguishes 2 different kinds of state violence: lawmaking violence, and law-preserving-violence. Lawmaking violence recognises the new conditions for a new law, and makes use of factual violence, "constituting power that installs a new legal order." (Milisavljević, 2012: 3). Or In Benjamin's words: "This sanction consists precisely in recognising the new conditions as a new "law," quite regardless of whether they need de facto any guarantee of their continuation" (Benjamin, 1986: 283). The second kind of state violence recognised by Benjamin is law-preserving violence: "For law preserving violence is a threatening violence. (...) A deterrent in the exact sense would require a certainty that contradicts the nature of a threat and is not attained by any law, since there is always hope of eluding its arm." (Benjamin, 1986: 285). Salazarism made the most extensive use of the second through a terrifying environment that petrified people. The regime learned how to use the rhetoric of violence, both structurally and directly, in such a way that it managed to make both *violences* (structural and factual) invisible. By using a discourse of necessity and by replacing the notion of violence with the notion of force, the boundaries of violence became more fuzzy. Such rhetoric was used in the self-legitimation and protection of the regime. The legitimation of the use of violence is also of concern to Walter Benjamin and he holds that one does not develop a critique of violence but rather of its applications. Benjamin questions violence in the realm of means, not of ends although he distances himself from the idea that violence is simply a means. He concentrates on how the question of violence and its understanding is dependent on the justification of that violence and thus of the law. State violence can then be either legal or illegal and this appreciation can only be

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<sup>27</sup> After the World War II, Salazar suffered great international pressure (United Nations, Kennedy Administration etc.) to end the un-democratic regime and its colonies.

done within an historical understanding. This is in outright conflict with the concept of justice: violence can be legal and unjust at the same time, and it is also questionable whether violence is justifiable, even when the ends seem just. Law uses militarism as the “compulsory, universal use of violence as a means to the ends of the state. (...) It consists of violence as a means of legal ends.” (Benjamin, 1986: 284). This self-legitimation of state power is also recognized by Deleuze and Guattari:

[...] State policing or lawful violence [...] consists in capturing while simultaneously constituting a right to capture. [...] State overcoding is precisely this structural violence that defines the law, “police” violence and not the violence of war. There is lawful violence wherever violence contributes to the creation of that which it is used against, or, as Marx says, wherever capture contributes to the creation of that which it captures. [...] It is also why, in contradistinction to primitive violence, State or lawful violence always seems to presuppose itself, for it pre-exists its own use: the State can in this way say that violence is “primal,” that it is simply a natural phenomenon [...]. (Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 1987: 448 [559].)

The fact that the Portuguese regime tried to obfuscate people by replacing the idea of violence with the idea of force does not mean that violence was not present. It was present both in a direct physical sense and in a structural one. In fact, the self-legitimation of the regime included the very physical violence that had helped to establish it in the first place. In addition, the act of obfuscating is itself a violent act and should be considered as such. The rhetoric of invisibility was used with the purpose of pacifying and petrifying people, and that produced identifiable results. The lurking presence of the regime and the impending use of violence had an implication for people’s behaviour. The consequences of such invisible violence enabled the perpetuation of the regime and, more importantly, defined the Portuguese identitarian collective memory.

Maurice Halbwachs, the first sociologist to conceptualise how the need to solve present problems affects the mental image of the past, introduced the term *Collective Memory*. For the author, collective memory is not a given but a social construct. He defines two different kinds of memory: autobiographical and historical. The autobiographical memory implies a personal experience that tends to fade with time

and is rooted in the experience of other people, because “No memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections.” (Halbwachs, 1992: 43). The historical memory reaches social actors through records (written, images, etc.) and is kept alive through social commemorations. Historical memory is not direct but rather indirectly stimulated. “We preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated.” (Halbwachs, 1992: 47). For Halbwachs, the minds of individuals reconstruct the memory under pressure of society. What ties the recent memories together is the fact that “they are part of a totality of thoughts common to a group” (Halbwachs, 1992: 52) a group we relate to. Collective memory is obviously not immutable, it evolves with time and evolves in its relation to the present. “Depending on its circumstances and point in time, society represents the past to itself in different ways: it modifies its conventions. As everyone of its members accepts these conventions, they inflect their recollections in the same direction in which collective memory evolves.” (Halbwachs, 1992: 172/173)

It is within this logic of collective memory that José Manuel Sobral in the text *Identidade Nacional: Considerações de Caracter Geral e o Caso Português*<sup>28</sup> (2006) distinguishes three vast stages on the formation of the Portuguese Identity: The first centuries of the Portuguese monarchy, with the proliferation of the language and economy; the medieval Sebastianism and the *Lusíadas*, and finally with the *Estado Novo* and its intellectuals. *Estado Novo* influenced greatly the perception we have of what means Portuguese culture and identity. I shall distinguish two different positions of scholars, one who defends that *Estado Novo* enforced a behaviour of self-reduction of the people elaborated by José Gil and Eduardo Lourenço, and a second one that sees the influences of *Estado Novo*'s ideology through necessity of looking at the essentiality of the Portuguese identity many times derived by a lack of interest by the regime's on what was conceived as the Portuguese tradition — this is much developed by the anthropology and ethnography, namely João Leal and Pina Cabral. Both visions

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<sup>28</sup> National Identity: General Character Considerations and the Portuguese Case.

agree that the regime stimulated places where the people should be invisible to the public sphere.

Eduardo Lourenço establishes the Portuguese collective memory in a trans-temporal obsession that expects the future to recognise and return to the glories of the past. This nationalist perspective mystifies both the past and the future. The *Estado Novo* fostered the endurance of this national mythological fiction. In his book *O Labirinto da Saudade*, Eduardo Lourenço elaborates on a psychoanalysis of the mystified relation the Portuguese bear to their history, and thus to their collective memory. The regime enforced on the people the idea that national interest was above any other and that, according with the author, created a complex of inferiority replaceable only by the belief that past glory would eventually be acknowledged once more by some external force, and that would bring a sense of accomplishment back to the nation. This is very close to the rhetoric of the regime, with its demands of sacrifice by the people in the name of the sorely needed regeneration, as was recognised by José Gil. For Gil, the Portuguese culture still exhibits a paralysing fear that is an echo of the Salazarist regime. "The difference from the past is that fear is still in the bodies and spirits, but it is no longer felt" (Gil, 2007: 36)<sup>29</sup>. This is a fear of knowledge that Salazar, arguably, installed and has persisted throughout generations. It is a fear that aims the preservation of life in society. "As a device that curtails desire, fear predisposes to obedience. It softens the bodies, sucking out their energy, creating a void in the spirits that only tasks, duties, obligations of submission are supposed to fill" (Gil, 2007: 73)<sup>30</sup>. The Portuguese collective memory still suffers from the consequences of such violence according to Gil. For José Gil, Salazarism enacted a movement against individuality. This violence left a trauma in contemporary Portuguese society. In the author's view "There is no tragic in Portugal" (Gil, 2009: 11), meaning that there is a sense of not being a part of history, which is widespread throughout the whole of society and individual existence. There is heritage of non-inscription inherited from Salazar: no one wants to give his or her opinions; everyone follows what has been said already. For

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<sup>29</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "A diferença com o passado é que o medo continua nos corpos e nos espíritos, mas já não se sente"

<sup>30</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Enquanto dispositivo mutilador do desejo, o medo predispõe à obediência. Amolece os corpos, sorve-lhes a energia, cria um vazio nos espíritos que só as tarefas, deveres, obrigações da submissão são suposto preencher"

him, in Portugal “nothing really matters, nothing is remediable, nothing is inscribed”<sup>31</sup> (Gil, 2007: 17)<sup>32</sup>. In Portuguese society everything is supposed to come out of the fog. Salazar was a disease (of both body and spirit), one which had severe consequences even in the revolution that determined the end of the dictatorship. There is no real political questioning and the radio and TV conditioned all the debates. The public space, which is essential for democracy was stolen by the regime. Real inscription necessarily presupposes an inside and an outside, a private space and a public space, which the regime did not allow. It is necessary for an act to provoke something abnormal, out of the ordinary. “The inscription happens when desire is modified under the pressure, the force of another desire, or the violence of another event. The encounter with desire produces another Event, it is it which is inscribed.” (Gil, 2007: 43)<sup>33</sup>. To José Gil, April 25th of 1974 did not abolish the social boundary between the knowledgeable and wealthy and the ignorant poor, and that is a long-lasting effect of Salazarism. And he continues: the paralyzing fear:

“The ingrained fear, embodied fear, objectless fear (...) and, yet, ubiquitous, companion of every instant, a disease that sticks to the skin of the spirit and so it is not seen, up to the point of one not feeling, as if it was not inscribed in us. This was doubtless the fear produced by Salazarist society. I speak of the common man, not the oppositionist, always clearly threatened by power. The fear exuded by Salazarism is a typical example of the fog or white shadow.” (Gil, 2007: 68)<sup>34</sup>.

The Portuguese Identitarian Collective Memory, to a great extent described by Lourenço and Gil, implies a complex of subordination of the individual towards the public space. The individual has no real political interaction in the public space. By public space I understand a space where different ideas are placed in a visible manner, a space for contradiction. For Gil what happened was if the notion of family in

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<sup>31</sup>To be inscribed: The process when the events happening in history (and in the people) provoke a cathartic experience. The continuation of history can change in a meaningful way only when the experience is inscribed.

<sup>32</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Nada tem realmente importância, nada é irremediável, nada se inscreve”

<sup>33</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “A inscrição acontece quando o desejo se modificou sob pressão, a força, de um outro desejo, ou da violência de um outro acontecimento. O encontro com o desejo produz um outro Acontecimento, é ele que se inscreve. ”

<sup>34</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “O medo entranhado, o medo incorporado, o medo sem objecto (...) e, no entanto, ubíquo, companheiro de todos os instantes, doença que se agarra à pele do espírito e por isso não se vê, podendo-se mesmo não sentir como se em nós não estivesse inscrito. Este foi indubitavelmente o medo produzido pela sociedade salazarista. Falo do homem comum, não do oposicionista, sempre claramente ameaçado pelo poder. O medo exsudado pelo salazarismo é um exemplo típico do nevoeiro ou da sombra branca”

Salazarism was extended to the whole of society, as if everyone in a sense belonged to the same family, which culminated in a kind of social promiscuity according to Gil, in a democracy of affections that was not really emotional. In other words, it culminated in a society that makes no decisions based on how people truly feel and believe, which would have conflicts as consequence, but rather on the idea of everyone's opinions should be protected as if in a family. The regime's discourse around the family suggested that it would be inside the house through the knowledge spread to the new generation that the future would be saved in a kind of eternal registration. Within this discourse, the family should provide a feeling of security: "From what? Precisely, from disappearing without a trace, from the existence that knows itself to be evidence less in the future, thus erasing all presence in the present. Saved from non-inscription, that is, radically, from death." (Gil, 2007: 58)<sup>35</sup>. As if the thoughts were worth the actions. "But the trauma was never as subtle that it wouldn't be even felt as such" (Gil, 2007: 121)<sup>36</sup>. To José Gil and Eduardo Lourenço, the Portuguese society of today still suffers the process of self-invisibility that was set off by the regime and is embedded in people's behaviour. The illness is what I call the violent discourse for invisibleness. It was within this system for invisibleness that the regime was able to postpone its own death. Instead of dying the regime became embedded in society and vanished into the fog. The regime created that fog and blurred the difference between good and the bad, public and private, violent and non-violent.

The second group of intellectuals will be further elaborated during the second chapter. The interior of the country was for many years during the Estado Novo (and before) left unattended which provoked a very big social, economical and political gap between the countryside and the more urbanized areas. However, the interior remained the place where Estado Novo would get their idea of tradition from and ethnographers and anthropologists would do the same thing. Different from José Gil's and Eduardo Lourenço's perspective, ethnographers such as João Leal and Pina Cabral defend that the common Portuguese identity can be identified in the continuous

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<sup>35</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "De que? Precisamente, do desaparecimento sem deixar rasto, da existência que se sabe sem vestígios no futuro, apagando-se assim toda a presença no presente. Salvos da não-inscrição, quer dizer, radicalmente, da morte"

<sup>36</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Mas o trauma foi tão subtil que não foi sequer sentido como tal"

search for what are the rooms of the Portuguese culture. In other words they argue that the lack of development in the more rural areas provoked the feeling that those areas kept a more significant essentiality of the national tradition. In this way, the Portuguese Identitarian Collective Memory is embedded with this search for something inside oneself.

The Portuguese Identitarian Collective Memory is not defined without problems but, even without fully agreeing with Eduardo Lourenço and José Gil on their idea that the regime left an unbearable trauma on the Portuguese society that will remain for many years, or with Pina Cabral and João Leal that this identity lies on the continuous search for the essence of the Portuguese identity, I assume as a fact that Estado Novo had intense influence on the Portuguese identity. The violence used formatted, not always unproductively, the behaviour of the following years, either the behaviours of the individuals and of the economical and political families. The power to silence, to restrict and to lack attention to specific areas in the country is a kind of violence on its own.

The use of propaganda by the Portuguese regime was central for the diffusion of its ideology, which reinforced the politics aimed at suppressing the public role of individual persons as individuals in the Portuguese society, inducing behaviours akin to self-invisibleness for this purpose. The nationalist propaganda in Portugal was less aggressive when compared to other regimes in the same ideological family,<sup>37</sup> but nevertheless it made a strong claim that it would reduce the public space as a space of expression for the individual mind to a minimum. Salazarism made a use of propaganda in various ways, namely with posters and magazines, but I will focus on the use of film and cinema, as it was one of its main instruments.

Propaganda is, in general terms, a political instrument of state power, used for specific purposes, and in the Portuguese case those purposes were intimately related with the means of exercising violence. The function of propaganda was to veil the actual, effective physical violence taking place in the country (as well as in the world) during that period, and to propagate certain values that immersed and enforced the people into a lifestyle that required from them permanent self-censorship and self-invisibleness. In a sense, propaganda served the regime in its effort to hide itself in the way violence may be shown and covered. The collective memory created during the regime, which is immersed in various forms of invisible enforcement, was so, to a great extent, through the means of filmic propaganda. Films were used to veil an ideology that I expect to contextualize.

Film was the most used tool for purposes of propaganda during Salazar's regime in Portugal. The choice of filmic methods for the diffusion of the regime's ideals and as a way to hide the regime's violence, was not innocent. Joan Ramon Resina questions, in his text *Historical Discourse and the Propaganda Film* (1998), how the movement inside the film provokes a sense of embodiment in the viewer. Resina follows Walter Benjamin, who had already made clear in 1936 that film engenders a *new perceptual appropriation* (Resina, 1998) and transforms sensory impressions of reality into objects of consciousness. The events that for Resina relate to the idea of the unification

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<sup>37</sup> Nazi, the Italian fascism, etc.

between the traces left by something that happened in the past and the historical perception one has of them. In this sense “film endows sensory traces with temporal form, it also seems to disclose the inner structure of events” (Resina, 1998). In other words, film produces a perception of time, which is an inherent quality of the structure of the events.

“Fulfilling mechanically the role of the transcendental consciousness, the screen offers to perception the form of something that would otherwise evade the senses. This something is, at its most basic, the phenomenon that Deleuze calls the movement-image, a technical construct which, although integral to the cinematic experience, is not actually in the photograms themselves.” (Resina, 1998)

In this passage Resina follows a Deleuzian perspective, where the author defines the notion of image-movement as a temporal structure that is constructed from the unification of the past, present and future in a configuration of will. In other words, it is the will of the director who makes the film that puts together in a movement-image what he knows of the past with the expectation he has of the future in the present time. All temporal forms exist inside each other. It is not possible to think of the past without reference to the present and the future. Film always works in the present time (here and now) from an elaboration of the past and the future (where do we come from, where do we go). Films take place in this illusion of presence; they elude us by giving “the presence of the present: of time unfolding and becoming world. It is this illusion of world-presentness that provokes the sceptical protest of code-oriented viewers” (Resina, 1998). How is this to be applied to propaganda purposes? By adding a temporal perspective (opposite to the static photograph) and generating the movement, the camera gives us the events back. It endows the representation of historical facts with a purpose, a goal, as presence. This representation is exhibited in the present as many times as the film is exhibited. The condition of film as a medium, offering us those historical facts through its own structure, obliges us to reflect on the interpretation and narrative we have of them.

“But if the camera rescued events from oblivion by turning them into percepts, it is also true that historical traces alone cannot reproduce the inner structure of

the past. As long as film preserves its raw, untreated quality (...), images of events appear disjointed, scattered, and open to interpretation or cooptation by a metanarrative." (Resina, 1998)

In this sense the historicity of propaganda films is always conditioned by the aim behind propaganda. Propaganda film "seeks to inaugurate a new time sequence. It stops being a witness and becomes an agent" (Resina, 1998). In a word, propaganda film repositions the movement-image towards a political aim *ad vitam æternam*. Propaganda films (cinema and otherwise) work in specific terms according to Richard Taylor (2009), they are "concerned with the transmission of ideas and/ or values from one person, or group of persons, to another". (Taylor, 1998: 7) The propagandistic will is conscious and always has a purpose; without it, it would lack direction and "without direction it can have no distinctive political function separating it from other social and political activities" (Taylor, 1998: 9). It lends the information a purpose, giving it a political sense. It transmits ideas and values in order to influence public opinion, distorting the events. In fact, and according to Nancy Snow, propaganda "begins where critical thinking ends." (Snow, 2003: 5).

In the propaganda made during the Portuguese regime, the dislocation of time/perception reintroduced a structure of identification to the regime as such. Propaganda defined the regime. The process to disseminate the regime's ideals was fundamental to achieve such goals. Culturally, the process was dominated by the *Politics of Spirit*<sup>38</sup> and lasted until the end of the 1940's. It was in 1933 that the regime first sketched the outline of its cultural policy, as well as its methods. Salazar appointed António Ferro to be in charge of propaganda<sup>39</sup>. *SPN – Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (Portuguese Secretariat of National Propaganda) was created to respond to the needs of the Estado Novo, until then unknown to most. In fact, Antonio Ferro had

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<sup>38</sup>The program was based in three politics. The first was the use of culture as a means of propaganda; cultural movements should be geared to glorify the regime and its leader. The second was the attempt to reconcile the old traditions and the old values with modernity that time, based on a nationalist ideology nautas, saints and knights with modernist and futuristic ideas of Antonio Ferro and its partners. Third and last, and taking into account the foregoing, the cultural program of the regime sought to establish a national and popular culture based on its roots and ideals of the regime. In conclusion, it can be said that the culture of this time was intended to be simple, so as to distract the people and not to think of what, according to the members of the new state government was not within its competence.

<sup>39</sup> António Ferro started as editor of *Revista Orpheu*, *O Jornal*, *O Século* and *Diário de Lisboa*, and a Journalist in *Diário de Notícias*. He was selected by Salazar to direct the *Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional* (SPN) and it was him who proposed Salazar a strong propagandistic action, later called *Política do Espírito*.

a central role in the arts in Portugal during the regime, and many authors<sup>40</sup> define him as the real conductor of the image of the regime. Propaganda in Portugal between 1930 and 1950 was less aggressive than in other European countries, which employed their propagandistic means much more *hostilely* and *unrelentingly* (Vieira, 2013). Nonetheless, its content had a very aggressive discourse towards the cleansing and self-legitimization of the regime. When selecting and mounting films, Ferro always had in mind the *new order* and its *Politics of the Spirit*. Such politics were brought to attention first by Ferro in 1932 in *Jornal de Notícias*. The chosen films should make reference to Portuguese Nationalism, based on the idea that the individual should be loyal to the state<sup>41</sup>. Nuno Rosmaninho summarises it well:

“In António Ferro several aspects of national anti-modern discourse, developed from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, converged. In his allocutions, the attacks on behalf of late-naturalist academicism, of morals, of God, nation and social order, pile up. In 1934, during the first ceremony of the Literary Prizes, attended by Salazar himself, he proceeded to the careful explanation of what he understood as the ‘Politics of the Spirit’. The SPN should favour a ‘healthy art’ and fight ‘everything that soils the spirit’, ‘everything ugly, rude, bestial, everything evil, sick, for simple voluptuousness or satanism’. It should attack certain pseudo-liberating non-conformist ideas’, the ‘pseudo-vanguardists’, ‘certain ‘depraved paintings of vice’, the ‘dissolving diabolism, the ‘amoralism and morbidity’. It should prevent ‘the renaissance of a sadistic literature’ and the ‘freudian excavations’. It should moderate ‘the diabolic, nihilistic restlessness’, ‘the disquietness of Disorder’, ‘the inquietude of the evil that knows itself and dissimulates’, ‘that restlessness that knows itself to be sick and produces a literature and an art consciously morbid’. Two years later, he repelled the ‘false vanguardists’, ‘satanism’, ‘materialism’ and the ‘amorphous’”. (Rosmaninho, 2008: 295/296)<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> António Ferro was considered to be the creator of Salazar’s image in texts : Such as Raimundo Orlando in his book *António Ferro: the inventor of Salazarism*, 2015, *Salazarismo e as Artes Plásticas*, 1982,

<sup>41</sup> In a more general sense, the regime gave a lot of importance to spirit, which was opposed to matter in what Vieira defends as a Hegelian vision of spirituality: materiality would create the crisis of spirit and therefore Salazar would have opposed it intensely. Great truths were unquestionable and for that eternal and trans-historical. Matter would refer to gravity while spirit to freedom. “Human activity and the succession of historical eras are the way in which abstract Spirit becomes concrete, gains self consciousness, and reaches freedom” (Vieira, 2015: 207). The regime would gain strength over the time in which materiality should be refused.

<sup>42</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Em António Ferro confluíram as várias facetas do discurso nacional antimoderno, desenvolvido a partir do século XIX. Nas suas alocuções, somam-se os ataques em nome do academismo tardo-naturalista, da moral, de Deus, da nação e da ordem social. Em 1934, na primeira festa de distribuição dos Prémios Literários, em que o próprio Salazar esteve presente, procedeu à cuidadosa explanação do que entendia por «Política do Espírito». O SPN devia favorecer uma «arte saudável» e combater «tudo o que suja o espírito», «tudo o que é feio, grosseiro, bestial, tudo o que é maléfico, doentio, por simples volúpia ou satanismo». Devia atacar «certas ideias não conformistas, falsamente libertadoras», os «pseudo-vanguardistas», «certas pinturas viciosas do vício», o «diabolismo dissolvente», o «amoralismo e a morbidez». Devia impedir «a renascença duma literatura sádica» e as «escavações freudianas». Devia moderar «a inquietação diabólica, niilista», «a

Film was crucial for the diffusion of Salazar's politics of invisibility and its consequences were both the hiding of violence (effectively) and a symptom of (structural) violence. Salazar was not particularly engaged with cinema (Piçarra, 2015), since he thought it was a very expensive art form. However, António Ferro was really absorbed in the potentialities of film and in its capacity to disseminate the regime's moral guidelines. For this reason he carried out a plan to create an image or a representation of the regime's politics that would transmit at the same time information to the people and a sense of security. The country's lack of electrical infrastructures in the 1930s accounted for the lack of cinema theatres across the country. In response to this, the SPN created itinerant cinemas (Piçarra, 2015). Two big cars equipped with ambulant cinema travelled across the country<sup>43</sup>. During that period, 70 documentaries were produced with the express aim of explaining the life of the *Homem Novo*.

The following decades were marked by a large production of films, which were divided in two main sections: Comedies that gained great popularity due to the use contexts, thematic and places in which the general public was easily recognized. The second type of cinema related with a preoccupation in exhibiting the historical achievements and in raise awareness the people of the national vision. Examples of film propaganda in comedy are: *A Canção de Lisboa* (1933) José Cottinelli Telmo; *O Trevo de Quatro Folhas* (1936) Chianca de Garcia, *Maria Papoila* (1937) José Leitão de Barros; *A Aldeia da Roupa Branca* (1938) Chianca de Garcia; *A Varanda dos Rouxinóis* (1939) José Leitão de Barros; *João Ratão* (1940) Jorge Brum do Canto *O Pai Tirano* (1941) António Lopes Ribeiro; *O Pátio das Cantigas* (1942) Francisco Ribeiro; *O Costa do Castelo* (1943) Arthur Duarte; *A Menina da Rádio* (1944) Arthur Duarte; *A Vizinha do Lado* (1945) António Lopes Ribeiro. In the historical perspective I highlight José Leitão de Barros com *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor* (1935); *Bocage* (1936); *Inês de Castro* (1945); *Camões*(1946). *Ainda os Fidalgos da Casa Mourisca* (1938) de Arthur Duarte e *Amor de perdição* (1943) António Lopes Ribeiro.

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inquietação da Desordem», «a inquietação do mal que se conhece e se mascara», «essa inquietação que se sabe doentia e que produz uma literatura e uma arte conscientemente mórbidas». Dois anos depois, repelia os «falsos vanguardistas», o «satanismo», o «materialismo» e o «informe»”

<sup>43</sup> During this period many of these regions did not have electricity and therefore no access to radio or TV and this was their first chance to see any of those apparatuses working.

Among very popular comedies and films with an historical perspective of the country, propaganda films served the regime in many forms. Through giving a visible expressions of the regime's ideals it transformed the way reality was seen by the people. Propaganda managed to create an image of the regime capable of protecting the people from war, showing it as the natural locus of authority and, at the one time, both inevitable and desirable. Through film, the authorities conveyed an image of peace and control, demanding self-sacrifice from the people. In this sense, film protected and served the dictatorship because it was used to perpetuate a situation of inequality and unfairness to the people.

Film served the Portuguese regime as a propaganda device to conceal violence and to stimulate an ideological system that demanded of the individual that he should hide himself from the public sphere. That is not, however, the only possible way to consider the relation between Salazarism, film and visibility. Visibility has been a theoretical and artistic concern in the historical framework of film, and a concern during the Portuguese regime. As against propaganda, films about the Portuguese regime have also provided a space of public visibility that deserves to be explored and that challenges the condition of invisibility envisaged by the regime, with its severe consequences for the Portuguese Identitarian Collective Memory. This challenging of the system for invisibility takes place, similarly, in that area of the filmic realm where film re-presents something from the past in the present time. This filmic perspective has specificities of its own that must be clarified. In the specific case of the films we will be addressing in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, namely, *O Alar da Rede* and *48*, the films address the system for invisibility because they re-establish visibility for different kinds of violence happening during the regime's existence, and they do so by providing a block of time/movement that expresses the manifestation of such invisibility of the past. More specifically, our two case studies already give visibility to what the regime wanted to remain invisible, challenging in this way the system defended by the dictatorship.

The history and theory of film shows different forms to think of the relation between film, representation and visibility. The beginning of a problematic relation between violence and film lies in the distinction between Aesthetics and Essence (Perception and sensation). In the book *The Logic of Sense* (2003), Gilles Deleuze develops the importance of the distinction between essences<sup>44</sup> and appearances<sup>45</sup> to establish a dialectic of the role of images. Deleuze and Guattari, in their discussion of the rhizome, also make a division between a map and a tracing: tracing being an action that isolates and stops the represented coming back always to the same<sup>46</sup> real; and mapping being

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<sup>44</sup> Following the Hegelian thinking of how a notion of something comes into being.

<sup>45</sup> Kant: the distinction between the object of perception and the object of knowledge

<sup>46</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. and forward by Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 13

an open and experimental process with the real, from which connections can be reconstructed every time: this would be a process that respects the movement inside experience. Deleuze (2003) develops his argument according to two effects: the tracing would culminate in a copy and the mapping in a simulacrum. A copy would resemble the idea of the real while a simulacrum relates to becoming. Both are forms of representing the past but they act on the viewer in completely different ways. Deleuze distinguishes films that act positively in the viewer or, in other words, that create new forms of thinking, from films that work with existing blocks of movement-images (that use clichés) by defining them as good and bad cinema (Deleuze, 2014)<sup>47</sup>. Deleuze defines clichés as following:

"Floating images, these anonymous clichés, which circulate in the external world, but which also penetrate each one of us and constitute his internal world, so that everyone possesses only psychic clichés by which he thinks and feels, is thought and is felt, being himself a cliché among the others in the world which surrounds him ... . clichés and psychic clichés mutually feed on each other" (Deleuze, 1986: 208-9).

Clichés are already existent blocks of movement-images that are reproduced over and over again and that do not add anything to the represented. As Michael Kramp says, Clichés function as producing-machines—in “reality and in our psyches; as always-already thought ideas, they secure and stabilize intellectual, artistic, or corporeal energies, and also serve to inhibit new creative relationships or forces” (Kramp, 2012: 23). Clichés renovate the already known too. Representation, as Deleuze defines it, relates to the Crystal Image as it records something from the past, something that contains that past, and the presentness of the viewer "the crystal-image is, then, the point of indiscernibility of the two distinct images, the actual and the virtual" (Deleuze, 2014: 82). It is the memory of something to which the present is added. Something made present again. The concept of Crystal-Images is further developed in Brian Massumi's work (*The Shock to Thought*):

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<sup>47</sup> A critique to this distinction could be found in Christopher Miller book *We shouldn't judge Deleuze* from 2003. He says that the limbo between representation and construction of reality is too uncertain.

“They return, in conformity and correspondence, as if in confirmation of the doctrine that production is always actually, systematically, reproduction. If production is reproduction, then life is trapped in a vicious circle: that of the systemic repetition of its own formation (wholesale or in self-interested part).” (Massumi, 2005: XVII)

The link between clichés and representation is certain but is not the unique form of films. If we consider the term representation as something that brings something from the past to the present and not merely as a link that always refers the present to the Crystal-image of the past, then the idea of giving visibility takes form. This is when the idea of simulacrum gains strength. Simulacrum appears as phantasmatic power: it creates an internal resonance that introduces forced movement that consequently creates the condition for real experience of the arts. Simulacra deny “the original and the copy, the model and the reproduction” (Deleuze, 2003: 262) and produce an effect in reality. Far from thinking in terms of the original identity, simulacrum thinks “similitude and even identity as the product of a deep disparity” (simulacra) (Deleuze, 2003: 261). Simulacrum establishes a relation to the real and adds a real effect on things: it produces knowledge. Through the idea of simulacrum, the representation becomes something that is part of the present and that creates new forms of thinking it.

Used in a simulacrum perspective, representation becomes a form taking from the past something that performs in the present while changing it. Representation cannot happen without a medium that gives it form. Drawing on the indication that representation derives from an idea and that an idea is always “engaged and inseparable from its modes of expression” (Deleuze, 2007: 317), then in order to represent it is necessary a medium. All media exist in their specificity and it is necessary to understand them in order to understand what kind of past is presented under those guises.

Let us return then to the Portuguese case, where the visibility of violence under Salazar’s dictatorship is questioned. The medium I propose, film, is central for the questioning of the visibility of violence, either because it contributed as a propaganda

tool for invisibility or because it provides us today with the means of looking at it. In order to prove that film as a subjective tool can also serve to challenge the invisible violence of the Salazar's government I will have to consider and deconstruct its specificities. In other words, I intend to answer the question: why the use of film?

The starting point is that ideas in film are, for Deleuze, necessarily (and obviously) filmic. The film serves as the mediation between the object and subject that are always asymmetric (Massumi). The filmic condition is the mediation that unbalances the relation object vs subject. In this case, ideas are not concepts or philosophies. Ideas are linked to the medium used: "What reproduces the system is not what the subject says per se. The direct content of its expressions do not faithfully reflect the system, since the relation of the system to its own expressed content has been 'mystified' by mediation." (Massumi, 2005: XVI). The blocks movement/ duration are the very specificity of film and also unavoidable. And what is a filmic idea? Filmmakers do not create concepts but produce blocks of movement / duration. From a Deleuzian perspective, film does not only represent something, it creates necessarily movement and time. In *The Brain is the Screen*, Deleuze highlights film that introduces real movement into thought (against an abstract Hegelian conception of movement) and this is not a matter of applying philosophy to cinema. By putting images in motion, film traces and retraces cerebral circuits (Deleuze, 2007: 289) creating new forms of thought. Good cinema, according to the author, creates new speeds. Bad film appropriates clichés. Good cinema adds movement to the mind and "spiritual life is the movement of the mind" (Deleuze, 2007: 288). For Rajchman, Deleuze introduces a new filmic thinking by rationalizing images of thought and new functions for images. Cinema is a way of having ideas with blocks of movement images that introduce a "new "psychomechanics," [or in other words] a new way of affecting us and our nervous systems." (Rajchman, 2009: 284). Good films would be free of schematic understanding and become experimental. "The cinematic is found in images that make visible or palpable this "acentered" condition or that "sensitizes" us to it." (Rajchman, 2009: 287). The filmic as such is untranslatable. Filmic is not a medium but a device that works between Subjective (lived) time and objective (clockwork) time. "The filmic image is not, for Deleuze, a code or a language, but rather, an original way of

expressing times and spaces that cannot be contained in natural perception or affection,” (Rajchman, 2009: 295). It changes the viewer “nervous system” into new ways to think and to make visible the role of space and time.

The filmic lends to representation something that can only be understood within the filmic domain. In this *something* I do not include the intention of the filmmaker whom exposes in his film, according to his will, a representation, more or less realist, of the reality he wants to show. A film is not a combination of random visual impressions but rather derives from an intention. Nonetheless the medium constrains the result of every creation and limits the intention of the creator. In order to create a film it is necessary to understand its properties and to accept them. Every recognizable visibility in film derives from filmic expression. What is this expression? How does the filmic express itself when unveiling something? Film functions through a dialectic between the configurations of the past that are relocated again and again in the present and that always comprehends a future. Film does “that [feat] of rendering a past, at once indeterminate and violent, irreducible to anyone’s memory, any prise de conscience.” (Rajchman, 2009: 284). Film is a preferred tool to comprehend the intellectual construction of time, as film is capable of putting in action a reality of the past (instantaneously in the present).

In this sense, and as Laura Marks defends in 1994 when arguing about the role of Politics, image, individual and collective memory through Deleuze and Bergson works, a discourse is not only restrictive but it is also enabling. It provides “the only language in which to say it” (Marks, 1994: 246) or in other words, it is discourse and language at the same time. In regards to how cinema for Deleuze disputes de ability to find truth in the historical events, Laura Marks defends that the language used in cinema *cuts across the discursive layers* (Marks, 1994: 246) and that is, in itself, an archaeological process.

“This is the act of archaeology: combining elements from different strata in order to resist the order that would be imposed by working on one stratum alone. Cinema has the unique ability to deterritorialize the representation of a historical

event, to confront the layers with each other and sort through the rubble. (Marks, 1994: 246)

This process enables something that was at the background, a historical formation, to be rendered visible. In this way, this process struggles to “reactivate the past from the fragments of available image” (Marks, 1994: 248). This struggle is not, however, neutral. The representations are established under a point of interest. The same for the idea of perception. “Perception, according to Bergson, (...) is necessarily embodied, located, and contingent.” (Marks, 1994: 252) Perception and representation become, due to their lack of neutrality, subjective elements: they cannot be understood in full but only through aspects of interest. The lack of neutrality is, in many senses, stressed by the fact that people live in a social continuum meaning that their experience is greatly influenced by the involving context. The collective memory plays a central role as it defines greatly how a person alone reacts to specific representation and how he or she perceives it. “Collective memory comes as a shock: *mémoire involontaire* is not simply the individual unconscious bucking up, but the traces of collective life that inform the structure of perception”. (Marks, 1994: 257) The individual belongs to the social structure that involves him.

In the cinema the past is not objective, it does not say objectively nothing about the truth. The past exists only through *among various discursive strata* (Marks, 1994) that are subjective. Cinema puts together actual and virtual images in a single image. To this image Deleuze calls 'crystal-image': “the original point at which real and virtual image reflect each other produces, in turn, a widening circuit of real and virtual images like a hall of mirrors. (Marks, 1994: 260) Film is not, in this sense, an exploration of truth but it is an exploration of consciousness.

Film brings the historical past to a present that itself makes visible, creating in this way new forms of perceiving historical facts and new spaces in time that question the meaning of film. Crystal-image puts in the presence of the viewer something of the historical past that lives through the filmic condition. The viewer needs to understand his own condition of viewer before he sees the historical past through the filmic medium.

'If there were a modern political cinema, it would be on this basis: the people no longer exist, or not yet'. Political cinema reaches an impasse in the discovery that there is no revolutionary proletariat for it to represent for if such an organized force exists, it is already inscribed in modern political institutions, and thus for Deleuze cannot be an agent of the new (Marks, 1994: 261)

It is within this process of bringing the past into presence that I consider film, and particularly film that addresses the Portuguese Salazarist regime, as a privileged tool to re-establish the visibility to those (and to that) who were made invisible during the regime. From the beginning: different films act differently on the spectator. That way of acting on the spectator concerns the film's purpose (what is meant to be said) but also with how the film is made, the specificity of the film's materiality. The film's peculiar characteristics, which are irreducible (the filmic), promote different ways of setting the past in the spectator's presence. In this way, the film is presented to the spectator through its filmic characteristics. If we attend to the fact that the film automatically makes present something from the past, then, perforce, these filmic characteristics are also present each time the film is shown. Thus, we can say that movies about Salazarism bring something of that past into our presence as spectators. Doubtless, they do it in different ways and with varying degrees of relevance, but it is important to understand what those movies *show* us when they are present to us.

If we think about the dichotomy of presence and visibility, the relationship doesn't seem clear: we do not necessarily see everything, which is in our presence and the same is surely true of films. But it also seems clear that whatever from the past is shown in films, it is presented in accordance with the presence of the filmic. In this way,

our perception of the present is affected. What is made visible is not only the past but the openness to a new presence of the past. In other words, each time the past is shown and presented to us, it is also placed in our presence the hypothesis of looking at the past in another way, a new way. The idea of being-present or in presence has been considered by Jean-Luc Nancy (1994), Georges Didi-Huberman (2008), Giorgio Agamben on their notions of the contemporary and they are central to this debate. From different perspectives, they point out the role of the image in the present time and how ethics plays a role in these processes. This clarifies not only the role of film and art in opening to a new presence of the past but also to an ethical approach to that new form of past that becomes presence every time a film is presented to us. The new presence of the past reveals a subjective perception of the past and raises questions.

Jean-Luc Nancy<sup>48</sup> points out the question of presence when he speaks of the work of art. For the author, images are the matter of presence and artistic forms (such as film) touch “on the trans-immanence<sup>49</sup> of being-in-the-world. Art does not deal with the world understood as simple exteriority, milieu, or nature: it deals with being in the world in its very springing forth” (Nancy, 1994: 18). Art resides actively in reality, not through an external relation where that reality is merely described, but rather showing reality at the same time it acts and through that creates a new reality as well. So, for the arts, the world is not something external, but something of which they are a part.

“Art isolates or forces the moment of the world as such, the being-world of the world, not as a milieu in which a subject moves, but as exteriority and exposition of being-in-the-world, exteriority or exposition that are formally grasped, isolated and presented as such. Therefore the world is dis-located into plural worlds, or more precisely, into the irreducible plurality of the unity world: this is the a priori and the transcendental of the art” (Nancy, 1994: 18)

Giorgio Agamben (2009) addresses this debate in his notion of the contemporary as an anachronistic expression of presence. Instead of making reference to history or to the past, the contemporary addresses the becoming of history that cannot be stopped.

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<sup>48</sup> On Kawara exhibition, *The Whole and Part 1964-1995*,

<sup>49</sup> Trans-immanence refers to the idea of the continuous process of the world taking place.

History becomes history in the present. In other words, history is reshaped every time in the present because it depends from my experience of the present. Didi-Huberman, in the book *Images in Spite of All* also contributes to the discussion. He elaborates on 4 images taken in August 1944 by members of the Sonderkommando<sup>50</sup> in Auschwitz-Birkenau. Those images show the extermination process taking place in the gas chambers. For the author, images are representation and also creations. This is the only ethical position possible against the attempt to nullify human existence. To see these images as creations is to resist against the impossible. The ability to create enables “in spite of all [,] the possibility of testimony” (Didi-Huberman, 2008: 105) because it provides the witness with the possibility of creating his/her own past that is the only way to remember. Images are not merely the memory of the past; they are the presence of that same reality today. “The image suddenly appears where thought — or “reflection” — seems impossible, or at least where it appears to be at a standstill: stunned, stupefied. Yet it is just where memory is necessary.” (Didi-Huberman, 2008: 31) The presence of the past in images redefines perception of history and its subjectiveness allowing an ethical perspective.

Film, as a form that automatically puts the past in our presence and visible to us, re-establishes a relation to that same past and that has consequences in the present. Through the automatism in film, history becomes a becoming history that must be addressed in different perspectives. After acknowledging what film made visible to us and of assuming a critical stance towards it, history itself changes. It is within this dimension that film, within the specific context of the Portuguese Salazarist regime’s enforcement of invisibility, should be addressed: the film makes us see what was previously made invisible and it changes our perception of history, thus the Portuguese Collective Memory. More specifically, by bringing to the presence of the viewer a reality that hitherto had remained veiled to him/her, film changes the understanding of the past.

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<sup>50</sup> Name given to a group of prisoners of Auschwitz selected to help soldiers when exterminating other prisoners. This group would eventually be exterminated as well after certain amount of time.

The investigation developed in this chapter revealed that the Portuguese regime deployed specific political means, involving a culture where the individual would self-sacrifice his or her own visibility from the public, as an instrument of the regime's perpetuation. By playing out a rhetoric of invisibility in that the regime itself would pretend to have a merely bureaucratic relation to the country, a relation which would be essentially apolitical, the regime in fact created a web of invisible connections that would structure the social life of individuals in the light of its ideology. Such methods shaped the Portuguese society and culture, influencing how the Portuguese identity and its collective memory are perceived. Propaganda film was central for carrying out such politics. The Portuguese regime used it to a great extent and its powerful effects were unquestionable. Due to the aspects of the filmic that establish a rhythmic influence on the viewer by putting in their presence a segment of the past propaganda films added a layer of political intention. Film became a privileged tool for indoctrination. In the Portuguese case, film became an instrument to install the idea that self-sacrifice was necessary for the sake of a higher good.

However, film can, and it often does serve as a means to challenge the veil of invisibility cast by the Portuguese Regime. Following the same logic according to which film puts in the presence of the viewer a fragment of the past, then, by acting on that same present, film determines a change both in the present-day reality and in the way we look at the past. By placing in the present time new forms of envisaging past violence, which during the Portuguese regime were shaped with the formation of a violence of invisibility, film inserts in a public and visible sphere precisely what the regime sought to deny. This reversion of the system for self-invisibility re-establishes a sense of justice to the victims of Salazarism every time the film becomes present to the viewer. This visibility enables the victims to question their will for invisibility.

In the course of the following chapters the leaning for self-censorship in the Portuguese will be questioned through the filmic expression of two Portuguese films: *O Alar da Rede* and *48*. My argument is established in the agreement that films can

lend a visible form both to the victims of violence and to the expression of the rhythm of life that was a consequence of structural violence. This visibility reverses the condition, envisaged by the regime, of a lack of will for public space, offering a renewed vision of whatever meaning the Portuguese collective memory has today.

The ethnographic film *O Alar da Rede*, directed by Michel Giacometti, portrays the Portuguese working class during Salazarism and is the first case study of this thesis. From the documentation of a working moment, in which fishermen pull fishing nets out of the sea, Giacometti builds a film that is, at the same time, critical of the politics that led to those workingmen's lifestyle and, paradoxically, part of the regime's propagandistic system that defended the rural as the essence of Portuguese culture. If, on the one hand, *O Alar da Rede* conveys the regime's propagandistic discourse and supports the idea that the Portuguese people should try to live in simplicity and modesty, on the other hand, Giacometti is very clear when speaking in a critical manner about the lack of state care that he found in the Portuguese countryside while he worked there<sup>51</sup>. He acted as a *cultural militant* who used the documents he registered as a critical weapon of the "folkloric movement, object of official support and incentives." (Branco, 2010: 26)<sup>52</sup>. He argued that the state did not protect this people from poverty or honour their culture, which he himself would do by recording as much of the culture as possible and, in a sense, by giving it visibility. However, my interpretation of this specific film, *O Alar da Rede*, goes beyond the director's political position. It is my contention that the criticality in this film derives from a filmic intention, in the sense that it is through the filmic rhythmic specificities (Repetition/Habits and Deception/Removal of the End) that Giacometti attributes once more visibility to the working moment. Through the filmic aspect, Giacometti puts in visible form not only the working class, but also the rhythm of work, involving the viewer in these men's pace. This visible space moves against the lack of attention shown by the regime towards the working class in question, giving back a sense of justice not only to the people, but also to the working gesture itself.

The film will be questioned and contextualised through the idea that, following other movements in Portuguese ethnography that were interested in the country's rurality, Giacometti searched, in his films, for an essentiality of the Portuguese Man in the

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<sup>51</sup> It might be worth pointing out that in the context of fascism, a quite gentle politics of realism needs to be understood as politically critical, ie Neorealism, a film movement that emerged in the wake of fascismo in Italy and had worldwide influence, especially South America, Africa

<sup>52</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Actuava como *militante cultural* que usava os documentos que registava como arma critica ao "movimento folclórico alvo de apoios e incentivos oficiais."

working gesture, which was hidden by the regime's politics. This movement for the nationalisation of culture aims to redefine what is meant by Portuguese culture's essentiality. The paradox of this position is that it follows and conveys the aims of the regime and it is important to highlight in which terms it differed from propaganda. As pointed out in the first chapter, the regime had, through its politics of spirit, an exact sense of what 'the good taste' should be. Supported by the idea that folklore represented Portuguese essentiality, the regime decided to include in the Portuguese repertoire only what they considered to be dignified. That included specific music (such as fado), specific textiles and ceramics, etc., but excluded many other things. In order to have an identifiable culture — Portuguese culture — numerous other aspects of that culture were neglected. This is precisely what the ethnographic movement in Portugal tried to recover. At times it showed similarities with the regime's propagandistic discourse, but we can't forget that it was in the context of ethnography that many specimens were recorded.

*O Alar da Rede* is an ethnographic film that follows fishermen in the Portuguese coast of Algarve as they go to sea for three days. The director's initial intention was to record in an apolitical way the working songs and environment by the sea. The film shows the fishermen pulling the fishing nets from the water in a rhythmic pace accompanied by a chant. This chant becomes a hypnotic melody that is repeated throughout the film. The film repeats the gestures and the chant many times and the (supposedly) end of the film — the capture of the fish — is removed. The reason for this, claims the narrator, was that those working gestures were endless themselves and perpetuated through decades. With this filmic movement, Giacometti leaves an open space where the viewer can imagine a continuation for the gestures. It is from these two filmic ideas (in Deleuzian terms) — repetition, and removal of the end — that the film brings to the visual space a condition that was invisible until then: the pace of work and the deception is embodied by the viewer, showing him or her an experience of work that was veiled until then.

Finally, I will claim that the director's filmic decision sheds light not just on the people he was filming, but mostly on the gesture itself. The film brings to the visible public

space the status of the working rhythm and immerses the viewer in it, allowing a deeper questioning. Through exposing this working gesture in a critical manner, *O Alar da Rede* puts in conflict the invisibility of the working status, which was a consequence of the regime's politics, and the culture of self-censorship claimed by José Gil and Eduardo Lourenço.

The particular film I will be focusing on is *O Alar da Rede* (The Pulling of the Nets). It was recorded in 1962 by Michel Giacometti and Manuel Ruas and shows the Portuguese trawler Nicete going to sea in Portimão (Algarve) during the sardine fishing that lasted, in those decades, from April to January.<sup>53</sup> This footage was first aired on May 29, 1972, on the 17<sup>th</sup> 'O Povo Que Canta' (part of the 'Antologia da Música Regional Portuguesa') broadcast by RTP (Portuguese Radio and Television), as part of the RTP Editions coordinated by Paulo Lima.<sup>54</sup> Today this film is part of the Michel Giacometti's Complete Filmography released by the Portuguese newspaper Público.<sup>55</sup>

This film is a result of a particular interest shown for the songs and the work environment filmed by the author in situ. In order to capture these specific images Michel Giacometti followed the trawler for three days and three nights. The result is a 14.34-minutes film where music and working gestures come together through a song, in an illustration of the processes of habituation that I intent to reflect on in the next pages. There are two versions of this film: the first one, aired in 1972, has a voice-over by Gomes Ferreira, and the second one, which was released by *Público*, is narrated by a woman. Both are very similar; they differ only in the details given by the narrator, while the images themselves are very much alike. Both follow the programme's manuscript in annex 1. The film that I will describe next is the first one.

The film begins with images of the Rocha beach and the trawlers, in Algarve, narrated by a voice that describes how the village's inhabitants economically depend on the sea's whims. Hundreds of trawlers go to sea every afternoon, he says. During the first two minutes (the time before the credits) images of the city and beach are shown. We

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<sup>53</sup>This information is given by the narrator in the *Público's* film compilation and differs from the one broadcast for the first time by RTP.

<sup>54</sup> Find in Annex 1 the copy of the 17<sup>th</sup> programme's manuscript. The second part of the manuscript refers to the film *O Alar da Rede* and says: The haul [*alar*] of sardine fishing nets. / Documentary directed in 1962 by Michel Giacometti, in collaboration with Manuel Ruas. / Image and original editing by Manuel Ruas. / The images were filmed with a simple 16mm camera without synchronised sound. / Every afternoon, from April to January, leave from the harbours of Algarve the trawlers for the deep sea / The long hunt in the evening hours. / A huge fishing net begins to slide and opens up a gigantic trap. / In solemn gestures, a lace is closed, bringing an invisible prey its death in the morning. / With the grim line of the coasts of Selema in sight, a shout is heard with the first effort. / A new rhythm, in which the effort is redoubled and gains in exasperation. / With the promise of fish, a rhythm answers, in which the effort rejoices.

<sup>55</sup> In 2010, *Público* released Michel Giacometti's Complete Filmography.

see people doing some shopping, while others are walking around in swimwear. During all of this time a chant (a short chorus, a chant) is sung without interruption. The minute after the presentation shows the fishermen's voyage to the deep sea. The boats are heading to the far sea and images interrupt the landscape, with the fishermen sewing fishing nets or just showing their faces. During this time the chant stops.

The fishing happens at sunrise and sunset, the narrator says, and the trawlers stay at sea all night waiting. The sea is covered with points of light. Dawn brings a new (daily) homage to the sun, that old divinity, and the nets are thrown overboard. Slowly the film interrupts the casting of the net with images of the landscape visible from the boat, sometimes on purpose, sometimes not, following the rhythm of the boat as it swings in the waves. The fishermen wait in silence for an 'invisible prey'.<sup>56</sup> And it is then, with the first effort of the day, that a chant breaks the silent waves and the chant restarts. The men gathered in the trawler now pull the fishing nets for the first time that day, and they will do it over and over again. The chant continues in the same rhythm as before, the same rhythm that defines these men's gestures. The film moves from one man to the other, showing the effort's different angles. One man starts singing and all the others repeat after him, creating a continuous song. The words are always the same. The intensity of the chant varies from a very strong to a very low volume.

The violent effort of the pulling of the net (*o alar da rede*), the incredible effort to which all fishermen are submitted, an effort that is extended for two hours, accompanied by shouts and by the song 'Leva-Leva' [Take it - Take it] into a kind of melopoeia [cadence] of incitement, courage and pain (2009: 122).<sup>57</sup>

The movements are described as painful and the entire process of fishing as the result of that great effort. The shouts follow that effort, appeasing it. The gestures become one. The song shown in this video, 'Leva-Leva', was repeated intensely and adorned with what seems to be random shouts inciting the men to continue their work and

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<sup>56</sup>This quote is in the *O Alar da Rede* at 4.43 minutes and it is an important reference, as well as a metaphor, to the relationship between worker and the goal of work, which I will elaborate on later in this chapter.

<sup>57</sup>From: Michel Giacometti *Algarve, Anthology of Portuguese Music*, 1961.

their gestures. The shouts unite all fishermen in a common will, as they share the difficulties of fishing. The song 'Leva-Leva' was brought "aboard the Nicete ten miles from Portimão, and sung at daybreak by fifteen fishermen. Its obsessive rhythm is functionally adapted to movement and to the collective effort of lifting the fishing nets. Shouts of incitement overlapping the singing add a lively note to the realistic drama' (Morais, 2008: 19)<sup>58</sup>. The song is described as obsessive and made to be functional — it has the disciplinary function of improving the working rhythm. The constant chant trails the same rhythm as the hands.

The gesture and the singing are repeated for two hours daily, says the narrator, but the film we are now analysing is only 14.34-minutes long. In it, the effort of pulling the nets starts at minute 5. Some shouts of incitement are heard from minute 5 until the end of the film, and this rhythm becomes a hypnotising gesture that renews itself from what it is. 'And from new pain results new energy and a new rhythm comes to last an intense hour that the memory of Man [mankind] cannot forget' (O Alar da Rede, minute 10.23)<sup>59</sup>. The repeated gestures that appear to take the form of a single one are renewed from themselves in this unbreakable form of work. In this film the very repetition of work is what allows work to happen.

This particular film doesn't show the outcome of the fishing and this is of major importance in understanding its filmic violence. The reason for the absence of fish — and that is clearly stated by the narrator — is that the director (Giacometti) decided that the gestures shown in the film have no end themselves. They are repeated everyday and for the author to remove the end of the fishing is to perpetuate the gesture, at least inside the film. In this way, the author removed the film's climax, the actual fish, transforming fishing into the eternal movement, the one that has no end. The gestures accompanied the chant, as the chant accompanies the gestures following the rhythm of the sea. The gestures and the singing are endless, and they are endless

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<sup>58</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Recolhido a bordo da "Nicete", a dez milhas de Portimão, foi cantado ao raiar do dia por 15 pescadores. O seu obsessivo ritmo é funcionalmente adaptado ao movimento e ao esforço concertado do levantar das redes. Os gritos de estímulo que se sobrepõem ao canto acrescentam uma viva nota realista ao dramatismo do quadro."

<sup>59</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "E das novas dores resultam novas energias e um novo ritmo veio perdurar ao longo de uma hora intensa que a memoria do homem não poderá esquecer."

in this film. Like that movement, the film can be repeated everyday, to the point where memory only remembers that same gesture, embodying it. We do not see the entire process of fishing, but the film gives us something else. In its cinematic specificities, the film somehow gives us access to that unlimited time of the gesture.

A similar song to the one heard in *O Alar da Rede* was first recorded, according to José Alberto Sardinha, around 1930 by Armando Leça, and a second song during the 60's by Giacometti, both in Portimão. Later, in 1984, an old fisherman was found singing a similar song in Peniche<sup>60</sup> [see annex 2]. Both were related to fishermen coming from Nazaré (another fishing village), which the author believes to be the reason for such similarities. The music shown in the film *O Alar da Rede*, however, has completely different features from the earlier one. While the first has a more complex musical structure, the one we are focusing on repeats the same refrain over and over again, transforming it into a chant repeated “almost as an *ostinato*” (Sardinha, 2000: 159)<sup>61</sup>. The men are either filmed from inside the boat, or from another boat.

We are here before a musical specimen of great ethnomusicological interest. The melody is strong and, despite not having been recorded live during the pulling of the nets, the informant translated, in his interpretation, much of the realism of the task, reflected in the *sforzandos* and in other forms of expression (Sardinha, 2000: 100)<sup>62</sup>.

The sound in the video is not a straight recording of the images themselves. Giacometti recovered the sound captured in the three days he went to the sea with the trawlers. Therefore, what we hear during almost 14 minutes is the result of an ongoing sound capture and not edited in the same way the film is. Nonetheless, the film explores the effort of the gestures, illustrated by the effort in the music. It follows the movements of the workers, both in real life and in the film. The film *O Alar da Rede* focuses on

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<sup>60</sup>My translation from the original in Portuguese: *Leva-leva'*, Peniche 1984, Score number 20, track number 19 of disc 1: *'Vira os tambores! Vira, vira, vira! Oi, que está a chegar à borda! Puxa p'ra cá a cuba! Ai, leva-leva, arriba e leva! Ai, leva-leva, arriba e leva! Ó ala a rede e puxa a rede, arruma a rede! Ai, leva-leva, ai leva-lé! Ó ala a rede, rapaziada! Ó ala a rede, safa a rascada! Safa a rascada, é cai-alari! Vamos embora, vai a safar! Ai, leva-leva!'*

<sup>61</sup>My translation from the original in Portuguese: “*Cantada quase em ostinato*”

<sup>62</sup>My translation from the original in Portuguese: “*Estamos perante um espécime musical de alto interesse etnomusicológico. A melodia é vigorosa e, apesar de não ter sido colhida ao vivo durante o alar das redes, o informante traduziu, na interpretação, muito do realismo da tarefa, patente nos sforzandos e de- mais sinais de expressão.*”

workings songs, which I will expound on further, and it is one of the few films that actually shows working songs related to the sea. The structure of the song is short, repetitive and very simple.

Musically, it is an adaptation of melodies gathered by people, to which lyrics on the subject were introduced (...), with the essential chorus 'Leva-Leva'. The melody thus adapted to hard labour was sung during the pulling of the fishing nets and has gradually been changing. As the pebbles of a river become increasingly smoother with the passage of water, so must these melodies have lost their contours along the way. After all, they have been sung by rough men, for years and years, in a very tough job that does not allow musical flowery, but requires a simplified singing to accompany the body movements necessary for completing the work. Therefore, the original melodies have been simplified, a process that is more notorious and advanced in the aforementioned Algarve copies than in the ones from Peniche, where the original melody is still visible. This song — as we have said, the only known functional song about the toil of the sea — has completely fallen into disuse, because nets are now pulled by electromechanical means (Sardinha 2000: 100).<sup>63</sup>

The author links the song's specificities to the type of work that was done. Pulling the fishing nets requires strong arms, cyclic gestures, and the music that is sung, the chant, could hardly be very different from what it is: brief and simple. This particular song derives from another one that the author believes to be from Peniche, a fishing village north of Lisbon. From this, one can assume that this specific song is also the result of generations singing the same song, crystallised into a simple repetitive action. In fact, this is an important point: the song, as mentioned by Sardinha, was molded towards the hard work now being performed. In the film the chant fits carefully with the movements. Hard work such as fishing would not allow a composed or more complex melody. Only something that followed the flux of the work would do.

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<sup>63</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Musicalmente, serão adaptações de melodias que o povo captou e nas quais introduziu letras a propósito («safa a rascada, é cai-alari», certamente por «que é alar», metátese provocada por necessidades rítmicas e métricas), com o imprescindível refrão «Leva-leva». A melodia assim adaptada à faina foi sendo cantada durante o alar das redes e foi progressivamente sofrendo alterações no seu desenho. Tal como os seixos de um rio vão ficando cada vez mais lisos com a passagem das águas, assim estas melodias terão perdido os seus contornos à medida que foram sendo cantadas por homens rudes, durante anos e anos, num trabalho duríssimo que não permite floreios musicais, antes exige um canto simplificado, que ajude os movimentos corporais necessários à sua realização. Assim se terão, pois, simplificado as melodias originais, processo que é mais notório e avançado nos mencionados exemplares algarvios do que no penichense, onde permanece ainda visível a linha melódica que lhe esteve na origem. Este canto, como dissemos o único funcional conhecido da faina do mar, está hoje completamente caído em desuso, pois as redes são agora aladas já por meios electro-mecânicos."

The film *O Alar da Rede* was an ethnographic film shot in 1962 by Michel Giacometti, which followed in the footsteps of a large community of ethnographers and anthropologists researching in Portugal. Such studies focused mainly in finding in the countryside and in the rural the source of Portuguese identity. This identity can be questioned within the Portuguese regime ideology which, on the one hand, championed the culture found on the countryside (namely defending modesty and self-invisibility) while, on the other hand, used that ideology as a pretext for neglecting that part of the country. It is within this context that Giacometti builds the biggest ethnographic archive of Portuguese music.

During the decades of 1930 and 1940 the studies made in the rural parts of Portugal were based on ethnographic and anthropologic research. Both disciplines are divided by João Leal as stemming from two general perspectives: the idea of the construction of an empire (seen in the USA, UK or France, countries with colonies), which focused on the exoticism of the colonies; and the idea of building a nation's identity (more frequent in Europe), which focused on the periphery of countries that were more invested in their national peasantry. In the Portuguese case, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the preoccupations were divided between nationalism and imperialism – national meaning 'essentially ruralistic in a country trying to become modern, industrial and democratic', and imperial meaning catholic ideology and "lusotropicalism'. (Viegas, Pina de Cabral 2014: 319). During the following century, technological modernization took place in all of Europe and that conflicted (particularly in Portugal) with the colonial ideal, which was starting to face opposition in the continent. Consequently, and in spite of being a colonising country, the Portuguese interest was defined by creating a 'national identity' (Leal 2000: 28) according to that second model. 'When the empire became politically less relevant, folklore and ethnology took on centre stage; when the political relevance of the empire grew, the anthropology of exotic peoples dominated the discipline' (Viegas, Pina de Cabral 2014: 312)<sup>64</sup>. The reason for

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<sup>64</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Sempre que o império se tornava politicamente menos relevante, o folclore e a etnologia assumiam centralidade; sempre que crescia a relevância política do império, a antropologia dos povos exóticos dominava a disciplina."

a disinterest in the colonies also had to do, according to Clara Saraiva, “with the weakness of Portuguese colonialism and with the way in which the issues related to national identity occupied the Portuguese intellectual life over the last 150 years” (Saraiva, 2008: 267), mostly in literature. As a consequence, Portuguese ethnographic studies focused on the countryside, strongly emphasizing the preservation and understanding of the essence of Portuguese Identity.

The search for the essentiality of being Portuguese was very much related to the state of the rural back then. The decades of 1950 and 1960 were a time of deep social change. The country was slowly leaving behind the post-war period. The steady economic growth felt in the urban centres accentuated the differences between the coastal regions and the inland ones and, to a greater extent, those between tradition and progress.

This is the deep Portugal of the apogee of Salazarism, still immersed in pre-modern rurality, seeming to resist the advances of industrial civilization, of the capitalist economy and of the society of information of the post-war, whose transformative impact was until then felt almost exclusively on the country’s maritime fringe (Nery 2009: 25).

These structural changes made Portugal, in general, and the countryside, more specifically, a place undesirable for young people. The draft, the dislocation of men to fight in the colonial wars in Africa, and migration (both within the country and to other countries) created a place of old people, ‘lacking roads, public transportation, schools, hospitals, and basic social welfare’ (2009 Nery: 25). Everything had yet to be built and the political and social-economical conditions left it untouched for a long time. The culture of the countryside was about to vanish, not because of progress, but precisely due to its absence. What was about to happen was not the natural movement of something that was morphing into something else, but of something that was moving into its own disappearance. The link between the lack of care for the Portuguese countryside and the politics of the regime (which involved propaganda) is clear: the regime founded its ideals of the Homem Novo (New Man) in rurality, as well as in modesty, using it later as a form of propaganda. The lack of interest and care is a direct

consequence of the type of structural violence that the regime was imposing in the sense that the regime linked the essence of the Portuguese identity with poverty and humbleness living some leverage for not having to develop those areas. This was the context that the ethnographers were faced with.

The cultural configuration of the Portuguese countryside was also very affected. Aiming to protect the national image, António Ferro embedded his own taste into the folklore, molding it. The cinema supported by the regime depicted the people from the inland regions as mere caricatures. 'The 1930s and 1940s are considered in Portugal to be the golden period of political propaganda, with a cinema that turned to fiction and artifice, the height of popular comedy, the trend being "historical-literary-melodramatic and folk-rural"' (Pina, 1986: 93).<sup>65</sup> (Costa, 2012: 94). Salazar, and particularly Ferro, the director of SPN, had a very precise idea of what image of Portugal they wanted to portray. Other forms of culture that are now better known, such as fado and Portuguese calçada (pavement)<sup>66</sup> were promoted, during that period, as integral to national identity.

The official discourse of the Estado Novo, the 'politics of spirit' of the National Propaganda Office (SPN) and its achievements and performance, tried to construct the image of a uniform, unrooted national culture, which disparaged, devalued and marginalized the multiform expressions of regional cultures (Correia 2004: 12)<sup>67</sup>.

The regime built an imagery of rural Portugal and was not interested in developing the countryside — and that is visible in the sort of actions it took. The regime showed the popular culture in a very non-nuanced and reductive way. Instead of deeply understanding the roots of that culture, the regime decided, in a superficial way, to divide it between good or bad taste.

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<sup>65</sup> "Histórico-literário-melodramática e folclórica-rural" from PINA, Luís de, 1986, *História do Cinema Português*. Lisboa: Publicações Europa-América, Coleção Saber.

<sup>66</sup> In 1940, the Exhibition of the Portuguese World, promoted by the regime, takes place in Lisbon. It is meant to exhibit all the supposedly Portuguese symbols defended by the regime. From that exhibition Portugal salvaged *fado*, Portuguese pavement, and the Portuguese guitar, among others.

<sup>67</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "O discurso oficial do Estado Novo, a "política do espírito" do Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional (SPN) e as suas realizações e encenações, procuravam construir uma imagem de uma cultura nacional uniforme, desenraizada e desvirtuada, que desvalorizava e marginalizava as expressões multiformes das culturas regionais"

Thus the Estado Novo, as the aestheticisation of popular culture, integrated practices and ethnographic discourse in its nationalist rhetoric. This process, as stated by Vera Alves (1997: 237 and 240)<sup>68</sup>, included the promotion of folk dance competitions, editing ethnographers' work and, in particular, the exhibition of folk art, in which it was not popular art that gave lessons in 'good taste' to the elite, but the elite's 'good taste' embedded in folk art, selecting, recreating and staging its products, that then represented the scene of Portuguese nationality (Costa 2012: 95)<sup>69</sup>.

The ethnographic studies focused on this problem. Catarina Costa, who studied ethnographical Portuguese cinema, defines three different types of ethnographic film during the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Portugal: the first one comes from an urgency to register the culture in a spontaneous way and is linked to anthropological production; the second from what she calls an ethnographical imagination, a will to create a nostalgic portrait of what is represented (in this case, the people and rurality); and the third refers to fiction that tends towards the documentary and looks for a certain truth in its narrative. Cinema became central in exploring popular culture, and that happened both through the Estado Novo's propaganda and through the independent filmmakers who were slowly starting to appear. In the first decades (1930 and 1940) film was still not subsidized and, therefore, even if it was censored, it was much more free from constraints than it would be later, in 1948, when the regime began to support it (with the goal of glorifying Portuguese spirit). The first Portuguese ethnographic studies focused on 'cultural material and traditional technologies' (Leal, 2009: 7-9)<sup>70</sup>, as these were the subjects considered to be more urgent to save. Anthropology in the 1960's was preoccupied with analysing 'networks, genealogies, and the integration of office research' (Pina Cabral 1989: 33). In 1970 and 1980, theoretical anthropology assumes other types of responsibilities: a close relationship between anthropology and other social sciences contributed to the interdisciplinarity of the outcome of theoretical

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<sup>68</sup> ALVES, Vera Marques, 1997, 'Os Etnógrafos Locais e o Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional. Um Estudo de Caso', *Etnográfica*, I (2), 213-235.

<sup>69</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Assim, o Estado Novo, na sua esteticização da cultura popular, integrou as práticas e os discursos etnográficos ao serviço da sua retórica nacionalista. Este processo, como refere Vera Alves (1997: 237 e 240), incluía a promoção de concursos de ranchos folclóricos, a edição de obras de etnógrafos e em especial, as exposições de arte popular, em que "não era a arte popular que dava lições de "bom gosto" à elite, mas sim o "bom gosto" da elite que era projectado na arte popular, seleccionando, recriando e encenando os seus produtos, depois apresentados como cenário da portugalidade".

<sup>70</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "A cultura material e as tecnologias tradicionais"

responsibility. Portuguese anthropology arises as defending continuity and not as saving something from the past. Finally, a fourth period develops from 1930s to the 1970s and coincided with the Estado Novo. This phase can be divided into three major groups. The first group of ethnographers were linked to political power and emphasised the rural and folklore.

Ethnographers linked to the Estado Novo, to the importance of ethnography and folklore. The action of the SPN / SNI, under the direction of António Ferro, was decisive in how certain films were constituted and formed, based on the importance given to 'the styling procedures of popular culture in exhibitions, shows, issues and other initiatives' (Leal 2000: 40) and (Costa 2012: 129)<sup>71</sup>.

The second group was linked to Jorge Dias (1907—1973),<sup>72</sup> and a third group coming from a different background, aimed to create a counter-discourse against the Estado Novo: Michel Giacometti and Lopes Graça are the most notable in this period. Giacometti built an ethnographic path that would last for over 30 years. Michel Giacometti<sup>73</sup> was an ethnologist born in 1929, in Corsica (Italy), who would die in Faro (Portugal) in 1990. Raised in Paris, he studied music and dramatic arts, and later ethnography at the Sorbonne. Giacometti travelled to Portugal in the late 1950's. During three decades, between 1959 and 1990, Giacometti found a vast array of traditional Portuguese music performed by the working class, which had been passed down through generations via oral memory and had yet to be archived. His discographic editions are: 'Anthology of Portuguese Regional Music' (1960-70), other registers (1959-1979), the series 'The People Who Sings' ('Povo Que Canta') (1970-73), 'The Plan for Work and Culture' (1975) and the 'Cancioneiro Popular Português' (1981).

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<sup>71</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Etnógrafos ligados ao Estado Novo, com a importância da etnografia e do folclore. A acção do SPN/SNI sob a direcção de António Ferro foi decisiva na forma como se constituiu e formou um certo cinema, apoiado na importância dada a "procedimentos de estilização da cultura popular em exposições, espectáculos, edições e outras iniciativas"

<sup>72</sup> Jorge Dias wrote *Boquejo Histórico* and it was the first attempt to evaluate a group of ethnographers

<sup>73</sup> A biographical note to say that after participating in a strike against Arab discrimination, he was forbidden from continuing his university studies for five years, a time he used to travel around Europe. In 1956, he decided to study traditional musical in the Mediterranean islands (*Mission Méditerranée 56*), but tuberculosis prevented him from going forward with the plan, instead forcing him to travel back to Paris. The illness would also make him leave Paris in pursuit of a milder climate. The fact that he was married to a Portuguese woman encouraged him to move to Portugal in the late 50's.

Upon his arrival, during the 1950's, Giacometti encountered 'a complete disagreement between intellectuals in relation to the rural world' (Giacometti 2010, Volume 1: 37). Without adequate public education, the culture of the countryside, namely songs, traditional medicine, oral knowledge, etc., had never been put into writing, which greatly harmed the likelihood of that knowledge surviving. The culture of this people and their traditions were being attacked from two fronts: by those against the regime that were looking for an approximation to European values (freedom and equality, on the one hand, and liberalism and the free market, on the other hand); and by the regime itself that, close as it was now to its own demise, had not provided the means (mostly education, but also adequate investment in cultural diffusion) for those traditions to continue. During the 60's, folklore was still a reality in Portugal, which wasn't true for the rest of Europe. In fact, there had never been an official music inventory in Portugal, which made folklore completely inconsequential. This inventory finally happened with Giacometti. In it, religious music was also an important component. 'A strong presence of singing, whose function always adjusts to the laws of survival in a traditional society and rural economy, where the rites of labour and religion seek to ensure man's salvation in the earthly world' (Correia, 2004: 70)<sup>74</sup>. Due to a lack of education and health care, this type of concerns could be seen in the way people treated their culture, medical tradition and oral knowledge. Without other means, people created their own guide for survival. The environment that Giacometti will encounter carries the weight of tradition in every sense, though being untouched by modernization or capitalism.

It seems, however, that we can only speak of regional music if we refer to a date prior to 1950. As Jorge Dias (1970) says, '... until then each cultural area, although not fully segregated from the rest of the country, lived in relative isolation. Traditional means of transportation were expensive for subsistence economies.'<sup>75</sup> The first radio programs were broadcast in 1933 and in the 50's the first radios were sold at affordable prices.

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<sup>74</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Firme presença do canto, cuja função sempre se ajusta às leis de sobrevivência na sociedade tradicional e de economia rural, em que ritos de trabalho e de religião visam assegurar ao homem a sua salvação no mundo terrestre"

<sup>75</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Até então, cada área cultural, embora não estivesse inteiramente segregada do resto do País, vivia num relativo isolamento. Os transportes não tradicionais, quando existiam, eram caros para economias de subsistência."

Alongside this there was the electrification of rural areas. Emigration, the colonial war and agricultural industrialisation brought with them profound changes that significantly altered the festive occasions (ceremonial and work-related) giving meaning to the music of different regions (Morais 2010: 18 /19).

From 1950 until his death, Michel Giacometti gathered over 700 documents pertaining to the culture of the Portuguese countryside, from the north to the south of the country, and a great part of that documentation is now part of many publications: *O Cancioneiro Popular Português* (Portuguese Popular Songbook), *O Povo Que Canta*, *Antologia da Musica Regional Portuguesa*, among others. His work can be found in the Museu do Trabalho Michel Giacometti, in Setúbal (Portugal). Giacometti focused on labour and the working processes. His films and documents are relevant in many different contexts, from medical to singing. Today he is heralded as the saviour of a culture that was, back in the 1960's and 1970's, yet to be recorded (especially in a non-propagandistic context). He was not preoccupied with finding (and inventing) a national identity as such, even if he was given air time on national TV to show his work. He was concerned with the music and cultural references that could still be found in the countryside. In his work it is possible to find some criticism directed at the regime's politics, even if that was not his main intention. He spent over thirty years working in Portugal and he will refer to three main points concerning what he found in the rural country in the 1981's Portuguese Popular Songbook:

1. Tradition offers frontal resistance to exogenous music, but only to the extent in which it still corresponds to collectively felt needs.
2. From the irretrievable loss of specimens, with aesthetic and social value that would have been possible to preserve for posterity, one cannot infer the fatal and imminent extinction of folklore music.
3. As long as large sections of our population are socially and culturally subordinated, as long as there are no conditions for a harmonious national culture identified with the collective future to arise, folklore will continue to be the refuge of popular creativity, an immense forest where old secrets are concealed and new hopes are forged.

In Portuguese Popular Songbook 1981  
and Brief Observations on Popular Portuguese Music (Giacometti 1982: 4)<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "1. A tradição oferece resistência frontal às músicas exógenas, mas apenas na medida em que a necessidades sentidas colectivamente."

Giacometti's work betrays the struggle of putting together the object and the experience of the object. And as Giacometti himself said: 'It is important to record, alongside the song, the role that music has in that [a specific] community' (Correia, Roquette 2009: 13). The entire context, which was for Giacometti synonymous with naivety and modesty, followed by an immense sense of original genuineness, gave Giacometti an immense unexplored circumstantial experience, where everything was yet to be archived.

'*O Povo Que Canta*' (The People Who Sings) is part of Giacometti's work compilation and was broadcast every two months by RTP, Radio and Portuguese Television (the national TV channel) during the 1960's. The author travelled around Portugal collecting all footage related to rural songs. Many other documents were captured during that decade, but '*O Povo Que Canta*' is 'the visible result of four trips undertaken in the years 1970 and 1972, which covered more than seventy-five villages [and during which were] collected about seven hundred documents' (Correia 2004: 31)<sup>77</sup>. It is, indeed, one of his most significant works. The first trip happened in April 19, 1970 and lasted eight days; the second took place from May 29 to June 4, 1970; the third on June 23, 1970 and lasted two days, and the last one started on September 20, 1972 and ended in October 11 of the same year. In each programme:

There are always two introductory texts, one by Michel Giacometti and another one by Lopes-Graça. They praised the territory and its people, kilometers are counted, and sites are visited. They are followed by a short musicological analysis. For each phonogram, a short text is provided explaining the context in which it is used (identifying informants and instruments), to which a musicological explanation is added (Carrapato, 2006: 62)<sup>78</sup>.

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2. "Da perda irremediável de espécimes, estética e socialmente preciosos que teria sido possível conservar para a posteridade, não se pode inferir a fatal extinção a breve trecho do folclore musical. "

3. Enquanto subsistir a subalternização social e cultural de vastas camadas da nossa população, ou seja, enquanto não surgirem condições para nascer harmonioso de uma cultura nacional identificada com o devir colectivo, o folclore continuará a constituir o refúgio da criatividade popular, a imensa floresta onde se ocultam velhos segredos e se forjam novas esperanças." P. 73 "In Cancioneiro Popular Português, 1981"

<sup>77</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "O Povo que Canta" é o resultado visível de quatro campanhas realizadas nos anos de 1970 e 1972, onde foram projectadas mais de setenta e cinco localidades e recolhidos cerca de setecentos documentos."

<sup>78</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Existem sempre dois textos introdutórios, um de Michel Giacometti e outro de Lopes-Graça. Faz-se o elogio do território e das gentes; contam-se quilómetros percorridos e locais visitados; avança-se uma sucinta análise musicológica. Para cada fonograma, é fornecido um pequeno texto

He was a man dedicated to the work performed in the fields and was interested in showing the people's perspective. Unlike the main academic research of that period, which concentrated on either supporting the dictatorship or being against it (many filmmakers produced great films directly questioning the regime's policies, which were often censored), Giacometti focused on travelling around the country searching for the countryside's songs. He was an intellectual, even if he did not consider that dimension in his work. 'Giacometti was averse to theory and frontally critical of the scholarship, but the failure to theorize does not necessarily mean that your work is devoid of methodological consistency or that had not been the subject of theoretical reflection also' (Weffort 1999: 4)<sup>79</sup>. Facing a huge lack of interest from the government in archiving this musical heritage, he found, as an ethnologist with a particular interest in traditional music, an opportunity to record traditional Portuguese songs. He would end up building the most complete and important archive of traditional Portuguese music.<sup>80</sup> Giacometti collaborated with Fernando Lopes-Graça (who had been working on traditional musical texts since the 40s) after he arrived in Portugal. They gathered to study traditional Portuguese songs, which they believed to encapsulate the traditional ways of living and thinking of the Portuguese man. The country was traditional and agricultural and the changes it was suffering then, both socially and economically, had a fundamental influence on the culture and oral tradition of the rural man, which was Giacometti's main interest. Under a strict dictatorship, Giacometti found more freedom when filming the countryside, since this part of the country was far from the government's preoccupations.

He was not interested in immutable or theoretical considerations about popular traditions, but in those men and women who worked and seemed to live so humbly and modestly. The economy of that time, which had a strong agricultural

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explicando o seu contexto de uso, identificando informantes e instrumentos, aos quais se acrescenta normalmente uma explicação de carácter musicológico."

<sup>79</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Giacometti era avesso à teorização e frontalmente crítico em relação ao academicismo, mas o facto de não teorizar não quer necessariamente dizer que o seu trabalho seja desprovido de consistência metodológica ou que não tivesse sido objecto de uma reflexão também teórica"

<sup>80</sup> A brief note to say that Giacometti could never really support himself on the work he carried out in Portugal during that period, making a living instead from participating in radio shows in other European countries. The government and other trustees, believing him to be an amateur, never supported him. Only in the end, when he sold his archive, did he find some financial comfort. Today his assets are spread around the country, especially in the Working Museum Michel Giacometti and the Portuguese Music Museum, also dedicated to him.

component, essentially relied on the strength of their arms. So why were these citizens forgotten by the central government in Lisbon? Why was it that when they appeared on television they were presented as a caricature of rural life? It was with this sense of deep outrage that Giacometti began his rural research (Correia 2004: 19).<sup>81</sup>

Given his previous interest in thinking about rural music, this archive was for him an opportunity to make what no one had done before: going to the countryside, filming it, and living the life of those whom he filmed. His effort was focused on everything involving the rural lifestyle. He saved film, fixed images, and sound from total disappearance. Giacometti also saved songs, musical instruments, linen works, and pastoral art. Tales, legends, novels and narrative songs, proverbs and adages, prayers and spells, autos and other pastoral dramas, medicinal formulas, popular forms of superstition, and made the most important collection of sound recordings (Artes da Cura: 2009)<sup>82</sup>. In short, he registered facets of a culture and of a time, which are true historical documents today

For Giacometti, the men and women that are seen working in the images that he captured were the same men and women who had supported and sustained the country for many years, economically and culturally. He respected in them a certain original work and naivety. He travelled around the whole country with the goal of showing this people's culture to those who refused to accept them as part of the tradition. For Giacometti, music is the preferred method of accessing the original culture. Giacometti was the first to record working voices in Portugal by going to the fields with cameras and sound recorders. It was the first time this music was collected as there was no national music archive, something that he would finally create in 1959 – The Portuguese Sound Archive. Working songs is the term used by Michel Giacometti in *The Popular Portuguese Songbook (Cancioneiro Português)* for melodies sung along with the gestures of work and that complement work itself. These songs are part of a

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<sup>81</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Não se interessava por aquelas considerações imutáveis ou teóricas sobre as tradições populares, mas por aqueles homens e mulheres que trabalhavam e pareciam viver tão humilde e modestamente. A economia da altura, com forte componente agrícola, assentava essencialmente na força dos seus braços. Então por que motivo estes cidadão eram esquecidos pelo poder central de Lisboa? Por que motivo, quando apareciam na televisão, eram apresentados como uma caricatura da vida rural? Foi com este sentimento de profunda revolta que Giacometti iniciou as suas pesquisas rurais.”

<sup>82</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: Contos, adágios, receitas de medicina popular, cautelas, superstições, anedotas,

bigger archive, The Popular Portuguese Songbook, and I believe that these are one of the most direct expressions of the politics of word produced by the regime in the countryside. They express the rhythm of the work and, therefore, the structural ideological policies behind them. Here's what he has to say about the part of the Cancioneiro Português dedicated to working songs:

It will be the collection of a functional working song, called a 'farming tune' [moda da lavoura]. Traditionally it was a song meant for coaxing animals. Its preservation is paramount in the face of the disintegration of rural society, specifically due to the mechanization of agriculture. These songs are common in Alto Minho and Beira Alta, and rarer in Alentejo. This case was interesting in its uniqueness within the national repertoire (with wild singing and the use of free rhythms) and its parallelism with songs of Mediterranean Africa and the East (GIACOMETTI 1970, Programme 1)<sup>83</sup>.

These chants are functional as they provide the rhythm for work. They establish a pace for each gesture, disciplining the labouring body by giving it a coercive rhythm, and enabling people to keep working for longer and more regularly. The author introduces an important aspect, the mechanization that replaces the gesture, leading to the disintegration of rural society. From a different perspective, we can also think about the mechanization of the agricultural gesture. The automation of the action that is implanted in the body is important in understanding the role that singing had in a work environment. The songs and the working gestures are connected through rhythm. They share the same pace, almost as if one depended on the other. Both have the same patterns and I believe that this is what made Giacometti's work so interesting. He saw the rhythm of work, not through what resulted from it, but from music, songs. It is actually possible to know the pace in which men and women worked during those decades because that pace is recorded in the form of music. Working songs in Portugal determined production speed in agriculture during those times. The importance of those songs lies in the fact that they produced work, in the same way as work produced music. The music is of extreme relevance in understanding the people.

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<sup>83</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Faz-se a recolha de um canto funcional de trabalho, designado "moda de lavoura". Tradicionalmente é um tipo de cantos de afago e incitamento dirigido aos animais, impondo-se assim a sua recolha pela desintegração da sociedade rural, especificamente pela mecanização da agricultura. Estes cantares são recorrentes no Alto Minho e Beira Alta, mais raros no Baixo Alentejo. Este caso interessou pela singularidade dentro do repertório nacional (canto descompassado e o uso de ritmos livres) e seu paralelismo com músicas da África mediterrânica e do Oriente.

The musical excerpts gathered in this tape are examples (of the greatest significance sociologically) of the songs and work patterns of our people. Strictly from a musical point of view, they present themselves, without a doubt, as specimens of great value, if we consider the richness and variety of their styles, manners and structures, or even, the genuineness of its character, present either in elementary cadences, or in more elaborate polyphonies.

We believe, therefore, that the songs and working rhythms, beyond the pleasure and aesthetic excitement that hearing the deep and beautiful voice of our people can create, helps us better understand what's behind their struggle for a better life.

‘Singings and Work Rhythms of the Portuguese People’  
Collected and presented by Michel Giacometti  
Tribute to Lopes Graça  
[Tape edited during the Avante! (1982)]<sup>84</sup>

The *Cancioneiro Português* contains all of this. It assembles most of the songs from the countryside that we know today. As I have mentioned, not all of them have to do with work: some have to do with leisure time, festivities, religion, etc., but each pertains to a manner of being. They pertain to beliefs. They incite to work and life.

This connection between man, the earth and the divine is also enshrined in the *Cancioneiro* (songbook), but here we don't find as many specific references to the *amanhos*<sup>85</sup> and the cycle of the seasons as in the *Adagiário* (Adage book).<sup>86</sup> The *Cancioneiro* reflects the deepest feelings that bind the peasant to nature, that make him work the land, that bind him primarily to his fellow human beings (joy, sadness, love, longing), while also relating to the supernatural (beliefs, superstitions, religiosity).

It is here, in the *Cancioneiro*, that we find this wonderful symbiosis between nature, love and divinity, characteristic of our folk poetry ever since the *cantigas de amigo*

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<sup>84</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “Os trechos musicais reunidos nesta cassette constituem exemplos, sociologicamente dos mais significativos, dos cantos e ritmos de trabalho do nosso povo. Do estrito ponto de vista musical apresentam-se eles, sem dúvida, como espécimes de grande valia, se atendermos à riqueza e variedade dos seus estilos, modos e estruturas ou, ainda, ao seu carácter de autenticidade, patente quer nas mais elementares melopeias quer nas mais elaboradas polifonias. Acreditamos, assim, que Cantos e Ritmos de Trabalho, para além do prazer e emoção estética que possa suscitar a audição da voz profunda e bela do nosso povo, sirvam para melhor entendermos as razões da sua luta por uma vida mais digna.” Giacometti, Michel; Tape edited during the Avante! (1982) festival, in ‘Uma Longa Militância’, Complete Filmography, 2011.

<sup>85</sup> *Amanhos* are all the tasks performed after sowing and before harvesting.

<sup>86</sup> Lima, and Pires, Fernando Castro, *Adagiário Português* (Portuguese Adage Book), FNAT, Gabinete de Etnografia, col. Cultura e Recreio, first edition, 19,4x13,4cm, 192 pages.

(songs of a friend). Love, for example, takes on an almost divine character, an ideal shape, and is invested with a mystical quality. And their religion is often identified with earthly things, with nature, in a typically pantheistic fashion.

On the other hand, the comparison between the states of mind and nature, also common in classical poetry, reaches great height in popular music, in the purity and spontaneity found here: this is popular animism, which flows from a source without artifice, it is a natural feeling, the result of the life cycle of the primitive man, who feels that he is nature and that nature is part of himself. (Sardinha 2000: 51)<sup>87</sup>.

Michel Giacometti followed an ethnographic perspective that found Portuguese essentiality in the countryside and that wanted to save it from oblivion. The convergence between the popular culture of the countryside and the essentiality of being Portuguese is not new and is recognisable in the regime's propaganda. The construction of the *Homem Novo* had exactly the same objective. This is not unproblematic. If we consider that cinema projects into the future the image we have from the past, we should also remember that this selection crystallises an idea of what happened. 'The popular is – literally – the product of the meeting of two cultures: the culture that was there and did not know what was popular, and the culture of who goes there and decides it is popular' (Leal 2009: 475)<sup>88</sup>. Those who could only identify it from the outside made Portuguese identity coincide with the rural.

It is worth mentioning that Portugal lived under a dictatorship, and that there were extreme economical differences between the countryside and the urban areas. During those decades, the exodus from the country was emptying the inland regions of people. The directors filming this phenomenon came from Lisbon, where they had the means, and were largely doing it to protect what they believed was about to vanish. These economical, political, and consequently, social changes imparted the idea that

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<sup>87</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Por outro lado, a comparação entre os estados de alma e a natureza, sendo também frequente na poesia erudita, atinge grande altura no cancioneiro popular, pela pureza e espontaneidade que aqui encerra: este é um animismo popular, que dimana de uma fonte sem artifício, de um sentimento natural, por isso que resulta do ciclo vital do homem primitivo, que sente que faz parte da natureza e que a natureza é parte de si próprio."

<sup>88</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "O popular é – literalmente – o produto do encontro de duas culturas: a cultura que lá estava e que não sabia que era popular e a cultura de quem chega lá e a nomeia como popular."

something needed to be preserved. Rurality is represented as atemporalised: something from the past that is, and that should be, constitutive of the present. 'Although observed in the present, it is seen, above all, as a testimony to the past: a past that must be reconstituted in interpretive terms, that must be recorded before it disappears, that must be preserved, that will be eventually "purified".' (Leal 2000: 41)<sup>89</sup> The responsibility of those who studied the rural aspect in Portugal was to build a past that had the responsibility to reconstitute the present. The myth of rurality (one of Salazarism's structural ideals) was still very present in the minds of those who did ethnographic and anthropological work in Portugal.

Identifying the contamination between the history of Portuguese Anthropology and the history of Portuguese cinema can be extremely useful in understanding the existence, among the elites, of a vision of the rural people incorporating common elements, with film and ethnology being juxtaposed expressions of these. In fact, much of what was fixed as tradition and reinvented in film was based on visions of ethnology (Costa 2012: 35).<sup>90</sup>

Tradition is a construction. The cinematic tradition is a construction but it is also the cultural tradition we build from artefacts. The mediation of the artefacts we analyse exists in various forms. The films showing the rural in Portugal were mediated both by the regime and by the people against the regime. Different visions will obviously result in different types of production, but they all end, in the Portuguese case, in an idea of purification. The images save the past and redeem it. They give it a place it was never allowed to have. There is a sort of nostalgic feeling when looking at the films, as if somehow they saved our past from disappearance.

Underlying all rural cinema is a contemporary consciousness that complicates yet also specializes its apparent attachment to the past, while at the same time drawing it nearer to the concerns of urban cinema: the expression of ongoing conflicts within a rapidly changing society or culture and the need to maintain a

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<sup>89</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Embora observada no presente, ela é vista, antes do mais, como um testemunho do passado: um passado que há que reconstituir em termos interpretativos, que há que registar antes que desapareça, que há que preservar, que há eventualmente que «purificar»"

<sup>90</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Identificar as contaminações entre a história da Antropologia portuguesa e a história mesma do Cinema pode ser extremamente útil para perceber como existe, entre as elites, uma visão do povo rural que incorpora elementos comuns, e da qual o cinema e a etnologia são expressões juxtapostas. De facto, muito do que foi fixado como tradição e reinventado pelo cinema assentava em visões vindas do seio da etnologia."

connection to a pure cultural or national identity, lost through urban assimilation and the dissipation or abandonment of traditions and rituals that in the rural context had kept this identity alive. Even where it is deemed anachronistic or dismissed folklore, rural cinema frequently plays an important role as a conservator of the culture and a kind of archival entity that, however retrogressively, serves to inform and preserve the perception of the nation's cinema and thus keep the cultural heritage alive (Fowler, and Helfield 2006: 2)

Whereas the urban milieu defines 'the national' in terms of technology, progress and forward development, the rural milieu provides its own definition, via its depiction of traditional folkways and mores and its evocation of continuity despite the march of time and change (Fowler, and Helfield 2006: 3).

In contemporary anthropology, film is a means of expression more than an instrument of collection. In her thesis, Costa analyses rurality in Portuguese cinema as the process of objectification of popular culture, leading to the production of a national identity. Cinema, as the producer of texts and thoughts, became crucial in our present understanding of the past. The relation between cinema and the past seen as an object gains special relevance when considering images that live in the anthropological sphere and that are supposed to be the conductors of a specific (scientific) knowledge. It is important to take from this that all the perspectives referred to a Portuguese context that always aimed to register the rural and popular, and these are ways to understand and to put in object (in film) considerations of what it means to film in general, to film the countryside in particular, and to understand what consequences these films have for the memory of that same rurality today. For Costa, the urgency in filming rurality is symptomatic of a need, but also creates a completely constructed memory of what was, or of what should have been the past. The image of rurality was of major importance for Portuguese cinema throughout decades. I will elaborate on that relation between ethnography and the rural, and the consequences that these had for Portuguese national identity. For Catarina Costa, Portuguese ethnographic films are related to nationalism, not through their speech (ideological and political), but by a practical process of formation and sharing. Movies recorded a speech (in the context of Portuguese ethnographic film) that ended up being sacralised as defining national identity. The director *should* give dignity back to the people. This represented past is ambivalent and dynamic and is brought by the films, in a dialectic construction between the past and the present. Ethnography sees the real as unproblematic. It does

not problematise the author's relationship with reality. There is an urgency that isn't, in fact, possible without fiction film. It is the match between what the viewer sees and what the character saw.<sup>91</sup> From a general perspective it is possible to affirm that the rural ethnographic studies in Portugal started a fixation with countryside people, and the fascination with the rural seems to be based on the belief that these people had a 'secret connection to the transformation of the country in an alternative direction to that proposed by the *Estado Novo*. One can speak, to that extent, about a "portugalization<sup>92</sup> by the left wing" of the link between popular culture and national identity' (Leal 2000: 59-60).<sup>93</sup> It seems that ethnography in general believed that this people were somewhat naive – meaning that they were unaware of what their situation was compared to the rest of the country – and that they carried something directly from the past that could not be found anywhere else. Something that was potentially very original. Ana Carrapato develops Joaquim Pais de Brito's idea<sup>94</sup> (AAVV 1993: 103-109) to elaborate on this notion of manifesting the past. She says that the:

'continuous obsession' with 'the real Portugal' led to 'a search for rurality, with the intention of finding its roots'. That is why the discourses around rurality both served the ideology of the *Estado Novo*, 'the neo-realist opposition, and later any opposition to the regime. Both were drawn to a romantic essence, related to the roots. This obsession with rurality and national identity results from a ahistorical crystallisation, which refused the changes happening in Portugal at the time, with the urbanization of the coast, the diversification of the economy, the total dependence on the world economy and on the colonies' (Carrapato 2006: 82)<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>91</sup> A note to say that eventually 'the focus on Portuguese rural society that dominated in the 80s was abandoned in favour, first, of studies focusing on urban spaces and the problems of modernity in Portugal (55% of scholarships awarded); secondly, contexts that included the vast area of the world that spoke Portuguese (33%); and thirdly, an interest in archival research, museology and historical anthropology (12%) (Viegas, Pina de Cabral, 2014: 327).

<sup>92</sup> The term used by João Leal was *reaportuguesamento*.

<sup>93</sup> In fact, and according to Jorge Freitas Branco, the folklore was itself a construction (appearing in the 30's as a reaction of the population to the requirement to place their celebrations in profane spheres), which nationalised the people (Branco, 1999: 36; 40).

<sup>94</sup> From a conference that took place in 1993, with Pereira, Catarina Alves Costa, José António Fernandes Dias, José Manuel Costa, Joaquim Pais de Brito, Miguel Vale de Almeida, and João Leal as chairman. AAVV 1993, *Olhares sobre Portugal. Cinema e Antropologia*, Lisboa: CEAS/ABC Cine-Clube de Lisboa.

<sup>95</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "obsessão continuada' da procura de 'Portugal enquanto tal', o que conduz à 'busca da ruralidade, na perspectiva do reconhecimento das raízes'. É por isso que os discursos em torno da ruralidade tanto serviram a ideologia do Estado Novo como "a oposição neo-realista e mais tarde qualquer oposição ao regime. Ambas procuravam o mesmo objecto de essência romântica, relacionado com as raízes. Essa obsessão com a ruralidade e a identidade nacional resulta de uma cristalização a-histórica, que recusa a própria mudança que em Portugal estava na altura em curso, com a urbanização do litoral, a diversificação da economia, a dependência total em relação à economia-mundo e em relação ao aluguer de colónias"

The politics of the regime were particularly perverse at this stage. The idea that the regime was an illness, defended by José Gil, that was entrenched in the bodies of the Portuguese, terrifying an entire society, gained new features. The regime asked for a posture of self-invisibility and that had severe political, economical and social consequences. The lack of political care was disguised by the regime's ideology, making people believe that they shouldn't have any social visibility. The ethnographers and Michel Giacometti rescued that desire for visibility in what can be considered a critique against the regime, but in order to do that they followed the same path as those who protected the regime: they emphasized the *Homem Novo*, the modest man with no social, economical and political ambitions, as the man who carried the essentiality of Portugal. This was, in fact, the regime's success and, as Fernando Rosas defends, the reason for its durability – the illness of Portuguese society that José Gil claimed was part of its cure.

Giacometti's intention was always to give visibility to a working class to whom that had been denied by the regime. In a sense, the folklore was made visible as long as it supported the idea of the regime. Independent cultural forms that did not follow the regime's idea would not be considered. In order to accomplish that he looked at popular Portuguese culture as an identitarian source of what it meant to be Portuguese. The film *O Alar da Rede*, however, uses other strategies of visibility that go beyond ethnographic thinking. The underlying intention in those films is ethnographic: for Michel Giacometti the roots of ethnographic film where the narrative is developed through image was characterized by a scepticism about the properties of the image, since it mainly relates to the image's technical issues rather than theoretical ones. This does not mean necessarily that there wasn't an awareness of the filmic language and that the work didn't go beyond a purely descriptive dimension, but that this awareness is exactly the condition for the way we perceive it. Referring to archive films in Portugal, in general, but in what I believe to be also a description of what happens with Giacometti, Catarina Costa says that there is:

No such omniscience of the camera and, clearly, what we see doesn't incorporate, cinematically, the point of view of a character but only that of the ethnologist. In them there are no subjective shots, i.e., that refer to what is seen by who is filmed. The shot itself only lasts the time required to show an action and is never meant for pure contemplation, resting, for example, on the surrounding landscape (Costa 2012: 136-137)<sup>96</sup>.

The film *O Alar da Rede*, resulting from this view is, nonetheless, embedded with strategies that are filmic and that refer to the possibilities of recording and that need to also be taken into consideration. Giacometti's intentions are (arguably) clearly understood. He wanted a film that would deliver an integral past. But apart from this, the film *O Alar da Rede* has to rely on the means of cinematic expression. The representation Giacometti proposed in the film carries, necessarily, an expression that

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<sup>96</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Nestes filmes de arquivo existe essa omnisciência da câmara e, claramente, aquilo que vemos não incorpora, cinematograficamente, o ponto de vista de algum personagem mas apenas o do etnólogo. Neles não existem planos subjectivos, ou seja, que se refiram ao que aquele que é filmado vê. O próprio tempo do plano é o necessário à demonstração de uma acção e nunca à pura contemplação, por exemplo da paisagem envolvente."

is filmic. The way in which this film is made deconstructs the perception of state violence; it is presented in such a way that adds value to how the spectator perceives the structural violence imposed by the state. As Catarina Alves Costa says, elaborating on Marc Ferro's work:

To look for clues in the history of cinema is also to find in the films an opportunity to talk about a certain period. This is the distinction that Marc Ferro made between the two main angles from which one can examine the relationship between cinema and history: on the one hand [...], the historical reading of the film and, on the other hand, the so-called cinematic reading of history [...]. To cover the two perspectives, the historian's work, according to Ferro, entails watching, not only cinematographic news and documentary films, but also fiction, the imaginary (cf. Ferro 1977: 18; 91). (Costa 2012: 57)<sup>97</sup>.

My argument is that through filmic strategies the film creates an experience of structural violence in the viewer. This experience of violence happens through the filmic construction of habits in the viewer (represented in the form of repetitive gestures), and in the form of deception (by removing the consequences of those repetitive gestures). From the beginning: *O Alar da Rede* represents the gestures of work repeatedly and these are guided by a song. Until then, the relationships between working gestures and film existed in a purely representational realm, but the film *O Alar da Rede* maintains a complex relationship with the gestures it represents. The film doesn't just portray these men's gestures — it does so, I argue, in a way that is purely filmic. They are presented to the public, in Nancy's terms, not by transferring a memory to the present time, but by reconstructing in the viewer the rhythm of work from the past (a consequence of the regime's structural violence), creating, in this sense, a new way of thinking about these gestures. What's more, Giacometti removes the consequences of these gestures, reframing them in a context that is purely filmic. By imposing that rhythm in the viewer and by removing these consequences, Giacometti surpasses the ethnographic view of the regime and creates new forms of

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<sup>97</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Procurar pistas na história do cinema, é também ver no cinema uma fonte para falar de um determinado período. Trata-se da distinção que Marc Ferro faz entre dois grandes eixos a partir dos quais se pode interrogar a relação entre cinema e história: por um lado (e é neste eixo que enquadro este capítulo), a leitura histórica do filme e, por outro, a chamada leitura cinematográfica da história, que abarca os capítulos mais analíticos da tese. Para cobrir as duas perspectivas, o trabalho do historiador passa, segundo Ferro, por olhar não só as actualidades cinematográficas, e o documentário, mas também a ficção, o imaginário (cf. Ferro 1977: 18 e 91).

thinking about Salazarism's structural violence, something that can only be experienced in the filmic realm. By re-presenting the violence, Giacometti re-appropriates the film and adds something that is uniquely filmic. He takes out the ending of the film. Giacometti had an ethnographic intention – to capture the people and their culture through a musical archive. The film *O Alar da Rede* goes beyond this intention: in it we find the representation of a type of culture that was, I argue, the consequence of a political ideology that caused a certain structural violence, as well as something that relates to the expression of film.

This filmic intelligence, or intention, revolves around two cinematic/ filmic (Deleuzian) ideas: the fact that Giacometti intentionally repeated the working gestures that were followed by and were following the music; and the fact that he removed the consequences of those working gestures, removed the fish from the fishing. These ideas, which are part of the expression of the cinematic, have an impact in the viewer who watches them. Even if in different ways, they remove the viewer from their own pace and place them in the time of the film, or in other words, while watching the film, the viewer lives the pace of the images in front of him. In Benjamin's terms, film demands a reception in the form of distraction, which is accomplished through a combination of shock and contemplation. The repetition of the working gestures and the removal of the consequences of those gestures are only possible in the filmic realm. These ideas have consequences that are purely filmic and that can only happen in a relationship between film and spectator.

The relationship between viewer and film is crucial to understanding the ability of the moving image to put in visible form the violence from the past. Film detaches the viewer from the normal pace of life. And by film I mean all films. Film disconnects the viewer from their own rhythm, giving them a new temporal access – if this was not the case, it would be impossible to watch a film. Film creates new habits, physical habits, in the viewer that need to be taken into consideration when one watches *O Alar da Rede*. The habituation to the gesture shown in the film is both embodied in the people represented and in the viewer. The viewers' habituation to the rhythm of work is an expression of the Deleuzian '*Image of Thought*'. It is a form of automatism (Cavell) of

the machine (the camera) that automatically overcomes subjectivity through representation.

Let us concentrate on the film – the repetition. The film is, as stated, 14.34-minutes long, and the gestures on which I will concentrate start at the 5-minute mark. As referred, the film captures the moment when the fishermen pull the net out of the sea. They do this repeatedly until the end of the film. The narrator tells us that this gesture is repeated, in real life, every dawn for almost two hours. The gesture is real; the film intends to register it as reality. If before I referred to the choice of rurality as encapsulating national identity, I should now look closely at the medium of that identity, which is not only found in the form of a film (either artistic or ethnographic), but also comes up in a gesture that repeats itself. In fact, the repetition of these gestures has echoed down through the ages and it creates this identity in two main ways. The first one refers to what has been captured in the film which I am now analysing, and that I consider to be a constructed vision of the Portuguese working class during the dictatorship. The second is part of the film's narrative and refers to the gesture – because the gesture is embodied both in the person that performs it and in the person who watches it. This means that, somehow, there is a link between the processes in which the 'actor' and the viewer are immersed, which I believe to be connected to this idea of repetition.

Giacometti didn't just intend to register the fishing gestures. His intention was to reduce those gestures to a single one. To repeat oneself to the point where the repetition of things assumes a specific form of being. 'Things acquire fixity, that is, they acquire parts and hence boundaries through repetition. These parts and boundaries then allow us to see the individual as a member of a class or species' (Williams, 2003: 11). A gesture that culminates all others, all efforts, all pain, and he wanted to repeat it forever. He wanted to repeat it for as many days as that gesture happened in real life. That is what we see in *O Alar da Rede*. The artistic intention is attached to real working time. The automatism of representation of the working gestures is operated and embedded in the viewer through repetition. The repetition works in us as an act of memory. It acts to the point of becoming part of the habit. It is important to approach

this gesture both through the idea of repetition and through the idea of this repetition being embedded in habituation, because habits are considered exactly in this way: for Gilles Deleuze, habit belongs to the living present and it involves some kind of repetition. 'Habits draw something new from repetition – namely difference' (Deleuze 1994: 73).

Difference as potency or as becoming allows repetition and because of that 'repetition in habit and memory are only possible on a background of virtual differences' (Williams 2003: 12). Because I have the possibility of becoming something else, I have also the capacity to adjust to new realities that are, in this sense, more foreign to me. I can only identify myself as me because there is a virtual potency of me becoming something else – and this is how I acquire habits. Only through repetition it is possible to find a self or fixity of the self. For Deleuze, 'the condition for what we commonly understand as repetition in habit and memory is, in fact, the continuity afforded by the variation of an intensity in an idea or sensation' (Williams 2003: 12). So how can we link this to the working gesture? At what level are variations in the working gestures possible? 'We only have a sense of the direction from past to future as expectancy because of the passive synthesis of time, defined as habit' (Williams 2003: 88). Present is, then, a result of the conscience of habit. I am used to being in the present and this is why I can experience it. In *O Alar da Rede*, the present, the moment in which we look at it, is the continuation of the known past, the known gesture. The present is embedded in the habits of knowing the gestures. For Deleuze, habit is the passive manner in which we relate to time: past and future come together in me no longer in new forms, but as the new itself. I don't rethink my being in the present because the present is being there always – for the author this is defined by repetition. I repeat my present always and, because of that, I can experience living. This is the way humans relate to reality, through experiences of recognition.

This means that identity, in general, is acknowledged in this recognition. The identity is only possible because of the repetition of movement that gains the form of habit. So, to be more specific, the Portuguese identity that we have mentioned before, can also be defined here: the gestures of the working class, the fishing, and the resulting habits

of what meant to work in Portugal during those decades, define the kind of national identity that is the consequence of political structural violence. Accordingly, the gestures are the medium, as much as the film is. The formation of habits in the viewer that coincide with the rhythm of the working gestures of the past is purely filmic and constitutive of violence. The formation of habits is made automatically and is imposed on the viewer who, as a spectator, has no say on the director's choice and will be thrown into the chant that punctuates the gesture and that has been part of Portuguese culture for decades. This formation is violent and translates structural violence into something that a spectator, as such, can watch. And this is the filmic element:

Instead, we found a timeless film, not a historicist one, but one that refers, as we have seen, to the past, using and manipulating a cyclic or mythological time. Even when the approach is more clearly ethnographic and scientific, time is manipulated based on the idea of reconstruction – of a technique, knowledge, or tradition that don't exist anymore (Costa 2012: 42).<sup>98</sup>

The second filmic aspect that translates the state's structural violence into visible form is Giacometti's decision to remove the end of the film. The removal of the actual capture of the fish allows us to consider the film's context from a completely different perspective. The potentiality created by the elimination of the conclusion of the film enables us (and Giacometti, as he stated in the film) to think about reality's lack of conclusion or consequence. The relationship created in the film is visible also in reality. The possibility of being a film is of major importance in thinking about what a film is, what it means to be in reality, and what consequences can be found in that reality.

But let's go back to the film. As we have seen, Michel Giacometti removes its end. This choice was intentional and it prompted a question that runs through the entire film: if the intention of the director was purely ethnographic (i.e. had purely scientific purposes), where does the action of removing the end fit? How can we help but analyse this film through the deliberate choice of investing it with an artistic quality?

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<sup>98</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Em vez disso, encontramos um cinema atemporal, não historicista, mas que remete, como verificámos, para o passado, que usa e manipula um tempo cíclico ou mitológico. Mesmo quando a abordagem é mais claramente etnográfica e científica, o tempo é manipulado com base na ideia de reconstituição, - de uma técnica, de um saber, ou de uma tradição que já não existem."

But the opposite is also problematic, because in spite of the fact that we see an artistic intention in the director when he removes the end, we cannot simply detach the singing from its function, from the ethnographic perspective, and also from the actual fact that those images became part of Portuguese identity.

By removing the fish from the fishing, the director expressed something other than an ethnographic intention – he had a filmic idea and that idea had consequences in the filmic realm. Those results provoke a violent feeling of deception. Giacometti's footage shows the same gesture over and over again. It urges us to participate in this monotonous gesture and in the chant that follows it, whose beginning and end we are unable to differentiate. The gesture and the songs lead us towards what we hope to recognise as an end, as the fishermen do. The fact is that we are left without an end. The film doesn't give us the end: the fish. Of course the fishermen saw the fish, but it is also true they went to sea the day after that, the narrator tells us. If, on one hand, the habit created in us left us frustrated, meaning that the effort we witnessed was worthless, on the other hand, the habit created in them left them without a purpose, or at least, the purpose is closed in itself. The gesture of fishing is there to be repeated, over and over again, as our gesture of watching is repeated every time and found inconsequential.

Cinema deceives its spectators by inducing them to invest themselves in the significance of what they see on the screen. The point is not that spectators take the screen events for real events but that they believe in the depth and coherence of the world they see. This belief leads spectators to assume that there is something to figure out in the film, that each film—especially the puzzle film—has a secret truth that the spectator can access. According to this belief, there are events happening in the filmic world beyond what we see on the screen. Borden really is a pair of twins; Angier really drowned his doubles produced by the teleportation machine; and so on. The cinematic deception produces spectator fascination, which is nothing but the spectator's investment in the significance and worldliness of the images on the screen (McGowan, 2007: 24).

The film *O Alar da Rede* is an ethnographic collection of those songs, while at the same time being more than that. During almost the entire film we can see men in the trawler Nicete, pushing the fishing net repeatedly, accompanied by the chant 'Leva-

Leva'. In spite of the film's ethnographic purposes, i.e., showing the fishermen's fishing processes, there is one thing missing: the fish. As stated, the film ends before the appearance of the fish and that is intentional. The narrator justifies this choice after analysing the repetition of gestures performed by the fishermen. The movement presented is repeated until exhaustion. Deception is a form of violence that resists Salazarist structural violence: it questions the process of work without real positive outcomes. But it ends up doing so in a productive way.

*O Alar da Rede* creates two different visibilities of structural violence: it puts the viewer in a unique place that follows the gestures and pace of the working class (only possible in film) and deceives the viewer, since the end is not given. The film invades the viewer's pace and breaks it. In this way, *O Alar da Rede* doesn't just represent the regime's structural violence, but also places the viewer in the presence of a structural violence that has been translated into something else. Through the specificity of being a film, *O Alar da Rede* builds an image of thought that corrupts the viewer's perception of what it means to understand the rhythm of work in Portugal, during the 1960's. It creates this image of thought automatically. The formation of that type of thought engenders new ways of thinking about the obsessive, hypnotizing and functional rhythm of the working gesture. In this way, this film becomes an act of resistance against existing knowledge, by offering an alternative that, in spite of being specifically filmic, opens up a space for understanding the rhythm of Salazarism's structural violence, and later breaking that rhythm. Giacometti does something that can be achieved only in art and, more precisely, in film: he gives violence a visible form. He translates structural violence into a type of violence that is productive, filmic, and essentially visible.

The film *O Alar da Rede* offers a visible space for the working class, which was economically forgotten during the regime and only remembered for propaganda purposes. It does this through the use of filmic strategies: it imposes habituation and deception on the viewer. In this sense, I conclude that *O Alar da Rede* has, in fact, the capability to reverse a system of invisibility, and not just because it gives visibility to the working class, but also because it puts in visible form the rhythm of work itself and the deception that comes with it.

The film *48*, directed by Susana de Sousa Dias, is the second case study of this thesis. It is a reflection on how film can create a visible space for the victims of the violence committed by the political police (PIDE) during Salazarism, and on how that visible space questions the regime's system of invisible violence and re-establishes a sense of justice for the victims. This process is achieved by gathering mugshots of the political prisoners (taken from the political police's archive) and including the victims' testimonies about their experiences in prison. In this way, *48* becomes the meeting point of two moments, that when the prisoners are placed in a representational archival document, and that when the opportunity to testify about his or her own experience is given back to the victim. The film displays the mugshots of the Portuguese dictatorship's political prisoners, while in the background we hear the testimonies made by the ex-prisoners years later. There is one exception, Amós Mahanjare, an ex-prisoner from the former colonies, who had his photograph destroyed (this happened more often in the colonial territories). The film offers us a reflection on the sterilising power of the state image, and the addition of the testimonies that infuse the image with the prisoners' perspectives is the starting point of this chapter. This process of giving a visible space in film back to the victims of a system of violence based on invisibility alters present collective, identitarian memory, by allowing a new perception of what violence was like under Salazar, and of how people reacted against it. More, it gives to the viewer a responsible and political position: the viewer knows and therefore he or she is now responsible for it.

I will first elaborate on the use of mugshots by the state police and on how this can be seen as a form of negation of speech. The state image (the criminal identification portrait) was used by the PIDE during Salazarism as a way of reducing the prisoner to a static representational form that could easily be archived. State power used this process to take away the experience of being a prisoner. Therefore, the act of photographing the prisoners becomes a violent act in itself and a representation of that same act, denying the victim the power to speak about this violence. In this sense, the mugshot is a representation of power that removes the prisoner's will and his or

her humanity, while also building a paradigm in which an image can be construed as a way of hiding an experience that lasted longer than the photographic instant.

Susana de Sousa Dias's film gives the mugshots a different meaning. The director spoke to the ex-prisoners years later and asked them to remember and talk about their experiences, which she then added to the film. In this way, *48* puts side by side the photographic document and the victims' personal perception of it, re-establishing in this relation between state power and victim precisely the possibility for the latter to testify. It is within the filmic realm, which removes the image of the prisoner from his/her static form, and gives him/her movement and speech, that the power to speak about the experience is made visible and placed in the present of the film. I will draw from the Deleuzian idea that film is comprised of blocks of image-movement to argue that *48* gives the static images, which are the reduction of a reality, a before and an after that is necessary for a better understanding of the torture perpetrated by the PIDE and the regime. The film gives us an important glimpse into what happened before and after those images were taken, and that is central in thinking about the role of the regime's violence historically.

Finally and as a conclusion, the re-interpretation of the experience of violence made by the ex-prisoners allows the victims to speak about their own search for visibility during the regime, and that, in turn, problematises the characteristics of the processes involved in the regime's system of invisible violence. We realise that to the perception of a collective identitarian memory another feature has been added that enables us to look at this memory as partial and insufficient. In *48*, we see the fight against the system of invisibility, both in the prisoners, and at the time when the film was made. This does not deny José Gil's argument that the regime had a very powerful system of invisibility, but it does contradict the idea that its effects can be generalised to all Portuguese society in two ways. First, because it shows that many people were openly fighting against the regime and, for that reason, were kept in prison for a long time, or were persecuted. Second, because it also challenges the idea that the violence of invisibility had long-lasting consequences and still influences society today. Even if it

cannot be completely denied, the film demonstrates that contemporary directors do search for that visible public space.

*48* is a documentary about the political prisoners of Estado Novo released in 2009. The film was directed by Susana de Sousa Dias<sup>99</sup> who was born in Lisbon in 1962. Since 2000, with the film *Processo-Crime 141/53 (Criminal Case 141/53)*, she has carried out in her work an investigation into the history of the Portuguese dictatorship. 2005's *Natureza Morta (Still Life)* was her second feature and focused on the dictatorship's archive. *48*, her third, centres around the memory of Portuguese history under Salazar. The film *48* is another inquiry into the Portuguese dictatorship, and in it the director gathered the criminal identification portraits (mugshots) of sixteen Portuguese dissident prisoners. Today, these images can be found in the archive of the propaganda films produced by the regime's PIDE/DGS<sup>100</sup> (International and State Defence Police/Directorate General of Security).

*48* reveals the prisoners' mugshots, one after another, with very little movement. With the exception of the last scene, which refers to the situation in the ex-colonies, the film is solely composed of fixed images shown in long scenes that force the viewer to a close proximity to the prisoner's photo. Alongside these, the ex-prisoners give an account of the moments of torture and humiliation within which the images arose. The director captured the film's audio many years after those images were recorded. The discourses we hear in the film are the victims' memories of those times. They are the accounts of the ex-prisoners shown in the images as they recall the moment when those images were taken.

The film presents verbal testimonies of sixteen political prisoners regarding both the ways in which the notorious secret police (PIDE-DGS) persecuted them (including torture) and the ways in which they responded to persecution, incarceration, and torture. The names are revealed at the end of the film. On-screen, no acts of torture can be seen. The person giving the testimony is present through his or her voice and through old photographs taken by the secret police at the time when the person was incarcerated. These include, in some cases, several photographs of the same person taken over the years, documenting the

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<sup>99</sup> She holds a Ph.D. in Aesthetics, Science and Art Technologies from the University of Paris and the University of Lisbon. Before that, she completed a Master's in Aesthetics and Philosophy of Art at the University of Lisbon's Faculty of Fine Arts, a degree in Fine Arts/Painting from the same institution, and a degree in cinema from the Lisbon Theatre and Film School. She also attended the National Conservatory's Music School. As part of her doctoral thesis, she developed theoretical and practical research on the relations between cinema and contemporary art, with a particular focus on archives.

<sup>100</sup> PIDE/DGS: 'Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado/ Direcção Geral de Segurança'

dramatic change in a person's appearance in a relatively short period of time due to torture (e.g. serious sleep deprivation). Thus, the voice connects the voices of the ex-prisoners, while simultaneously aiming to deconstruct the reduction of those prisoners and ex-prisoners to a position of subjection. The film challenges the position of subjection assigned by the secret police to the people participating in this project at the time when they were arrested. What cannot be seen on-screen is what the person giving the testimony looks like at that exact moment (Moller 2013: 184).

The images appear sometimes very rapidly, other times slowly, in front of our eyes; sometimes we see more than one image per person, sometimes in different layers. These are *close-ups of mugshots* of political prisoners extended in time. Motion is added to the photos that are then shown in slow motion. The director wanted the viewer to see the pictures continuously, which would not have been achieved if the images were completely still. This way Sousa Dias could produce a moving film from still images. Each ex-prisoner gives testimony, during four or five minutes, about his or her experience in prison. The special aspect where the audio was captured is audible. From those testimonies, it is obvious that they are looking at the photographs. Some of them describe the photos with regret, while others explain the reason for such faces and reactions.

The patient pace of *48* – each photograph is on-screen for several minutes as the ex-prisoner recalls her/his experiences – allows us not merely to be appalled at what these women and men went through, but to understand the nuances of their experiences and, in many cases, to have a complex sense of the varied ways in which these individuals have come to terms with what happened to them (MacDonald 2014: 267-268).

In some of the statements the ex-prisoners reconsider the memory of their experience. Their memories were affected by torture, and the discussion seems to revolve around the memory itself: the testimonies are given without any planning and they contradict each other. The effort put into remembering is also perceptible. The dialogues are complemented by an environmental noise that gives space to the almost still image we are watching. The physical environment of the prisons is described. There is some empty space and a room behind the camera, to which the witnesses often refer. They mention the men photographing them, how they looked and what they said. They also describe the time aspect of their experience, the before and after

of that instant when the image was taken. The director provides the viewer with a lot of information about the prisoners' experience through their accounts but, unlike in photo albums, it is the director who decides when to turn the page. There is a constitutive tension to the film found in between the present discourses and the photographic images from the past that we see as spectators.

The voices accompany the appearance of images, with neither the latter working as illustrations, nor the former as captions. They both tell stories that intersect each other. This is how we see those images disrupting the monotonous and apparently neutral sequence of police photos. Through the testimony (...) minimal forms of resistance are detached from the portraits (such as Dias Lourenço smiling mockingly), as are aspects of a life in hiding (like in the case of Manuel Pedro, who pretended to be bald), the specific torture of women (visible in the photos and reports of Alice Chapel and Conceição Matos) and the voracious passage of time (seen in the pictures of Manuel Pedro, Sofia Ferreira, Maria Antónia Fiadeiro or Conceição Matos) (Cardina 2010: 59-60)<sup>101</sup>.

The images are described one by one, questioning the viewer's perception of the mugshots. There is something profoundly photographic in the way the film is produced. The film's pace dictates the viewer's rhythm, challenging the way we would normally look at mugshots in a photo album. The narrative is subverted, with the director aiming to guide the viewer as the description of the photos is happening. The viewer looks at images for a long period of time, while also listening to what there is to say about them. This has a big impact in changing our perception of those images. If in the moment when they were captured the images intended to document a political criminal, in the time of the film they go through an enormous transformation. The director changes 'what were originally small, generic images, useful only for identifying enemies of the regime, into large-scale portraits that reveal the dignity, and often the beauty, of these women and men' (MacDonald 2014: 266).

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<sup>101</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "As vozes acompanham o surgimento das imagens, mas nem estas funcionam como ilustração, nem aquelas como legenda. Ambas relatam histórias que se intersejam. É assim que vemos aquelas imagens desarrumarem a sequência monótona e aparentemente neutral das fotos policiais. Pelo testemunho – mas também pelo olhar atentíssimo da realizadora – desprendem-se dos retratos formas mínimas de resistência (como o sorriso trocista de Dias Lourenço), aspetos da vida na clandestinidade (como a calvície forjada de Manuel Pedro), a tortura específica às mulheres (visível nas fotos - e nos relatos - de Alice Capela e Conceição Matos) e a voraz passagem do tempo (na sequência de fotos de Manuel Pedro, Sofia Ferreira, Maria Antónia Fiadeiro ou Conceição Matos)."

Only the images of the prisoners of the regime are visible; the ex-prisoners' faces remain unseen, meaning that the audience is not aware of what they look like in the present moment. There are also no references to what came after the regime. The viewer is not told if the police suffered any consequences after the 1974 Carnation Revolution, for instance. The only thing that the director allows the viewer to see are the images from the past intertwined with the ex-prisoners' testimonies. From the ex-prisoners we can only hear the memories and what they constructed as memory. The reason for this is that the director wanted to confront the viewer only with the prisoner, and to avoid a fracture between present and past, thus creating a 'co-presence of heterogeneous times' (Sousa Dias in MacDonald 2014: 280). In the moment when the viewer is watching the film the photograph and the testimony are made present. They share a present with the viewer.

My first preoccupation when tracing how *48* challenges the state of invisibility is to understand how this film focuses on the regime in the first place. *48* tackles this subject through the use of the imagery produced by the political police. More specifically, the film uses the criminal identification portraits of political prisoners that belonged to the state police (PIDE) and were used to impose power. The use of such images was, in itself, a way of neutralising and making invisible the political prisoners and their views. It is here that I anchor my argument that these images belonged to a larger system of invisibility that *48* tries to challenge. The use of mugshots raises the question of image appropriation for state purposes as an act of direct violence in itself. I will claim that the moment when the photograph was taken is an expression of state violence that served the regime's goal of keeping the people from manifesting publicly.

In order to address the use of image by the police it is necessary to understand that this took place within a system that suppressed any public (and private) expression opposing the regime. For the authoritarian state, the lack of public protest would lead to the complete removal of individuals from public life, and it was believed that this would assist the country in becoming solid. In order for this to happen, a strong censorship was put in action on many fronts. The censorship that would result in a process of self-invisibility for individuals was mostly applied by a special police created to protect the regime. The political police PVDE was established in 1933 ('Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado') and was later replaced by the International and State Defence Police (PIDE), which continued to be overseen by the Interior Ministry (Pimentel, 2011: 139). In the months following the revolution of 25 April, 1974, the Commission for the extinction of the PIDE/DGS announced that the organisation had had 2162 employees and 20,000 informers. This police was designed to protect the regime, as well as to attack those who opposed it, and it exerted great influence throughout the entirety of it, as Miguel Cardina explains:

The regime survived to the extent that it was kept alive by this fear and violence. The administration of torture, as is evident in the collected reports, did not result

from the momentary madness or punitive harshness of a few stricter inspectors. The acts of torture were thought, learned and medically monitored. They took on an unquestionable centrality, even if they weren't static or universal: they evolved over the years, made distinctions base on the class, gender or social status of the arrested, and assumed a different intensity in Portugal and in the colonies (Cardina 2010: 60)<sup>102</sup>.

The PIDE had administrative powers over immigration and it was responsible, alongside the *Polícia Judiciária* for pursuing offenders. It was politically independent in deciding and implementing prevention and safety measures. It was essentially a preventive police whose inspectors had the same competencies as the PJ magistrates. There was a direct relationship between the PIDE and Salazar (and the Interior Ministry as well). In 1954, the PIDE was extended to the Portuguese colonies, and from 1959-1960 on it gained even more powers.<sup>103</sup> Political detention in Portugal combined three logics: the logic of the affirmation of authority (deterrence, prevention, intimidation – everyone could be targeted and reprimanded based on their political engagement;<sup>104</sup> the prisoners were publicly denounced, even though the methods of torture were not); a logic of correction (the prisoners were tortured without trial, which functioned as a corrective measure) and, finally, neutralisation (arresting the leaders of movements opposed to the regime, including the PCP – Portuguese Communist Party<sup>105</sup>). The security measures involved temporary safety procedures whereby the accused could be jailed for one year and a half without trial. For example, a person sentenced to two years or more could be, for security reasons and while he or she was considered dangerous by the PIDE, kept under surveillance, and, after 1949, detained

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<sup>102</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: “O regime sobrevivia na exata medida em que se alimentava desse medo e dessa violência. A administração das torturas, como se torna evidente nos relatos cotejados, não resultava de um desvario momentâneo ou do excessivo rigor punitivo de um ou outro inspetor mais severo. As torturas eram pensadas, aprendidas e medicamente acompanhadas. Assumiam uma inquestionável centralidade, ainda que não fossem estáticas ou universais: evoluíram com os anos, distinguiram classe, sexo ou estatuto social do preso e tiveram diferente intensidade em Portugal ou nas colónias”

<sup>103</sup> This is absolutely visible in *48*. And the victims were not only from Portugal: in the colonies a different reality (a more violent one) was happening. This can be gathered from the testimonies in *48*: ‘Amos Mahanjane and Matias Mboa – [that is] one of the film’s strongest moments, where we clearly realise the difference in how the prisoners in Portugal and in the former colonies were treated. Here, death was not a threat. In this respect, *48* is also a masterful essay on the centrality of violence in Salazar’s and Marcelo Caetano’s colonial dictatorship’ (Cardina 2010: 60) — My translation from the original in Portuguese:: “Amós Mahanjane e Matias Mboa - um dos momentos mais enérgicos do filme, onde nos apercebemos claramente da diferença de tratamento aplicada ao presos em Portugal e nas ex-colónias. Aqui, a morte não era uma ameaça. Nesta medida, *48* é também um magistral ensaio sobre a centralidade da violência na ditadura colonial de Salazar e Marcelo Caetano.”

<sup>104</sup> PIDE had an excessive number of informers, which gave the impression that the police was everywhere.

<sup>105</sup> From the 1930s on the communists became the main targets. Other movements, such as the Democratic Unity Movement (MUD) and the Democratic Youth Unity Movement (MUDJ), were identified as affiliated with the communists. The Communist Party suffered huge casualties in the late 50s and 60s.

for periods of six months to one year. The prisoners were arrested for very long periods of time due to security measures, even though some of them had short sentences. Later, in the Marcelist Spring, probation time would be taken into account in the final sentence. Until 1945, preventive detention had no time limit. After that date, detentions had a time limit of three months "subject to an extension of two periods of forty-five days each, on the proposal of the political police and confirmed by the Interior Ministry. It was in this period of the case investigation that the PIDE tortured prisoners" (Pimentel 2011: 140)<sup>106</sup>. In 1956, security measures were tightened and could reach periods between six months to three years that were renewable for three successive periods of three years (Pimentel 2011).

In 1957, PIDE elements attended courses run by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which took place at Camp Peary, near Williamsburg (Virginia), under the coded name of *Isolation* (Pimentel, 2007: 110).<sup>107</sup> The interrogations and following torture happened in the PIDE head office and all agents were involved, working in shifts. The levels of torture used by the PIDE increased towards the end of the regime. The methods used in interrogations were continuous: insults, drug use, electric shocks, whipping, hitting with batons, punching, slapping, kicking, not giving the prisoners a way to clean themselves up (including menstruating women<sup>108</sup>). They threatened them with lies about the death of their family members, sleep torture (i.e. sleep impediment<sup>109</sup>), with forcing them to remain standing, and beatings. Torture by deprivation was the most used, which included the prisoner's isolation: having no access to magazines and letters, the prisoners were left with absolutely no contact with the outside. Music and sound were also a relevant method, used mostly to

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<sup>106</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Passíveis de prorrogação de dois períodos de 45 dias cada, sob proposta da própria polícia política e confirmada pelo Ministério do Interior. Era nesse período de instrução do processo que a PIDE torturava os presos."

<sup>107</sup> From José Freire Antunes, *Kennedy and Salazar: The Lion and the Fox*, Lisboa, Difusão Cultural, 1991, p. 105.

<sup>108</sup> Starting in the 1960s, women began to be considered rebels themselves (and not only rebels' wives) and were officially tortured too. Women were tortured only occasionally before this date.

<sup>109</sup> José Lamego described sleep deprivation as the 'more sophisticated' torture because it involved 'a general apathy, with periods of lucidity' and after three days came the visual and auditory hallucinations', from José Lamego testimony's in 'Dossier 1974 Was 20 Years Ago', *Visão*, 21.04.1994, (Pimentel 2007: 105) My translation from the original in Portuguese: «numa apatia geral, com períodos de lucidez» e ao «fim de três dias, vinham as alucinações visuais e auditivas»

provoke a feeling of recognition in the prisoner (DUARTE 2015). The consequences of these acts of violence are summarised in Afonso Albuquerque's statistics:

After 25, April, 1974, the psychiatrist Afonso de Albuquerque examined the clinical consequences of the interrogations conducted by the PIDE/DGS, through a sample of fifty people arrested between 1966 and 1973. He mentioned the following causes for the disturbances detected in these ex-detainees: isolation and depersonalisation (50%); sleep deprivation (96%); beatings (46%); a forced standing position (38%), insults and blackmailing (30%), temperature variations (8%); speakers with recordings (8%) and electric shocks (4%).

As immediate consequences of torture, the psychiatrist noted the following: hallucinations and delirium (76%); loss of consciousness (15%); edema of the lower limbs (10%) and suicide attempts (6%). Medium and long-term consequences were also observed: faulty memory (16%); depression (16%); insomnia (8%); schizophrenic psychosis (8%), anxiety, headaches, stuttering, sexual problems and others (30%) ('Dossier 1974 Was 20 Years Ago', *Visão*, 4/21/94) (Pimentel, 2007: 107)<sup>110</sup>

Photographic documentation was another resource used by the PIDE when committing violence. Archival portraits were central in the documentation of criminals and their crimes, as they would help keep track of the perpetrators. The PIDE archive, now held in the Torre do Tombo, is composed of more than six million records, 500 books and 20,000 boxes of processes. Many of these documents are criminal identification photographs (mugshots) and they are a constitutive part of the violence imposed on the political prisoners.

The criminal identification portraits taken by the regime, and later used in 48, are a form of photographic documentation commonly used by state power. Mugshots should be taken at the beginning of the criminal arrest and, according to the Wiley Encyclopaedia of Forensic Science, they should present specific characteristics:

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<sup>110</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "Após 25 de Abril de 1974, o psiquiatra Afonso de Albuquerque analisou as consequências clínicas dos interrogatórios realizados pela PIDE/DGS, através de uma amostra de cinquenta pessoas, presas entre 1966 e 1973. Mencionou as seguintes causas das perturbações detectadas nesses ex-detidos: o isolamento e a despersonalização (50%); a privação de sono (96%); os espancamentos (46%); a "estátua" (38%), os insultos e as chantagens (30%), as variações de temperatura (8%); os altifalantes com gravações (8%) e os choques eléctricos (4%).

Quanto às consequências imediatas da tortura, o psiquiatra observou as seguintes: as alucinações e o delírio (76%); as perdas do conhecimento (15%); os edemas dos membros inferiores (10%) e as tentativas de suicídio (6%). Foram ainda observadas sequelas a médio e longo prazo: falhas de memória (16%); depressão (16%); insónias (8%); psicoses esquizofrénicas (8%) e ansiedade, cefaleias, gaguez e dificuldades sexuais, entre outras (30%)"

'Mugshots are usually taken of the suspect facing straight ahead and from the left, as a result of which the identifying features on the right side of the face, and the right ear, are usually not visible' (Jamieson, Moenssens, 2009: 1083). Hats or any other adornments should be removed. State photographic documentation became common in 1869 with the rise of the second Industrial Revolution (1871–1914). Without an archive where the criminals were identified it was very difficult to keep track of them. Until then, the PIDE relied exclusively on the police officers' memory, which was commonly called into question.

Collections of photographs of criminals for identification purposes became known as rogues' galleries. Rogues' galleries were displayed in police departments for reference while checking in suspects and, after the invention of photographic negatives, served as the template for 'wanted' posters (The Preservation of Friction Ridges, Chapter 8: 5).

Criminal identification portraits gave the portrait a different status. If before, portraits served to honour certain people, with the beginning of the use of photography as a means of surveillance a different perspective arises. The mechanised visual interpretation of the photograph, which promised realism, claimed 'the legal status of a visual document of ownership' (Sekula, 1986: 6). The use of photos went from a moment of private individualisation towards two different public gazes: the one that honours, and the one that represses. In the context of prisoners' mugshots, the speech is removed and a new criminal body is created. The body in jail is also replaced by the photo's instrumental realism, which does not respect his or her language – quite the opposite, in fact. This mechanised object promised the accuracy of the camera and a single code of equivalence. For Alan Sekula, that is precisely the 'instrumental potential in photography: a silence that silences' (Sekula, 1986: 6). It replaces the subjectivity of speech, while remaining independent. In the realm of the law 'the camera is integrated into a larger ensemble: a bureaucratic-clerical-statistical system of "intelligence"' (Sekula, 1986: 17) and the filing cabinet is the central artefact. Consequently, as John Tagg explains, the power relation between the state and the body that is being photographed and inserted in the state archive places the body, at the same time, as a subject and an object that must be disciplined. The representation

of the person that is being photographed is inserted in a state archive that sees the prisoner as a danger to society. The image serves a repressive goal.

It is a portrait of the product of the disciplinary method: the body made object; divided and studied; enclosed in a cellular structure of space whose architecture is the file-index; made docile and forced to yield up its truth; separated and individuated; subjected and made subject. When accumulated, such images amount to a new representation of society (Tagg, 1988: 76).

Having a state agent take a photograph of a human body opens up a space where the individual becomes part of the represented and of state *imagery*. This act of building an archive that sets up a list of prisoners belongs to the realm of the means of surveillance. The PIDE, in its state power, protected the image and used photographs as a *dispositif* of power (Foucault). Three different positions are at stake here: the act of those who take the photograph (the state agents); the position of the person whose picture is taken, who becomes the victim of such an act (the photographic act), and the photograph itself, the mechanical tool (weapon). The act of photographing through a forced performance is, in itself, an act of direct violence. The consequence of such an act, the photograph, moves the act of violence into the realm of representation. The unique moment of taking a photograph (the approximately 1/60 of a second) is the very moment when the photograph becomes, at the same time, an act of violence, and a testimony or representation of that violence.

The fact that the photograph records the very instant when it becomes, in itself, part of an act of violence is crucial in questioning the role of photographs in state violence and, more precisely, the PIDE's use of the criminal identification portraits as a means of surveillance. Photography acts on the double premise of being an image (a representation) of an action, and an action in itself, which is only possible through the mechanised use of documentation that the very nature of photography allows. From a representational perspective, according to Roland Barthes in *Camera Lucida*, a photograph is not a corpus; it is invisible and cannot be general: it is always a photograph of something that is immediately reduced to the form of the photograph. Representation is a constitutive part of the significance of the act of photographing, as

its necessary consequence is an image of the real. The representation is the reduction of the real into the image of the real. The picture is revealed as a still image, which is something the photographed cannot be reduced to. What is real cannot imitate itself. It is the subject that experiences being an object. The photographic image is not logic. In it 'the result, a vision that goes beyond sight, was a new reality' (Braun, 1992: 66). Photograph becomes a reduction of the represented, and of the moment of representation.

As a consequence of the act of representation, the nature of photography allows a necessary reduction to a form that is of interest for state documentation. The fact that it reproduces an instant from the past awards it a timeless status. Each photographic image is a still taken from a wider moment. The photographed object is represented in a still that is a mere point in its continuity. It is, for Barthes, both an experiencing subject and an object being experienced. As Barthes says, when I am an image 'then I live a micro experience of death (of parenthesis), I become truly spectrum' (Barthes 2008: 22). In the case of portraits, the photograph reduces a person's humanity to an instant. The person becomes a dead representation of oneself.

Photographs are a selected instant of a reality that exists in a continuum and never ceases. Photographs always have a 'fragmentary and lacunary relation to the truth' (Didi-Huberman 2008 p. 32). Unlike the images Didi-Huberman shows us in *Images in Spite of All*, in which the act of photographing unveils the resisting human being behind it, the criminal identification photos taken by the PIDE reveal the very moment when humanity is removed from the human body. It is the absence of will, it is the absence of testimony, and it is the absence of the experience of being tortured. The portraits were taken specifically for the PIDE archive. The use of archival images, particularly state archival images, is problematic, since the very use of the archive involves the definition of a realm of privilege. 'The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events' (Foucault 1972: 129). This means that archival documents are not more important than others, but that importance is created according to the systematic position that is established for them. Archives are, at the same time, the statement, and the

mechanism that allows the statement. Archival images are grouped and composed according to different interests. The state's use of archives establishes a relation between the state and the prisoner whereby the prisoner is placed in a specific social configuration within which the state has all the power. The images used by the state force the prisoner into a specific archive and, therefore, a specific social status.

The photographs used in the state archives reduce the prisoners' specificity in two different ways: they reduce the very experience of being a prisoner, with everything it entails (torture, beatings, isolation, etc.) to a represented instant, and they reduce the prisoners to a social status (in the realm of the state). In doing this, the PIDE was also promoting a situation of invisibility for the political prisoners. The use of this form of reduction is central to understanding the criminal identification image as a violent act (regardless of the arrest being just or unjust). The very act of capturing that image carries a social and political responsibility. The political prisoners remained invisible to the public eye. They made no contribution in the political sphere and, therefore, couldn't actively influence other people with their presence. In this way, the PIDE and the regime managed to erase from the visible space both the prisoners' political will and the prisoners themselves. The use of archival images with the goal of hiding can, however, seem paradoxical. How can an image simultaneously show and hide? These images belonged to a state archive and, consequently, served a power purpose. They functioned as a way of recording images of the people whom the PIDE wanted to keep far from sight.

The PIDE and the regime operated through violent mechanisms that forced their opponents to remain silent. They did this by actively arresting them and by hiding from a wider public sphere the political views they espoused. Criminal identification portraits were used as a central (and symbolic) way of doing this. The images served to neutralise and archive all the voices that adopted independent political thinking. Therefore, the mugshots supported the system of invisibility behind the regime's ideology. *48* addresses this problem in a very specific way. It confronts the viewer with the moment when the violence that wanted to hide them from the public space happened. That is the moment when the power to speak was taken away from the prisoners and, with it, their discourse. Mugshots are images of subtraction, in the sense that they reduce the prisoner's life to a single instant. *48* uses these images to show the violence created by the regime. But the film *48* goes beyond that. The film adds the victims' testimonies to that image of subtraction. The film operates within its filmic movement/image to open up a space for the victims to testify. The film offers, retrospectively, a block of time-image that allows the victim to contextualise the violent image and, consequently, to testify. In this sense, testifying is synonymous with creating, as it involves remembrance, which is inseparable from imagination. This means that the very act of allowing speech humanises the victim again. *48* gives voice and humanity to the moment when the victim became a *representational* victim, which coincided with the instant of the photograph.

In the book *Avant-Doc*, Susana de Sousa Dias speaks precisely about the need to focus on the victim and to let them speak about the torture that they suffered during Salazarism: 'It is absolutely paramount to work on the details of what was rendered invisible during the dictatorship, and specially on the stories of political prisoners' (Sousa Dias in MacDonald, 2014: 272). The reality of the dictatorship will remain invisible if those details are not unveiled. It is absolutely necessary to give voice to the victims. The accounts of the ex-prisoners would introduce a new way of looking at the conflict and challenge the violence imposed by the regime. Susana de Sousa Dias found a way of giving visibility to the victims through film and the movement inherent to film.

The filmic, as a form of expression, is a privileged tool for articulating this work. Contrary to photographs, which reduce the experience of reality to a specific form and image and, in many cases, to a specific instant, film involves other time mechanisms. A film is never a singular instant or moment, but it gathers several moments and movements. Because it deals differently with time and involves a relation to narration, what appears in film, according to Gilles Deleuze, is the average image. What the film shows are not images joined together to create an illusion of movement, but, rather, what Deleuze calls an image-movement, where the cut is already mobile – already exists in time. For this author, film is a crucial instrument to understanding the passage of time. Deleuze proposes two ways of understanding time: through the old paradigm, within which movement is described as a continuation of static poses (or in a filmic realm, a combination of static frames) – a transcendental vision; and through a modern perspective that detaches material elements from the immanent – this analysis is sensitive and not intelligible; the modernist thinking takes time as an independent variable. In cinema, ‘the image that moves itself’ (Deleuze, 2006: 202) is not figurative or abstract. The whole as such (meaning the entire film) can be fragmented in instants: ‘not only is the instant the immobile section of movement, but movement is a mobile section of duration, that is, of the Whole, or of a whole’ (Deleuze 2004: 20), with each instant reflecting a change in whole, in duration. Duration is change and what doesn’t change doesn’t last either. The whole changes qualitatively and exists in duration. The filmic specificity of *48* gives back the movement and the experience to the photograph. Within the film, the image cannot be seen as a still fragment of an experience; it is an instant of a much wider moment of violence. The film allows this experience to be recalled by the victim.

It is in this experience of movement that lies an important component of *48*. The portraits used are, as I have shown, instants when violence was practiced and represented, but they also happened within the context of torture. They are unique instants of a reality that is not visible to the audience. That is challenged in Susana de Sousa Dias’s film. The additional movement that is added to the photographs in *48* allows the victims to give their testimonies. It is because there is movement that we find out about the exact circumstances of the violent instant when the photographs

were taken. As I have mentioned previously, these testimonies were given at a later time. Many years had passed since the violence had been experienced and that is essential in understanding the content of these statements. The testimonies in *48* are presented slowly and follow the images. This is how Lins and Rezende describe them:

The film combines images of prisoners and their comments to their own portraits. Sometimes they describe the relationships that were established between those who were on opposite sides of the camera. Sometimes they recall details of that time: other prisoners, torture, deprivation, fears; or they fall silent in the face of pain (Lins, Rezende 2011: 2)<sup>111</sup>.

As the film (a mechanical tool that accesses movement and duration) provides us, the viewer, with the before and after of the images we see, the content of such testimonies gains centrality. The physical potentiality of film clears up a space for discourse. This discourse is founded on a temporal dialectic between the moment when the image was captured and the time when the ex-prisoners recall what happened. There is an important time gap that enables them to think about the past with some distance. The testimonies describe a painful memory through the lens of remembrance. The act of remembering is, in itself, an event. For it to happen, it is necessary for one to embody moments and to be able to let them grow inside oneself. Remembering doesn't just refer to something that has happened: I remember because I am able to recognise it today. When we describe a moment taken from our memory, and precisely because we are describing it, we are stopping the flux of time in a narrative. Descriptions are not the product of superficial thinking; they are fully attached to their subject. Memory moves through time. 'To lack memory is to be a slave of time, confined to space; to have memory is to use space as an instrument in the control of time and language' (Mitchell 1994: 194). To remember is to be able to go back and forward in time. For this reason, not to remember is not to be able to build our personal history. It is to belong to a surface with no history.

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<sup>111</sup> My translation from the original in Portuguese: "O filme associa imagens dos então prisioneiros a comentários dos próprios retratados, que ora descrevem as relações que ali foram estabelecidas entre os dois lados da câmara, ora evocam detalhes do período em que ficaram presos: torturas, privações, medos; ora se calam diante da dor."

In *48*, this act of remembering centres on a photograph representing the moment when the prisoner became victim of a forced state representation. The film finds the intersection between that eternal photographic instant, when the speech was removed from the victim, and the act of remembering that gave speech back to the ex-prisoner. To speak about the instant when the prisoner was forced into a state representation is enveloped in gaps and silences, and crosses other realms of experience. The image was captured in real moments of torture that, in many cases, lasted for years. The political implications in Portugal were immense: for example, most of the prisoners belonged to the Communist Party (PCP), which acted openly against the dictatorship. The acts of torture executed by the regime were decisive in both the destruction and preservation of this organisation. As Susana de Sousa Dias says:

In *48* there are people who talked, who gave information to the police. There are people who talked, but who did not exactly betray anyone. There are people who betrayed others only because of their pain, and they subsequently tried to warn those they named. Then again, there are people who betrayed in the full sense of the word, real traitors (Sousa Dias in MacDonald 2014: 278).

To look at the image that is the representation of itself as a violent act highlights the opposite sides of violence under Salazar's rule: the policeman and the victim. The relation between institutional power and photography is an important facet of the film and gathers many perspectives. In the portraits used by the PIDE, state power was implicated, but another position of power must be questioned: that of the photographer. The place where the portraits were taken must have been carefully chosen: it had to conform to photographic requirements. The portrait, as any other photograph, requires specific lighting (and shadow), time and sensibility, so 'the camera is, then, a place to isolate and discipline light' (Tagg, 1988: 1). The photographer carefully chooses all the aspects that surround the photo: from how it is framed to the instant of shooting, everything falls on the photographer that alone detains the power. The photographer also gets to decide if he keeps the photograph or not. If he does, the photograph then becomes part of a system of classification to which the prisoner will be tied. In the film, the relation between the photographer and

the represented subject (the prisoner) is described in detail by the prisoners, i.e., from the perspective of who was suffering. Again, it is the testimony that gains centre stage.

Through the film we have access to the prisoners' reactions towards the police. Manuel Martins Pedro describes his clothes in one of the photographs, explaining why he had so many clothes on. He starts by saying that he thought that having that many layers of clothing would protect his body from torture. Prompted by another photograph, he describes the techniques he used to disguise himself from the police. He goes on to describe the torture he suffered in prison: he says that his skin changed colour and that new hair started growing on his body and hands. António Gervásio also mentions his skin colour changing. As he looks at two images of himself when he was arrested he elaborates on his experience. He can't remember the first photo, but he tells us that in the second one he had already been deprived of sleep for five or six days. By that time, he recalls, his face had wrinkles and he couldn't recognise himself in the mirror (he thought he looked like someone else). He continues: 'My skin changed into a greenish tone. The colour of a corpse. It is a slow death. For me, sleep deprivation is – I have no other name for it – a slow death.'

From these testimonies it is possible to learn about the conditions under which the prisoners lived. There were no sanitary conditions, with the prisoners being forced to defecate in the same room where they slept. Maria Galveias states that she had to clean her own waste with the clothes she was dressed in. She also says, at some point in the film, that after having been tortured repeatedly she started to have visions in the cell.

There is an important aspect in these speeches that pertains to the prisoners' reactions to the photographs and to the photographers. Georgette Ferreira says that she felt absolute anger towards the policemen in front of her. António Dias Lourenço, who was in prison for eighteen years, recalls that the policemen enjoyed seeing suffering in the prisoners' faces and that is why he would close his mouth in a particular way, so as not to show any sort of pain. Domingos Abrantes has a similar reaction to the photograph, saying: 'We couldn't run away from being photographed,

but it was up to us to choose the facial expression we had on it.' The prisoners' only powers, he continues, were to keep quiet and to choose their facial expressions. The memories attached to these images, and the reactions to them, are not always peaceful. For example, Maria Antónia Fiadeiro, when looking at one of her photographs, which shows her smiling, seems very shocked: 'I was happy to be arrested; in this image I am a young silly girl, because I am smiling at the PIDE's photographers.' Maria believes that the fact that she is smiling in the photo is an insult to the other prisoners' suffering. In a later moment, she contradicts herself, explaining that that was her last mugshot before being released, and that she was happy because she was leaving jail. These three cases are testament to a certain spirit of rebellion against the photographers.

*48* invites the victims to speak publicly about their pain. The relationship between private and public speech is another important aspect of the film, precisely because it was public action that the PIDE wanted to deprive the victims of. Hannah Arendt (1992) reflects on how freedom is deeply associated with acting in the public space. For her, in order to be free, a man needs to act politically in the public space – in a politically organised world. A free man cannot exist alone, since he is free in relation to others. He can only be free in relation 'with other people in words and action' (Arendt 1992: 194). That is the only way that would enable him to be part of the world through words and means. This is of major importance in *48*. The film places the moment of state violence in the public sphere. The photographs had a previous dual interpretation with regards to their private/public status: even though they belonged to a private state archive, they were created as a public representation of a criminal. Through the photographs the criminal's image was made public, but his or her speech was not. The film brings speech to the public sphere, thus affording a political weight to the victim's discourse. The speech becomes public in the same way as the image did, which, to a certain extent, restores the prisoners' freedom. The speech frees the prisoner from his or her own image; through it he or she regains the act of telling a story, and the power of creating a story.

The film offers the victims precisely the potency of speech. Finally, they are capable to say and create their own position. The ability to create allows 'in spite of all, the possibility of testimony' (Didi-Huberman, 2008: 105). The very fact that the victim can create their own past according to their experience of the world (and of the present as well) allows them to be outside of an institutional domain and assume a public expression. The victim is, at the very moment when the speech happens, responsible for his or her testimony and can look at the still image through a critical perspective.

Finally, an important aspect in the relation between the viewer and the film must be addressed: the physical condition of the film as such. What is *48* physically reproducing in the viewer? The most immediate answer is rhythm. The film establishes in the viewer a necessary pace, without which he or she cannot follow the film. For Barthes, cinema is "protensive, hence in no way melancholic...it is then, simply, normal, like life" (Barthes 1981: 78; 89). The viewer and the film find a common rhythmic ground from which the former cannot leave untouched. As we have seen with Deleuze, there is a physical cerebral change that occurs in this relation. The viewer is forced (as a viewer) into a relation that he or she no longer controls. More specifically, in *48*, the instant of state violence is placed at a temporal level that finally allows it to be experienced by the viewer. The instant is elongated in time, which sounds illogical if one is speaking of something outside of the filmic experience. The experience of an instant lasts as long as the testimony does. This is a very different relationship from the one that the ex-prisoner has with the photo. In the latter, the photo is kept there, visible, bearing witness to the moment when humanity was absent, but the absence is replaced by a speech that is complex and full. The speech that carries with it the passage of time, that carries the experience of being a prisoner, of being a document, and of being old. The viewer is forced into a non-linear experience of time that, in this case, produces a multi-temporal perception of the violence committed by the PIDE. A type of violence that started at the very instant when the portrait was taken, passed by the experience of the prisoners looking at them, and is represented in the viewer every time the film is watched.

In this film, those who were internally politically colonised use, with the filmmaker's help, the photographs taken by the colonisers to transform their stereotypical image as (ex-)prisoners into that of 'people with histories of political resistance', and involve viewers in their – the victims' – experience of pain. We feel their pain, despite it not being our pain (Moller 2013: 185).

The film inscribes the prisoners' pain and struggle into the viewer. There is a physical dynamic that forces the viewer to know. The film creates a new type of thought that is social and political, as the viewer learns about the political prisoners' experiences, while also being filmic, since this knowledge couldn't have been acquired in any other way.

The last point that must be clarified concerns one's necessary reaction to watching the film. Azoulay proposes a new ontological and political understanding of photography. I will apply it to film as well, since it refers to the condition of knowing, whereby everyone that participates in a photographic act is involved. 'The civil contract of photography shifts the focus away from the ethics of seeing or viewing to an ethics of the spectator, an ethics that begins to sketch the contours of the spectator's responsibility toward what is visible' (Azoulay 2008: 122). Azoulay assumes a similar position to Hannah Arendt's when she defends that being impartial and failing to act amounts to not being part of the civil contract of photography. To become a citizen one cannot see images simply as entertainment, or aesthetically. To be indifferent to images is a way of not being in the world politically. But Azoulay goes even further: the civil contract of photography doesn't need to be signed or accepted, since it applies to all spectators, and because of that, not to act after the visualisation of an image is, in itself, an action. The viewer is now also responsible for the violence he or she witnessed. The mechanical nature of the photograph gives images the capacity to freeze time and to relay that instant indefinitely. Images give us the possibility of reflecting on events from the past, bringing them to the present time. They make us rethink chronological history in disruptive ways; they belong to the time when they were produced, and to the present as well. By interfering with the space-time continuum, images touch our reality with something that is still obscure to us. When images touch reality, the real appears as image, as imaginable. Image has then reached

the status of signifying resistance to boundaries and to time. Photographs live in the paradox of being dependent on the reality they capture, while also being independent from time and territorial boundaries. They don't change; they are beyond human laws, following their own instead. Because they resist time, they carry these laws indefinitely. The image that was once in the past will be the same now.

In summary, the possibility of the testimony in *48* is offered by the moving expression of the filmic as such. It is because film is constituted by a block of time-image that establishes a relation between still images with a goal in mind (the director's) that the victims were allowed to bear witness to their experiences as prisoners. It is because of its very condition as film (as movement) that *48* allows the possibility of testimony, and that its content becomes important. The movement enables the understanding of the testimony's content, which is deeply connected to those who testify. Only in film can we see a still image (an instant), and the durational context of said image. Such a context is given by the testimony of an ex-prisoner that breathes life into the moment when the state (through the PIDE) forced a representation. It is those who testify who choose how to deliver this context, in what is, necessarily, a mix between what the person suffered in the past, and the understanding of that suffering at the time of the testimony. The film allows the ex-prisoners to speak their mind in the public sphere, thus giving them back their free will and, in a sense, their very human condition. The public sphere remains in the realm of the film. It is through facing the viewer that the ex-prisoners finally find justice.

The film *48*, directed by Susana de Sousa Dias, is the second case study that reflects on how film can open up space for re-thinking the condition of invisibility, which according to José Gil, was created by the regime. She accomplishes this goal by casting light on the struggle of the prisoners who wished to speak up, and by going against the regime's logic herself. In fact, the film challenges the logic of self-censorship and invisibility, claimed by José Gil and Eduardo Lourenço to be attributes of the regime. Her work stems from a need to restore a sense of justice.

The prisoners were incarcerated for years, and tortured. It was a silent dictatorship and this was the reason for its longevity: it was the longest dictatorship in Europe. 'The most powerful facet of the Portuguese dictatorship was its control over the minds of the people. This invisible violence ensured the dictatorship's survival for many years' (Sousa Dias in MacDonald 2014: 272). This invisible violence took on visible forms, the PIDE and its methods of torture being the most salient.

Another property of the film that is important to apprehend is the political substance of what is being said by the prisoners. The film gives them the power of speech that had been taken away. There is an obvious sense of justice propelling the film, since it gives the right to speak to those who did not have it. In a conversation with McDonald, Susana de Sousa Dias calls for the need to give Portuguese history the international projection it deserves, since at the time of the revolution (and of Salazar's death in 1970), the world had its eyes on the Vietnam War. The director believes that justice was not properly served.

The film helps identify, in the present time, the dimensions of the Salazarist past that were quickly erased from Portuguese history and memory: no one has been judged for all these persecutions, torture, murder; neither those in charge, nor the political police agents. On the contrary, as noted by the philosopher José Gil: 'a massive pardon covered like a veil the repressive, castrating, humiliating reality from where we came' (Gil, 2004: 16) (Lins, Rezende 2011: 55)<sup>112</sup>.

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<sup>112</sup>"O filme contribui para inscrever, na atualidade, dimensões do passado salazarista que foram rapidamente varridas da história e da memória portuguesa: ninguém foi julgado por tantas perseguições, torturas, assassinatos; nem os responsáveis, nem os agentes da polícia política. Muito pelo contrário, como lembra o filósofo José Gil: "um imenso perdão recobriu com um véu a realidade repressiva, castradora, humilhante de onde províamos" (2004: 16).

Finally, the film also questions the overlapping system of discourses of photography and film, whereby it is the viewer's role that matters: the viewer is forced into a time paradox, experiencing a violence that happened in a past instant that he can no longer ignore. In *48*, issues such as *identity, mask, power, similarity, recognition*, and 'the authoritarian system are at stake' (Sousa Dias in MacDonald, 2014: 281). The film empowers the ex-prisoners assigning them a different status. The person who speaks no longer has a reductive documental status. Their speech stems from their will, restoring the humanity that the photograph itself never had. In regards to the viewer, and following to Ariella Azoulay, a new type of time is created in the still image in the act of watching. This fact gives to the spectator a politicized position. The viewer becomes, in this way, a potential activist.

I thus conclude my investigation: I started from the premise that violence is established at several levels that run from the most direct and perceivable to the most structural and invisible. The understanding of these different levels of violence depends on the means that make them visible, that is, the techniques of making visible and visibility are not ungroupable. What is made visible depends on how it is presented.

We began by focusing on the Johan Galtung's idea that violence is the cause of the decalage between the individual's actual and potential, or, in other words, the individual is restrained from doing what he can by external factors. It was from this motto that I set off to discuss violence during the Salazarist regime. I then proceeded by enumerating and identifying the different kinds of violence during the Portuguese dictatorship. I started by calling attention to the most evident of violences, that which is most visible to us and so easier to oppose a resistance to. That which places political activists in prison, which bears weapons to Africa. To that we call direct violence. That violence was defined as immediate and recognizable. Against it antibodies are relatively easier to create, I hold, since the notion of injustice is here more visible.

I have identified yet another form of violence to which I dedicated more of my effort: structural violence. I have addressed the problems of visibility that accompany it. It is this violence, more hazy, not always non-productive, that we seek to identify and analyse.

Problems of direct violence are not separable from this specific form of violence. Quite on the contrary, in fact: we see it when the Portuguese dictatorial regime hides through propaganda the direct violence taking place in the country and the world, in order to enforce a feeling of peace. This concealment of direct violence is part of what I define as structural violence. But another part of it is the ideology that served Salazar during the dictatorship, with consequences that are felt today.

On the Portuguese question we can say that the problem of visibility is not new and that it is in fact a fruitful one. It has accompanied and helped to create that which I have called the Portuguese Collective Memory. The problem of invisibility concerning the issue of Salazarism was identified by José Gil, who acknowledges it in the rhetoric of António de Oliveira Salazar, a rhetoric that hid intentions, exalted modesty and promoted a self-invisibility and censorship in individuals. This had, for Gil, an important effect on Portuguese society, which affects it until today. This effect is defined by the author as a traumatic process that lead individuals to a detachment from political and public life in general.

Eduardo Lourenço follows this idea, in a sense, adding that the rhetoric effects of the Salazarist regime and its policies provoked a feeling of inferiority in society that could only be compensated by national superiority. For the authors, these are what correspond to the Portuguese collective memory of nowadays. I can thus argue that the structural violence I recognize in the 20<sup>th</sup> century had productive effects also that can be defined as formative of what we can recognize today as Portuguese identity. In detriment of other forms of culture, a new one was erected, supposedly characteristic of the Portuguese. Despite all problems and injustices stemming from it, it was possible to create a culture that is specific and, once again, productive.

I conclude thus that structural violence is ingrained in the bones, it is a part of culture and it cannot be thought in abstraction of ourselves. I cannot, however, not consider it. How to identify such violence, which is not outside but inside a culture? And in identifying it and the injustices it caused, what to do with it? I find myself then faced with two questions: to identify (to see) this violence and remove from it the injustices without killing its genesis. The task was not made easier by the forms of protection that I found, the defenses for this kind of structural violence are more complicated and they are precisely because of two issues: their (in)visibility and the specificity and subjectivity of the means that make it visible.

Since our question concerns the possibility of seeing violence, especially structural violence, we seek to identify it in the means of visibility. These means consist of two films: *O Alar da Rede* and *48*. Again, in these films I sought to identify structural

violence and the moments of defence in facing such violence that are show to us in both works. Furthermore, I searched the defences in the very act of showing that clashes with the policies of invisibility enacted by the regime and whose consequences were, in my view, quite real.

In the film *O Alar da Rede*, the structural violence I believe to have identified concerns the unacknowledgement of violence in work. Such violence was also brought in through the lack of institutional concern about the workers, an attitude towards a whole social class, and, one should say, a culture. In the film this lack of acknowledgement of violence occurs in the fisherman's gesture, when he hauls the nets from the sea, this gesture that was reproduced countless times. It is not easy today to assume this gesture, by itself, as part of a greater violence without falling prey to the mistake of creating a victimization where before there was progress, work. So as to argue it, we base ourselves precisely on the film and the film only. It is through the words of the author that the working gesture becomes a repetition, deafened by the chanting that accompany it. It is through the author's words that we know this gesture is repeated to exhaustion and that it has been so every dawn for decades. It is through his words that we know these to have been the gestures that economically held the country. It is the author who identifies this structural violence and it is from him that we start. The author places the strength of the gesture and singing that accompanies it in the specificities of the film. In the film *O Alar da Rede*, this repetition of the working gesture is pursued to the complete embodiment by the worker. The film acknowledges that working movement and gives it to the spectator in a unique way. The film repeats the gesture consecutively, hypnotically, the images repeating to the rhythm of the chants. As only the film could do it, the spectator entrains with this rhythm and thus with the working gesture. The film is left without an ending precisely to leave the spectator clinging to that infinite gesture that seems clasped upon itself, without consequence. Thus is the violence acknowledged: it is that endless gesture, deprived of intention, that the spectator is now a part of. He is now an integral part of the structuring violence that the movie is able to show.

48 sets off from a different premise. Through a showing of criminal identification portraits taken by the PIDE, slowly presented in the film, the author overlaps the speech of the victims. I assume that these are violent images, undesired, and that they place the victim in a documental structure. I also assume that the precise moment in which the photo is captured is the moment when the victim is placed within a logic of the image that perpetuates her condition as a criminal. The whole of her experience as a prisoner is reduced in that precise instant. On the other hand, this same image is possible only because the now-victims were in a conflict with the military police. In that sense, from the outset the film is already made from the viewpoint of resistance. It shows us who in the past already opposed the regime. To that she adds the speech of the victims, their testimony that was precisely removed when the said image was captured. This reduction of prison life is also a form of reducing experience to itself. In hiding these people in prisons the violence they endured was also being hidden and it is here that the film 48 restores their visibility. The images shown, the portraits, despite only being possible because these people were engaged in forms of resistance, are themselves the negation of violence, they are reductions. In attributing experience back to those images, 48 restores their use of the word and the visibility of their experience.

The two films recognize the structural violence and place it before the spectator. What is transmitted is the viewpoint of the film-maker and it lives already in the relationship between spectator and film. For our argument it is relevant to consider that both films identify the visibility of different *violences* as an integrating form of fighting structural violence that itself is an integral part of what we nowadays call Portuguese identity. Both films place in the spectator's presence much more than the description of facts from the past; something of the cinematographic domain. What is made present is the experience that is immutable in making a film, which leads me to the conclusion that the visibility of violence is only granted us if we consider the specificities of the medium itself. In this specific case, both films force upon the spectator the exploration of his own rhythm and entering one which is not his own. In doing this, in making visible an experience of violence, the film stimulates a politicized viewer. This violence is no longer indifferent to him enabling him to be an activist.

Today we are living a different moment. While it is true that the consequences of the way of living under Salazarism has promoted are still manifest today, it is no less true that nearly 43 years past the responses to policies are more visible. Political and economic events are discussed either in the context of media or academia. The political situation is also today different. We live a unique moment in Europe, where political parties to the left communicate form a collective with left-wing concerns, without, however, these assuming extreme contours. Preoccupations relative to political participation (through vote but also through individual movements) are today and since the 1974 revolution, stimulated. We are, I defend, in the process of surpassing the traumatic residue recognized by José Gil and Eduardo Lourenço. Slowly, the will of self-censorship fades and is replaced by a will to participate. We are not, however, immune to the invisibility of violence. The traumatic process is perhaps superseded, but new challenges are raised.

If we agree that in Portugal we are going through a less extreme period and that the questioning of politics is more visible, it is no less true that processes affording us the visibility of politics are more complex. Salazarism has hidden this form of violence through propaganda that was, say, quite intelligible and even simple of circumscribe. Today the forms that allow us to see ideologies and policies are more complicated. It is in them that forms of structural violence are hidden. As such, it is imperious to be able to identify forms that denounce such invisibility. The filmic forms we have brought in as case studies show, denouncing, the invisibility of the structural violence under Salazarism and they do it because, besides showing that violence they make the spectator relive it.

Much of the effort made by academics is that are working with Portuguese studies, particularly with *Estado Novo*, work on signalling injustices caused by the regime. That effort by itself is insufficient. It is imperious to recover not only the acknowledgement that structural violence exists but also the means that allow us to recognize it. I believe that the discussion about the modes of visibility and invisibility of violence is not less

pertinent now. Being able to identify the means that make us see this kind of violence is vital for us to find defences against it.

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## 1

**LEVA-LEVA** PARTITURA N.º 20

Peniche, 1984 **A notar:**  
 Informador: Hugobaldo Eustáquio - sforzandos resultantes da faina.  
 Tom no original: fá maior  
 Tom na transcrição: fá maior  
 Faixa 19 do Disco 1

*Vira os tambores! Vira, vira, vira! Oi, que está a chegar à borda! Puxa p'ra cá a cuba!*

♩ = 127

Ai, le-va, le - va, Ar-ri-ba e le-va, Ai le-va, le - va, Ai, le-va, le-va,  
 le - va, Ar-ri-ba e le - va! Ó, á-la a re-de, A-pu-xa a re-de, Ar-ru-ma a  
 re - de, Ai, le-va, le - va, Ai, le-va, lé! Ai, le-va, lé! Ar-ri-ba e  
 le-va, Ai, le-va, le - va, Ar-ri-ba, le-va, le - va, Ai, le-va,  
 le - va! Ó, á-la a re-de, Ar-ru-ma a re-de a-pu-xa a re - de, Ó le-va,  
 le-va, Ó le-va lé! Ai, le-va, lé! Ai, le-va, le-va, le - va! Ar-ri-ba, le-va,  
 le - va! Ai, le-va, le - va, Ar-ri-ba e le - va, Ó a-la a  
 re-de, Ra-pa-zi - a - da, Ó a-la a re-de, Sa-fa a ras - ca - da! Sa-fa a ras-  
 ca-da, é cai-a - lí-ri, Va-mos em - bo-ra, Vai a sa - far! Ai, le-va, le-va!

525

NÃO FOI APRESENTADO NO DIA  
1 DE MAIO MAS SIM NO DIA 1º PROGRAMA  
29 DE MAIO DE 1972 - CANTOS E RITMOS DE TRABALHO -

A PRÉF. APT. 29/5/72

55/61 - O nosso programa de hoje, será preenchido com ritmos e cantos de trabalho - trabalho de terra e do mar.

- BRENHA, no concelho de Figueira da Foz. O plantio do bacelo e o canto do mandador, a "Bacelada" destinada a regularizar o ritmo do trabalho.

- Os telespectadores estarão ainda recordados de outra "Bacelada", recolhida numa localidade vizinha, Taverede, e apresentada num programa igualmente dedicado aos cantos de trabalho.

- Hoje, quer-nos parecer útil confrontar as baceladas de Brenha e Taverede.

30 - Aproveitaremos uma pausa dos cavadores de Brenha, para apresentar breves fragmentos da "Bacelada" de Taverede. Aqui, o estilo do mandador é de certo modo, mais rígido; o ritmo é mais seco, as interjeições mais percucientes; as frases improvisadas são ditas com as justas entoações que mantem a cadência.

31 - Enquanto em Taverede descansa a equipa (o "banco", nos dizeres dos cavadores), os nossos amigos de Brenha vão retomar o trabalho. Desta vez notaremos melhor a "maneira" do mandador. O canto é mais exactamente uma espécie de todada com inflexões quase dolorosas. A letra - improvisada em parte - constitui como que uma miscelânea de quadras soltas do cancionário regional, de versos deturpados de canções de origem urbana, de reminiscências de cantigas militares da Primeira Grande Guerra, etc. Nesta "Bacelada", mais que pelo próprio ritmo, parece que a coesão do grupo é mantida por um processo que poderíamos chamar psicológico; sugestões de carácter reivindicativo, alusões, obscenas, evocações anedóticas, chamamento para imagens e situações simbólicas.

- Desejamos sublinhar, por fim, que os estilos peculiares a cada um dos mandadores encontram paralelo nas grandes unidades fabris onde, por assim dizer, são praticados alternadamente, através da difusão de programas de música chamada funcional, destinados a regularizar - sempre no sentido de uma maior produtividade - os ritmos do trabalho.

32 - O alar da rede na pesca da sardinha.

- Documentário realizado, em 1962, por Michel Giacometti com a colaboração de Manuel Ruas.

- As imagens e a montagem original são de Manuel Ruas.

- As imagens foram filmadas com uma simples câmara 16mm sem som síncrono.

- De abril a Janeiro, todas as tardes se fazem ao alto mar as traineiras dos portos do Algarve.

- A longa procura nas horas da noite.

- A rede enorme começa a deslizar e se estender-se numa cilada gigantesca.

- Com gestos solenes se fecha o laço que dará a morte matinal a uma presa invisível.

- À vista da linha sombria das costas de Salema, um grito nasce com o primeiro esforço.

- Um novo ritmo em que o esforço redobra e se exaspera.

- À promessa do peixe, responde um ritmo em que o esforço se alegra.

