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The Rusty Butler Archive: Revelations of Cultural Repression
During the Brazilian Military Dictatorship

Calla J. C. Knapp

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The Rusty Butler Archive: Revelations of Cultural Repression During the Brazilian Military Dictatorship

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The twenty-one years of military dictatorship in Brazil were marked by severe repression as government censors controlled every aspect of the media and artistic production. During these tense years from 1964 to 1985, many journalists, academics, writers, and artists struggled to voice their opposition to oppressive military control. In this same period, many playwrights turned to protest theater as a way to speak out against the dictatorship's abuses. Unsurprisingly, some of the plays produced at this time were heavily censored or shut down. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a young Brazilianist scholar, Ross "Rusty" Butler, befriended, interviewed, and conducted field research on the phenomena of protest theater while living in Brazil. When Butler was preparing to return to the United States after several unsettling events, a few of his new friends asked him to take their works—including some plays that were unpublished and in manuscript form—out of the country in order to avoid censorship. Now, fifty years later, those plays and manuscripts, along with Butler's other research materials, are finally coming to light in the Rusty Butler Archive. The Rusty Butler Archive demonstrates the complex relationship between the military dictatorship, censorship, and cultural production during the 1960s and 70s.

Keywords: Brazil, military dictatorship, censorship, protest theater, Rusty Butler

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Historical Overview	1
The Theory of Censorship	7
Opposition to the Regime	10
The Rusty Butler Archive	13
The Relationship Between Censorship and Cultural Production.....	20
Censorship Through the Lens of the Rusty Butler Archive.....	23
Conclusion	28
Works Cited	29
APPENDIX A: Finding Aid	32
APPENDIX B: Rusty Butler Interview Transcription.....	43

In a letter to his wife, Austrian-born author Stefan Zweig contemplated, “Truth to tell, we are all criminals if we remain silent” (qtd. in Green xv). At the height of the 1964–1985 military dictatorship in Brazil, numerous creatives and academics understood this critical fact pondered by Zweig. In fact, many suffered great persecution, including arrest, torture, exile, and even death, as they lifted their voices in the face of censorship to stand as testimonies against the political regime. Recently, a new archive from the dictatorship era has come to light, providing materials written by bold playwrights who risked their lives to speak out against the military junta. The Rusty Butler Archive gathers materials collected by a young Brazilianist, Rusty Butler, who in the late 1960s and early 1970s conducted field research in Brazil on protest theater. This archive reveals new insights into the systematic processes of censorship during the Brazilian dictatorship. This thesis catalogues the materials in the Rusty Butler Archive and analyzes how the archive reveals the effects censorship operations during the dictatorship. My intent is to better understand the complicated relationship between the dictatorship and censorship and how both affected cultural production during the 1960s and 1970s.

Historical Overview

World War II marked a change in sentiments within the Brazilian armed forces. Divided, some military officers sympathized with early Nazi victories, while others favored the Allies (Calkins 51). These growing tensions, coupled with a protective desire to prevent communism from infiltrating Brazil left the right-leaning military poised to depose any leader who was perceived as a threat to the military’s political agenda. Following the suicide of President Getúlio Vargas in 1954 and the subsequent political crisis that followed, Juscelino Kubitschek was elected to the presidency, taking his post in 1956. Rumors of a military coup d’état, which had

previously swirled around the Vargas presidency, now surfaced as Kubitschek took office, though no extreme action was taken. Following Kubitschek, Jânio Quadros was elected president in 1960. However, after Quadros unexpectedly resigned just a few months into his presidency, João Goulart, the left-wing vice-presidential candidate on Quadros's split ticket, inherited the administration. Under Goulart's tenure, Brazil headed in the direction of broad structural reforms and social change, which he referred to as "basic reforms." Stronger labor unions formed, there was talk of land reform to support the rural peasant organizations, and inflation soared. Goulart was supported by "students, artists, and numerous sectors of the urban middle classes ... committed to implementing [his] nationalist program, particularly a new educational structure, land reform, and legislation to control the expatriation of profits" (Archdiocese of São Paulo 47). The conservative middle-class as well as the conservative Catholic Church opposed Goulart's left-leaning policies and worried he would lead the country in a socialist revolution. Fascist elements that had been brewing within the Brazilian military for years now feared Goulart's leftist ideologies, seeing them as the first fruits of a communist regime. Accordingly, with the support of the United States Government,¹ military generals staged a coup d'état, purportedly to protect and ideologically cleanse the presidential office.

Following the coup d'état in 1964, the military assumed sole control over politics in Brazil. Though many may have opposed the takeover, sentiment could not combat the force of arms. The new regime sought to expel any trace of communism, a pervasive fear in a world threatened by Cold War. Most Brazilians assumed the military would clear the presidency for

¹ The influence of the United States on the establishment of the military dictatorship in Brazil is undeniable. "I think that we ought to take every step that we can, be prepared to do everything that we need to do, as we were in Panama, if that is at all feasible," said President Johnson. "I'd put everybody there, anyone that has any imagination or ingenuity... we just can't take this one and I'd get right on top of it and stick my neck out a little." (qtd. in Pereira 15).

another election. However, months passed without any sign of the new administration relinquishing power. Through a series of institutional acts, the military made it clear the deposition had turned into a dictatorship, which subsequently lasted twenty-one years.

During this time, the military regime resorted to a variety of means to maintain its authority and prominence, including censorship of opposition and critical voices. Institutional Acts, the highest form of legislation during the dictatorship, became the primary tool used by the military junta to exercise control. The first institutional act, known as AI-1, legitimated the new government. The second dissolved all political parties and instituted indirect presidential elections. As military repression increased, so too did public discord. Confrontations with the military government began to be more frequent and protesters filled the streets. In 1968, military police attacked a student demonstration, killing eighteen-year-old Edson Luís, which added fuel to the burning fire of public protest.

Institutional act number 5, hereafter referred to as AI-5, signaled a dark turn for the military regime. The order descended on December 13, 1968, suspending congress, democratic elections, and habeas corpus, as well as prohibiting any criticism of the military regime. Though Institutional acts 1 through 4 had previously been decreed by the dictatorship, AI-5 solidified the regime's complete power, ushering in the "Anos de Chumbo" [Years of Lead] and the years of censorship that would follow. Overnight, many Brazilians were forced to invent encrypted codes to speak about the new government without alerting government censors. An interesting weather forecast appeared on the front page of the *Jornal do Brasil* on December 14, 1968, the day after the AI-5 declaration: "Tempo negro. Temperatura sufocante. O ar está irrespirável. O país está

sendo varrido por fortes ventos” (*Jornal do Brasil*, December 14, 1968) [Dark times. Suffocating temperatures. The air is unbreathable. The nation is being swept by strong winds²].



Jornal do Brasil, 14 Dec. 1968. Emphasis added.

This ominous weather forecast, which was published on an otherwise sunny day, informed readers of the severity of the recent AI-5 decree under the guise of a regular newspaper staple. As meaningful dialogue became stifled and then silenced, civilians learned to hide their criticisms in the seemingly meaningless. One of the famous instances of a not-so-hidden message denouncing the military dictatorship appears in Chico Buarque and Gilberto Gil’s *Tropicália* song “Cálice” [chalice]. On the surface, the song tells the story of Christ with the “cálice” on the cross, but phonetically, the lyrics criticize the military government’s methods of torture and censorship by relying on the wordplay of “cálice” and “cala-se” [shut up] (Buarque).

Interestingly, the regime did little to disguise its conservative political agenda, as is evident in AI-5’s strong language. The preamble to the decree states the military government resolved to enact these oppressive measures:

² Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

Considerando que, assim, se torna imperiosa a adoção de medidas que impeçam sejam frustrados os ideais superiores da Revolução, preservando a ordem, a segurança, a tranquilidade, o desenvolvimento econômico e cultural e a harmonia política e social do país comprometidos por processos subversos e de guerra revolucionária; Considerando que todos êsses fatos perturbadores da ordem são contrários aos ideais e à consolidação do Movimento de março de 1964, obrigando os que por êle se responsabilizaram e juraram defendê-lo, a adotarem as providências necessárias, que evitem sua destruição.
(Folha de S. Paulo)

[Considering therefore, that it becomes imperative to adopt measures to prevent the frustration of the superior ideals of the Revolution and to preserve order, security, tranquility, economic and cultural development, and the political and social harmony of the nation which is threatened by subversive processes and by revolutionary war; Considering that all these order-disturbing facts are contrary to the ideals and the consolidation of the March 1964 movement, those who are responsible for it, and who have sworn to protect it, are compelled to adopt the necessary actions to avoid its destruction].

AI-5 cites “subversive” processes and activities and the threat of revolutionary war as the reasons for which the military regime was “compelled” to maintain order by its intense measures. To prevent a revolutionary war, the dictatorship prevented critical ideas from circulating. To uphold capitalism and social harmony, it exercised tight control over those who endeavored to voice opposition to the military government.

Tragically, the dictatorship applied harsh methods, including torture, exile, disappearances, and even murder to intimidate and consolidate its power. Augusto Boal, a

Brazilian playwright, actor, and political activist, recounted his experience with a military police officer: “Me quebrou o joelho em rotineira sessão de tortura, em 1971, e me pedia perdão toda vez que ligava a eletricidade: ‘Você me desculpe, eu não tenho nada contra você, respeito muito, um verdadeiro artista, mas esta é a minha função, tenho mulher e filhos, preciso do meu salário, tenho que trabalhar e ... você caiu no meu horário ...’” (Boal, *Teatro do oprimido*, 19) [He broke my knee in a routine torture session in 1971, and apologized every time he turned on the electricity: ‘Forgive me, it’s nothing against you, I have a lot of respect for you, a true artist, but this is my job, I have a wife and kids, I need my paycheck, I have to work and... you happened to be on my schedule...’]. Boal’s experience offers interesting insight into human nature, as those soldiers, burdened with the guilt of carrying out the heinous acts of a merciless regime did so despite the regret and horror they felt, pitying the very people they victimized. Nevertheless, the military practiced crimes against its own citizens precisely because of its ability to manipulate and exert control over others.

Another famous case of military abuse resulted in the death of Vladimir Herzog in 1975. A prominent journalist, Herzog was arrested and tortured before being found in his cell hanging from his own belt the day after his arrest. The official death certificate ruled his death a suicide, though the Brazilian public did not believe the cause of death. A Brown University study of this case affirms: “Several pieces of evidence, including multiple contusions that suggest strangulation, point to the staging of his suicide on the part of the military regime” (We Cannot Remain Silent: Vladimir Herzog). It was not until years later that the doctor who signed Herzog’s death certificate admitted he had neither performed the autopsy nor seen the body (de Gusmão). Finally in 2012, Herzog’s family was able to receive a new, corrected death certificate replacing the one that ruled the death a suicide.

These instances of torture were notably directed at writers who courageously tried to circumvent the mechanisms of censorship in order to speak out against the abuses of the government.

The Theory of Censorship

At its core, censorship seeks control. It justifies its behavior by blaming the victim, sending the message “this for your own good,” and, as in any abusive relationship, the oppressor, in this case, the government, claims the right to judgement as its own. Similar to a person being convicted before having a trial, censorship silences before there can be representation.

Censorship often disguises itself, regulating media and other output in the name of protection. In some circumstances, censorship is quietly swept under the rug, unacknowledged by the censor as a force in society. Censorship follows the belief that “the ends justify the means,” as political leaders weigh the cost of censoring individuals and institutions for the purpose of maintaining power, often in the name of peace. The root objective remains the same: control. Censorship preserves ignorance, and ignorant people do not rise up against their leaders. Despite claims regarding the positive effects of censorship on preserving domestic peace and social stability, censorship works against the principles of free speech, democracy, and citizenship. By its very nature, censorship stifles freedom. It promotes a hierarchical structure of power by which the government may assert control over citizens. Censorship suppresses a diversity of voices that think and create and make a nation culturally rich.

As has been well documented, the Brazilian military government actively developed a culture of censorship. Shortly after the AI-5 order in 1968, the military quickly began to extend control over the publishing agencies. Pery Cotta, a former *Correio da Manhã* employee, gave his

account of the censors' takeover: "Estão invadindo todos os jornais e ocupando estações de radio e TV. Bloquearam o telex dos Correios e censuram as linhas telefônicas. Até os correspondentes estrangeiros e as agências internacionais estão entrando na dança" (Cotta 45) [They are invading all the newspapers and occupying the radio and TV stations. They blocked the Post Office's telex and are censoring the telephone lines. Even the foreign correspondants and the international agencies are taking part in the dance]. Gary Neeleman, a journalist who worked for UPI and was based in Brazil during the dictatorship, explained that two government censors plagued his and other newspaper publishing offices at all times to review pieces before they were published (Neeleman).³ Sometimes, newspaper articles would never even make it out the door. Not uncommonly, a military official would appear at a newspaper early in the morning and confiscate an entire print run before it could go out to the stands. Especially for small printing offices, this loss of time and resources and lack of daily sales revenue could send a newspaper into bankruptcy. At one publishing office, the *Correio da Manhã*, the designated censorship colonels were switched out every few days by their superiors in order to prevent fraternizing and friendships between the censors and the journalists. These accounts show the extreme measures the military dictatorship was willing to take to assert dominance over the news media.

Censors also exercised control over cinema production, television, radio, and literary fiction. Rusty Butler explains in an article on protest theater, "The later Second Institutional Act intensified the purges [of communists] and abolished all political parties setting up an artificial two-party system, the government party and the opposition. At this time, actors, artists, and intellectuals in general became suspect and measures were taken to control them" (Butler,

³ "I had two censors in my office. They were both lieutenants, both of them armed, and they sat there, very nice guys. And I was able to get along with them, but every piece I wrote had to be censored by them, had to be looked at and then they made a decision as to whether they would let it go out."

“Artistic Exploitation”, 10). In the years since the end of the dictatorship, historians and cultural critics have catalogued numerous ways in which censorship functioned across a wide array of Brazilian media, music, television, and literature. In recent years, scholars have worked to better understand what kinds of cultural products were censored to provide evidence of the government’s oppression and to expose the ills of the military regime. This work is important given the fact that one consequence of censorship was the suppression of the undemocratic, unjust, and even violent acts of the government. Official reports were filed “of people being ‘run over,’ ‘committing suicide,’ and ‘being killed while attempting to escape’ — when in reality they had been killed, often under torture, after capture and imprisonment” (Archdiocese of São Paulo 55). Even now, thirty-five years since the end of the dictatorship’s power, many people deny the torture and oppression committed by the military government against the people of Brazil. The legacy of silenced whistleblowers and disappeared protesters persists to the present day. Many Brazilian citizens who experienced the dictatorship years have only good memories of a time when people lived happily, felt cared for, and when religion and family prevailed. However, as more suppressed accounts of the dictatorship’s abusive measures surface, it is clear that many Brazilians were deliberately deceived about the military regime’s dark underbelly, proof of the dictatorship’s success in controlling the media.

As the dictatorship extended through the second half of the 1960s, it actively lobbied for the public’s attention. With television and satellite transmissions becoming the new modes of communication, live production suffered. The dictatorship used transmission media to control and distract the public from demonstrations and live performances calling for liberation. AI-5 initiated a new repressive period for the dictatorship, one which assured that only information and entertainment sanctioned by the regime would be distributed. As *Time Magazine*

correspondent Kay Huff explained to Rusty Butler in an interview in March 1971, “The ’30s & ’40s fascists are very much in power. Concerned with a re-birth of a moral Brazil. They see the family as the basis. The threat to this is the artist who are [sic] idols of youth. They believe the artist (in gen.) is a kind of dupe of the communist who will make fun of families, traditions, moral ties. So control of the artist is necessary for control of morals” (Butler, “Interview with Kay Huff”). The scholar Tânia Pellegrini adds, “Thus began the ‘witch hunt,’ with professors, musicians, and theater directors being imprisoned or forced into exile and books, plays, movies, and songs being censored. Discordant voices were silenced; all that remained were the TV images, stronger than ever” (Pellegrini 59). By simultaneously quieting opposition and intensifying pro-dictatorship transmissions, the military regime tightened its grip on the narrative being told to the Brazilian public.

Continuing through the 1970s, censorship controlled the output of cultural materials in two ways: (1) editing or denying publication of content deemed critical of the regime and even exiling and imprisoning the producers of such content, and (2) encouraging pro-dictatorship (or at least not anti-dictatorship) publications through government subsidies and awards. Pellegrini observes that this dual pressure on producers of cultural products forced them into “neutral, socially aseptic aesthetic formulations, choosing to be ‘introspective’ with the approval of the regime, no longer questioning the foundation of the power structure under whose patronage they were free to cultivate that ‘introspection’” (60). Many creators opted for the neutral space of self-preservation rather risk their careers by actively opposing the regime.

Opposition to the Regime

Considering the oppressive tactics used by the dictatorship to maintain power, it is unsurprising that some Brazilians sought outlets for protest. Before AI-5, numerous demonstrations occurred to protest the military junta. In 1968, the student movement organized what is known today as the “Passeata dos cem mil” [March of the One Hundred Thousand]. Thousands of students, artists, and intellectuals united to peacefully protest the military regime, carrying banners that read, “Abaixo a Ditadura. O Povo no poder” [Down with the Dictatorship. The People in Power]. Also in 1968, the theater community took to the streets to protest the increasingly repressive censorship of their works: “Estamos nas ruas porque acreditamos que o homem deve ser livre para dizer o que pensa e na rua permaneceremos até que a alta missão da arte e da cultura possa ser ampla e livremente exercida no Brasil” (“Artistas voltam às ruas em movimento contra a Censura”) [We’re in the streets because we believe that man should be free to say what he thinks and in the streets we will stay until the noble mission of art and culture can be widely and freely exercised in Brazil]. However, with the imposition of the oppressive AI-5 decree, some who opposed the regime were forced to exercise subtlety in their protests.

After 1968, many creatives used their art to oppose the dictatorship in the form of protest theater. As a genre, protest theater is unique because it not only seeks to inform but also to transform. Author and playwright Augusto Boal described the theater space as “um espelho de aumento que revela comportamentos dissimulados, inconscientes ou ocultos” (Boal, *Teatro do oprimido*, 25) [a magnifying mirror that reveals covert, unconscious, or hidden behaviors]. Protest theater actively involves its audience, blurring the line between spectator and actor. This dramatic genre pursues change in its audience members, particularly those who may unknowingly be oppressors themselves. Protest theater acts as a revelatory vehicle, inviting

introspection on the part of the audience member and community as the spectator desires to ally themselves with the side of the oppressed.

One of Augusto Boal's plays, *Arena conta Zumbi*, "tells the story of a Brazilian slave, Zumbi, and acted as a thinly veiled metaphor for the experience under military rule" ("Performing Opposition Through Theater."). At one point in *Arena conta Zumbi*, the slave owners chant, "Nós os brancos comerciantes Resolvemos sem santa união dar fim ao povo ao povo rebelde exterminar a subversão" (Boal, *Arena conta Zumbi*, 8) [We, the white businessmen Resolve without holy union to put an end to this rebellious people and exterminate subversion]. It is surely not coincidental that Boal chose to use "subversion," one of the military dictatorship's favorite terms to describe opposition, to express the rebellion in *Arena conta Zumbi*. Comparing the dictatorship's suppression to slavery is just one of the many ways playwrights used their art to oppose the military junta. As Boal himself explained, "teatro é uma arma. Uma arma muito eficiente ... uma arma de liberação" (Boal, *Teatro do oprimido*, 11) [theater is a weapon. A very effective weapon ... a weapon for liberation]. Though indirect, protest theater in this way quietly worked to oppose the military dictatorship, fanning the flame of discontent in its audiences.

The tensions present in the theater of the oppressed in Brazil date back to the colonization of Latin America with the dichotomy between colonizer and the colonized. In the era of colonization, exclusion was determined by race, status, gender, etc., and those excluded were regarded as the inferior "other". This "other" was soon forced into subordination, prevented from governing, defining, or expressing itself. The power struggle of colonization is alarmingly similar to that of the dictatorship and the oppressed public in that both solidify a relationship of dominance and suppression of rights. Therefore, protest theater can be viewed as an exercise of decolonization. In dictatorship-era Brazil, the voices protesting via the theater sought the right to

self-expression and the production of culture under a regime that stripped them of both. The 1960s were a period that “provided a new theatrical infrastructure for the marginalized, the oppressed, and the repressed. (...) There was renewed hope that Latin America, theatrically as well as politically, would find acceptance not as an inferior other but as a revitalizing, revolutionizing self” (Taylor 47). Protest playwrights in Brazil worked through a medium of immediacy that facilitated access to the public but also risked exposure to their oppressors. Taylor explains that theater groups in the 1960s encouraged grassroots movements, emphasizing “leadership, unity, mass mobilization, and combined force. This theater manifested the widespread preoccupation with war, either reaffirming or decoding military terminology. Augusto Boal, for example, speaks of theatre as a ‘weapon’ in overthrowing systems of oppression” (49). If dominant power is granted to those strong enough to take it, and if protest theater is a “weapon,” then it stands to reason that one of the goals of protest theater is not only to educate and change its audience, but also to invert the systemic self/other dynamic. Protest theater seeks to challenge the body exercising control, dethrone it, and place the marginalized in greater positions of authority.

The Rusty Butler Archive

During the late 1960s to the early 1970s, a doctoral student from the University of Arizona named Ross “Rusty” Erin Butler, Jr. found himself on several extended trips in Brazil conducting dissertation research on Brazilian theater. At this point in time, the Brazilian military dictatorship was in full-swing and during the course of his research, Butler became acquainted with a community of leftist playwrights who opposed the regime, and both openly and covertly criticized the government in their works. Over time, Butler developed a real bond with a few

members of this community, namely Plínio Marcos and Oduvaldo Vianna Filho, and he became intimately aware of their political activism. Butler studied their work, and his new friends offered their insights in the form of personal interviews. As Butler's friendship with this group of playwrights and actors grew, he developed increasing levels of trust and they began to trust him in return. One evening at a party with an extended group of playwrights and artists in Rio de Janeiro, Butler overheard the whisperings of a plan to bomb an American bank in São Paulo. It was not until a few days later when an American bank was bombed that Butler became truly alarmed. Butler soon unexpectedly discovered that he was on a government watchlist based on his association with these playwrights, and he was even warned by an acquaintance in Rio de Janeiro who was a CIA operative that he should leave the country as soon as possible. Fearing for his life, Butler fled Brazil in 1971, though not without being detained by military police in the airport. Before he left, however, his friends in the theater community gave him copies of several plays—in some cases in manuscript form—hoping their work might survive the hands of government censors.

Upon returning to the United States, Butler was understandably shaken and frightened by his close encounter with the Brazilian dictatorship. He finished his dissertation and subsequently published an article based on his research. He obtained a faculty position at the University of Victoria, but after only a few years, he left academia to pursue a career in business in order to better support his growing family. The manuscript plays once entrusted to his care were boxed up and left in his garage where they sat for years. Over forty years after returning home from Brazil, Butler met Rex Nielson, a professor of Spanish and Portuguese at Brigham Young University, through a chance encounter. They talked at length about Brazil and Butler's time there, and Butler confessed that he still had in his possession a collection of plays, manuscripts,

interviews, magazines, and newspapers related to his research. Butler decided it was time for the plays to receive a proper home where they could be studied, and he offered his collection to Nielson. In 2019, Professor Nielson invited me to help participate in the process of organizing the collection. Under Professor Nielson's mentorship, I catalogued the contents of the Rusty Butler Archive and created a finding aid.

The Rusty Butler Archive serves as another example of the real-life consequences of censorship and repression. The archive is divided into 5 sections: (1) Published Books, (2) Loose Notes and Interviews, (3) Rusty's Files, (4) Manuscripts, and (5) Rusty's Publications. The books contained in section one appear to be those that Rusty gathered over the course of his field work in Brazil. Most, if not all, are published plays, including *A navalha na carne* [1968] by Plínio Marcos, *Roda viva* [1968] by Chico Buarque de Hollanda, and *O pagador de promessas* [1967] by Dias Gomes, among others.

Section two of the archive contains various handwritten notes written by Rusty Butler, which are organized by theme. These notes also include summaries of different protest plays and some magazine articles. For example, Butler made notes about an article published in *Realidade* magazine, "17 coisas que fazem a felicidade do brasileiro" [17 things that make for Brazilian happiness], including coffee, soccer, and feijoada. Butler's notes track the presence of these happiness-makers in the plays he studied. But this section also significantly includes Butler's handwritten notes from the numerous interviews he conducted with various playwrights, directors, and news correspondents, who offered firsthand details about their work and the dictatorship.

The third section is composed of a series of files on protest plays which Butler compiled during his research. These include photocopied pages, Butler's notes, newspaper and magazine

clippings, and a few manuscripts. Each file contains notes and materials for different categories. For example, a few of the files contain Butler's materials for singular plays like *Arena conta Zumbi* and *O pagador de promessas*. Another file contains all of Butler's items on Plínio Marcos, namely his questions and answers from interviews, various other notes, and a few manuscripts. Another file contains materials solely on favela theater.

The fourth section in the Rusty Butler Archive contains nine plays in manuscript form, some of which include Butler's handwriting in the margins. Some of these plays eventually appeared in print but some have never been published.

The final section of the archive includes the academic writing Butler produced upon his return to the United States, specifically, material relating to his doctoral dissertation, a couple conference publications that Butler participated in, and an academic article he published.

The archive also includes the finding aid produced by myself, as well as a transcription of a personal interview with Rusty Butler I conducted with Professor Rex Nielson on September 12, 2019.

The Rusty Butler Archive is home to twelve original manuscript plays produced during critical dictatorship years, as well as the years leading up to the coup d'état. These plays, several of which remain unpublished, constitute a valuable record of governmental censorship and repressions. Most of the manuscripts were written in the late 1960s. A few were published later in 1978, such as *Homens de papel* and *Dois perdidos numa noite suja* written by Plínio Marcos. A few others, *Balbina de Iansã* by Plínio Marcos and *A derradeira ceia* by Luiz Marinho, were performed soon after being written (1970 and 1961 respectively) but they remained unpublished until 2017 and 2019 respectively. One of the plays, *Enquanto se vai morrer* by Renata Pallotini, was written in 1967, but not performed until 2002; it was finally published in 2006. Most

interestingly, seven of the manuscripts in the Rusty Butler Archive remain unpublished: *Allegro Desbundaccio* (*Se o Martins Penna fosse vivo*) by Oduvaldo Vianna Filho and Armando Costa, *O cavalo e o santo* by Augusto Boal, *Filha moça* by Augusto Boal, *Um grito de Liberdade or Liberdade por amor* by Sérgio Viotti, *Laio se matou* by Augusto Boal, *Se eu não me chamasse Raimundo* by Fernando Melo, and *O trágico fim de Maria Goiabada* by Fernando Melo. Written in 1972, *Allegro Desbundaccio* and *Um grito de Liberdade or Liberdade por amor* were performed immediately after their composition in 1972 but never published. Vianna Filho died young, in 1974, and Viotti passed away in 2009 after enjoying a long career as an actor and director, so we can only speculate as to why these pieces never appeared in print. As for the works produced by Fernando Melo, they were performed in the early 1970s but also never published. Unfortunately, there is very little record of the playwright Fernando Melo. The Augusto Boal plays exist in the form of photocopies of typewritten text, housed in the library at the Escola de Comunicações e Artes da Universidade de São Paulo. However, they have never been published. My research indicates the following publication information:

Play Title	Author	Year Written	Year of First Known Production	Year of First Known Publication
<i>Allegro Desbundaccio</i> ⁴ (<i>Se o Martins Penna fosse vivo</i>)	Oduvaldo Vianna Filho and Armando Costa	1972 ⁵	1972 ⁶	Unpublished ⁷

⁴ Original title was *Allegro desbundaccio*, but military censors changed it to *Allegro desbum* (Braga 44).

⁵ Guimarães, Carmelinda. *Um ato de resistência: O teatro de Oduvaldo Vianna Filho*. São Paulo: MG Editores Associados, 1984. p. 148.

⁶ Guimarães, Carmelinda. *Um ato de resistência: O teatro de Oduvaldo Vianna Filho*. São Paulo: MG Editores Associados, 1984. p. 148.

⁷ Vianna Filho, Oduvaldo. *Allegro desbundaccio*. Comédia. 36 fl. mimeo. UNI-RIO

<i>Balbina de Iansã</i>	Plínio Marcos	1970 ⁸	1970 ⁹	2017 ¹⁰
<i>O cavalo e o santo</i>	Augusto Boal	1954 ¹¹	1954 ¹²	Unpublished ¹³
<i>A derradeira ceia</i>	Luiz Marinho	1960 ¹⁴	1961 ¹⁵	1973 ¹⁶
<i>Dois perdidos numa noite suja</i>	Plínio Marcos	1966 ¹⁷	1966 ¹⁸	1978 ¹⁹
<i>Enquanto se vai morrer</i>	Renata Pallottini	1967 ²⁰	2002 ²¹	2006 ²²
<i>Filha moça</i>	Augusto Boal	1956 ²³	1956 ²⁴	Unpublished ²⁵
<i>Um grito de liberdade ou Liberdade por amor</i>	Sérgio Viotti	1972 ²⁶	1972 ²⁷	Unpublished

⁸ “Balbina De Iansã.” *Plínio Marcos - Sítio Oficial*, pliniomarcos.com/teatro/balbina.htm.

⁹ “Balbina De Iansã.” *Plínio Marcos - Sítio Oficial*, pliniomarcos.com/teatro/balbina.htm.

¹⁰ Marcos Plínio, and Alcir Pécora. *Plínio Marcos: Obras Teatrais*. Vol. 6, Funarte, 2017.

¹¹ “Peças.” *Instituto Augusto Boal*, augustoboal.com.br/pecas-e-publicacoes/.

¹² “Peças.” *Instituto Augusto Boal*, augustoboal.com.br/pecas-e-publicacoes/.

¹³ Razuk, José Eduardo Paraíso. “Muito Além Do Teatro Do Oprimido: Um Panorama Da Obra Dramatúrgica De Augusto Boal.” *Academia.edu*, 2019, p. 56, www.academia.edu/39017030/MUITO_AL%C3%89M_DO_TEATRO_DO_OPRIMIDO_Um_panorama_da_obra_dramat%C3%BARGica_de_Augusto_Boal.

¹⁴ Marinho Filho, Luiz, and Anco Márcio Tenório Vieira (org.). *Teatro De Luiz Marinho - Peças Regionalistas*. Vol. 1, CEPE Editora, 2019. pp. 211-212.

¹⁵ Marinho Filho, Luiz, and Anco Márcio Tenório Vieira (org.). *Teatro De Luiz Marinho - Peças Regionalistas*. Vol. 1, CEPE Editora, 2019. pp. 211-212.

¹⁶ Marinho, Luiz. “A Derradeira Ceia.” *Cadernos De Teatro*, 1973, pp. 13–31. *O Tablado*, otablado.com.br/Cadernos?page=6.

¹⁷ “Dois perdidos numa noite suja.” *Plínio Marcos - Sítio Oficial*, <https://pliniomarcos.com/teatro/2perdidos.htm>.

¹⁸ “Dois perdidos numa noite suja.” *Plínio Marcos - Sítio Oficial*, <https://pliniomarcos.com/teatro/2perdidos.htm>.

¹⁹ Marcos, Plínio. *Dois Perdidos Numa Noite Suja*. São Paulo: Global, 1978.

²⁰ “Os Espetáculos Que o Brasileiro Não Viu Porque a Censura Não Deixou.” *Jornal do Brasil*, 8 Apr. 1979, p. 9.

²¹ Pallottini, Renata. *Teatro completo*. Coleção Textos 18. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2006. p. 268.

²² Pallottini, Renata. *Teatro completo*. Coleção Textos 18. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2006.

²³ “Peças.” *Instituto Augusto Boal*, augustoboal.com.br/pecas-e-publicacoes/.

²⁴ “Peças.” *Instituto Augusto Boal*, augustoboal.com.br/pecas-e-publicacoes/.

²⁵ Razuk, José Eduardo Paraíso. “Muito Além Do Teatro Do Oprimido: Um Panorama Da Obra Dramatúrgica De Augusto Boal.” *Academia.edu*, 2019, p. 56, www.academia.edu/39017030/MUITO_AL%C3%89M_DO_TEATRO_DO_OPRIMIDO_Um_panorama_da_obra_dramat%C3%BARGica_de_Augusto_Boal.

²⁶ Lebert, Nilu. *Sérgio Viotti: O Cavalheiro das Artes*. Coleção aplauso. Série perfil. São Paulo: Cultura-Fundação Padre Anchieta; Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, 2004, p. 104. <https://aplauso.imprensaoficial.com.br/edicoes/12.0.812.956/12.0.812.956.pdf>

²⁷ Lebert, Nilu. *Sérgio Viotti: O Cavalheiro das Artes*. Coleção aplauso. Série perfil. São Paulo: Cultura-Fundação Padre Anchieta; Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, 2004, p. 105. <https://aplauso.imprensaoficial.com.br/edicoes/12.0.812.956/12.0.812.956.pdf>

<i>(a história de D. Pedro</i> <i>I)</i>				
<i>Homens de papel</i>	Plínio Marcos	1967 ²⁸	1967 ²⁹	1978 ³⁰
<i>Laio se matou</i>	Augusto Boal	1958 ³¹	1958 ³²	Unpublished ³³
<i>Se eu não me chamasse</i> <i>Raimundo</i>	Fernando Melo	1970 ³⁴	1972 ³⁵	Unpublished
<i>O trágico fim de Maria</i> <i>Goiabada</i>	Fernando Melo	1971 ³⁶	1973 ³⁷	Unpublished

The Rusty Butler Archive provides a unique perspective into the reality of the dictatorship years. The censorship and repression exercised by the military regime during the 1960s and 1970s controlled the narrative of that period and left behind a one-sided legacy that continues to be perpetuated. This archive provides not only evidence of protest in the form of creative plays, but it also includes personal interviews with various artists, detailing the realities of censorship.

²⁸ Marcos Plínio, and Alcir Pécora. *Plínio Marcos: Obras Teatrais*. Vol. 1, Funarte, 2017, p. 2006.

²⁹ Marcos Plínio, and Alcir Pécora. *Plínio Marcos: Obras Teatrais*. Vol. 1, Funarte, 2017.

³⁰ Marcos, Plínio. *Homens de papel*. São Paulo: Global, 1978.

³¹ “Peças.” *Instituto Augusto Boal*, augustoboal.com.br/pecas-e-publicacoes/.

³² “Peças.” *Instituto Augusto Boal*, augustoboal.com.br/pecas-e-publicacoes/.

³³ Razuk, José Eduardo Paraíso. “Muito Além Do Teatro Do Oprimido: Um Panorama Da Obra Dramatúrgica De Augusto Boal.” *Academia.edu*, 2019, p. 56, www.academia.edu/39017030/MUITO_AL%C3%89M_DO_TEATRO_DO_OPRIMIDO_Um_panorama_da_obra_dramat%C3%BArgica_de_Augusto_Boal.

³⁴ Melo, Fernando. *Se eu não me chamasse Raimundo*. 1970. Box 2, Series 4, Folder 41. *Rusty Butler Archive*. Unpublished. Held by Rex P. Nielson.

³⁵ “O que há para ver.” *Jornal do Brasil*, 23 March 1972, p. 6.

³⁶ Melo, Fernando. *O trágico fim de Maria Goiabada*. 1971. Box 2, Series 4, Folder 39. *Rusty Butler Archive*. Unpublished. Held by Rex P. Nielson.

³⁷ “Maria Goiabada de trágico fim.” *Jornal do Brasil*, 23 Oct. 1973, p. 4.

The Relationship Between Censorship and Cultural Production

Cultural production is synonymous with freedom. It embodies deep thought, questioning, and making sense of the world. Creators seek to explain the world as it currently is and envision a better world. Many creative and cultural products produced during the 1960s and 70s in Brazil contradicted the agenda of the military regime, and in response the dictatorship waged war on artists. As *tropicália* singer Caetano Veloso explained in an interview before his exile from Brazil, “I guess they don’t like what we do. They just don’t seem to be able to stand anything open-ended ... Anything that they can’t force and control” (Novitski 8). Contemporary Brazilian artist, Vik Muniz, expressed politicians become “the curators of our culture” as they control the output of creative production (Jeantet). Censorship doesn’t change culture; it simply controls the representation of culture. During the military dictatorship, many artists, the producers of cultural media in Brazil, were imprisoned, tortured, or exiled. If they were incarcerated, forced abroad, or disappeared, they could not contribute to the opposition. In his notes regarding censorship, Rusty Butler observes, “the Brazilian author’s hands have become so tied that he cannot freely produce works whose themes the public wished to see most, according to the well-known Brazilian theatre critic, Bárbara Heliodora; that is, lack of liberty, social injustice, and the foreign domination of the Brazilian economy” (Butler, “Social Themes”, 1). They could not distribute opinions and world views that contradicted the regime’s agenda.

The effects of censorship are deep and lasting. Cultural production is one area of society that suffered greatly during the dictatorship due to censorship for a few reasons. First, censorship limits the representation of culture to one perspective and worldview. Varied perspectives among a nation’s population are one of the beautiful elements of diversity. The rich and the poor experience life in different ways, as do different genders, races, sexual orientations, etc. Sharing

differing opinions and perspectives offers cultural diversity and fosters an environment for growth and progress. However, AI-5 severely restricted variation in cultural production. During the era of the military dictatorship, the junta alone held the power to curate the cultural products in Brazil, limiting representation only to those products that fit their agenda. Though the dictatorship maintained various strategies as it controlled the nation, “the twin goals of the 1964–1985 regime were security and development” (Smith 24). Smith further explains that while the dictatorship changed and adapted as time went on, “it remained authoritarian and maintained the goals of security — meaning control and absence of conflict — and development — meaning economic growth at any cost” (24). In the name of security, the military dictatorship actively eliminated any left-wing influence that might threaten conservative values. For this reason, religion and the traditional nuclear family were celebrated, while sexual content and anti-regime commentary were silenced. In the mind of the dictatorship, security meant avoiding a communist revolution, and so, it preserved the status quo by censoring the voices that rang contrary.

Unfortunately, this included marginalized voices, those of the poor, people of color and the LGBTQ+ community. Representation was left to government curators to decide what products could gain access to the cultural space. Augusto Boal addresses this phenomenon as he describes cultural products, specifically the theater, being taken over by the dominating classes: “No principio, o teatro era o canto ditirâmico: o povo livre cantando ao ar livre. O carnaval. A festa. Depois, as classes dominantes se apropriaram do teatro e construíram muros divisórios” (Boal, *Teatro do oprimido*, 127) [In the beginning, the theater was a dithyrambic song: free people singing into the open air. Carnival. Celebration. Later, the dominant classes appropriated the theater and built divisive walls]. By granting itself the power to censor cultural products, the

military dictatorship took over free expression, changing the rules of output and dividing the communities attempting to express themselves.

Censorship also particularly affected live production during the military regime. Recorded and printed media and government-controlled satellite transmissions could be highly regulated. However, the immediacy and spontaneity of live performances could more easily escape government censorship. For this reason, following 1968, the military regime made a priority of trying to limit and control live culture. Live culture, or rather fluid, evolving culture, certainly did not align with the military's goal of national security; it was too high-risk. As noted by Schwarz, "apesar da ditadura da direita há relativa hegemonia cultural da esquerda no país" (Schwarz 62) [despite the right-wing dictatorship, there is a relative left-wing cultural hegemony in the country]. Perhaps the regime recognized the strength that accompanies community. If the military junta controlled the cultural narrative to such a degree that the left-wing cultural majority felt as though it was the outlier, the minority right-wing dictatorship could preserve national and cultural security for the greater good.

Additionally, censorship affected cultural production because it intimidated artists into self-censoring their works. In defining self-censorship as a subcategory of censorship, Smith considers that in the process of self-censorship, "there is something to say, you know it, and you don't say it. This is not the silence of ignorance or poor judgement, but rather of cognizant withholding" (Smith 118). She continues, expounding upon the dangers: "The results for the public are similar to censorship in terms of the manipulation of knowledge and understanding, but often with the added element of the public's not even knowing that they are being denied information" (118). Self-censorship is an understandable consequence of censorship, especially in the realm of cultural production. Realistically, it can take years to write, edit, and publish a

book. There is serious time and creativity invested into that process. For creatives to painstakingly produce content, ensuring precision in every word, only to have sentences or large sections censored or the entire work denied altogether, must exact an immeasurable emotional toll. In this case, self-censorship is merely an act of self-preservation. Self-censorship is difficult to trace, since the “original” never makes its way out of the creative mind and if it does find a way onto paper, it is usually confined to private, unpublished writings. However, certainly self-censorship occurred during the military dictatorship era, and it was propelled by fear. One can only imagine how many more works might have been produced during this time had creatives not been terrorized into self-censorship.

Censorship Through the Lens of the Rusty Butler Archive

Given the ways censorship directly affects cultural production, the Rusty Butler Archive sheds light on the intricate relationship between the two by presenting a special set of materials that serve as an untouched time capsule from the dictatorship era. It is home to not only original manuscript plays but also newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and one-on-one interview notes from creatives directly affected by the regime’s censorship. As such, it is uniquely poised to offer greater insight into the relationship between cultural production and the censorship applied during the 1964 –1985 military dictatorship, particularly after the AI-5 declaration.

The Rusty Butler Archive affords representation for the communities and perspectives silenced by the dictatorship. Although Butler himself acknowledged that protest theater does not generally fall in the category of mainstream contemporary Brazilian literature, it is nevertheless an important genre of study because of its ability to expose social realities through a truly Brazilian lens (Butler, “Social Themes”, 9). Many of the contents in the archive are manuscripts

and materials that were sent with Rusty out of Brazil to avoid censorship. With this detail in mind, the Rusty Butler Archive provides a platform for voices and opinions that were marginalized by the dictatorship. Censorship of these materials would have been almost guaranteed, either because of the status of their authors or because of the potential underlying threats of their messages. Knowing that their works would have been censored, the producers of this cultural content have provided us with tangible examples of how censorship limits the representation of culture to one world view.

Remembering that one of the main goals of the dictatorship was security, the Rusty Butler Archive can be analyzed for themes that would threaten the regime's ideals. One play in the Rusty Butler Archive that serves as an example is *Roda Viva* by Chico Buarque. While this particular play was published in 1968, it was censored in later productions for treating the topic of religion too lightly. Considering the traditional, conservative values being "secured" by the military junta, it is unsurprising that this play was forbidden entry into the cultural collection compiled by government curators.

Other themes in the Rusty Butler Archive that threatened the dictatorship's goal of security include criticism (open or metaphorical) of the regime. One musical play in the archive, *Balbina de Iansã* by Plínio Marcos, contains strong themes critical of authoritarianism. The setting of this work opens on a Brazilian candomblé terreiro. Balbina is about to be punished by the macumba leader, Mãe Zefa, for protecting Zeninha's cognitively deficient daughter, Boba, from being "purified," implying physical abuse at the stake. Balbina invokes her protector saint, Iansã, to deliver her from danger and the tension resolves. Later, Balbina gets into trouble again after allowing a visiting man, João, from another candomblé group into the terreiro. The situation escalates and a physical fight ensues. Balbina is subsequently "cleansed" at the stake. Zeninha

and Boba offer to heal her if in return, Mãe Zefa will welcome them back into the macumba group. Balbina however, asks them to go find João, who she has fallen in love with, so he can help rescue her. Balbina reminds Zeninha how terrible Mãe Zefa has always treated her. In fact, Mãe Zefa is the reason Zeninha's daughter was born with deformities, since Zefa sent her to be "cleansed" at the stake while she was pregnant. Convinced, Zeninha goes to find João, but not before Mãe Zefa enters and intervenes. Mãe Zefa shouts, "Sou tua mãe de santo. Sei das coisas e falo pro teu bem" (Marcos, *Balbina de Iansã*, 30) [I am your *mãe de santo*. I know all things and I speak for your good]. Another fight breaks out. The play ends with Balbina and João denouncing their respective saints and leaving the life of candomblé, relying on their love instead: "A gente agarra na nossa gamação. E isso que é nossa valia, Balbina. Com gana a gente levanta um mundo" (Marcos, *Balbina de Iansã*, 38) [We will cling to our love. And that's what matters, Balbina. With love we lift the world]. Marcos' critique of the military regime is palpable in this metaphorical representation. Mãe Zefa is a ruling figure who commands authority over her cult-like group of followers based on her ability to know what is best for them. She even uses disguised methods of torture to prevent uprisings. Perhaps the figures of Balbina and João are the author's way of suggesting another point of view; Mãe Zefa's perspective, or rather, the dictatorship's perspective, is not the only answer. Taking the metaphor one step further, perhaps Marcos is suggesting that love and tolerance are the true antidotes to fear and control.

Another protest play in the archive is *Filha moça* by Augusto Boal. Though *Filha moça* does not appear to condemn the organization of the military regime as much as *Balbina de Iansã*, its discussion of traditionally immoral themes did not align with the conservative ideals the dictatorship sought to preserve. *Filha moça* tells the story of a strained family—an unhappy mother, an angst-filled teenage daughter, and an abusive father. This play brings to the forefront

the themes of extramarital sexual relations as the mother longs to be adored by someone and as the teenage daughter begins navigating a serious relationship with her fiancé. By subverting the traditional morals of fidelity and chastity, this play protests the military regime and its ideals. As such, *Filha moça* was censored in its entirety because its production company chose plays “que ofendem a moral e os bons costumes para apresentar aos seus sócios, pessoas humildes e sem a devida compreensão” (Boal, “Filha Moça”) [that offend morals and good manners to present to their associates, simple people that lack proper understanding]. Augusto Boal’s website provides further insight to read between the lines of the censor’s reason: “de acordo com a censura, o teatro deverá ser um modelo de comportamento e o modelo deverá ser a família branca, de classe média, ocidental e cristã. O resto será proibido e censurado” (Boal, “Filha Moça”) [according to the censor, the theater ought to be a model of behavior and that model ought to be a white, Western, Christian, middle class family]. *Filha moça* and other plays like it protested the military dictatorship by offering representation to those populations that the regime was actively trying to keep on the margins. By pushing the boundaries for “acceptable” behavior, the theater became a space for opposition.

The Rusty Butler Archive is a perfect example of the military regime’s silencing of living culture. As noted above, live performance is unpredictable and in the eyes of the dictatorship, it posed a liability. As such, live theater was heavily censored and prohibited from taking the stage. Most of the plays in the Rusty Butler Archive were originally censored by the regime. Some were published in following years, but for some like *Enquanto se vai morrer* by Renata Pallottini, publication did not come until decades later. In a personal interview with Rusty Butler, notes from which reside in the archive, local Brazilian actress Ilva Niño reported the censorship of a play she was in. Rusty’s note from their interview reads: “censors not only must check the

piece but also must see the actual performance before it is publicly presented. One piece [Ilva] was in was approved all the way then after the opening performance with censors closed it down (almost) by whim” (Butler, “Interview with Luiz Mendonça”). A few other interviews offered to Rusty Butler during his research mention the frustration and persecution felt by artists at the hand of the censor. When asked about the future of social criticism in Brazil, playwright Fernando Melo is cited by Rusty’s notes as explaining, “If the censorship would let up it would be limitless. But with the problems today it can’t be answered.” (Butler, “Interview with Fernando Melo”). Lance Belville, an American playwright for Brazilian theater at the time is quoted in Rusty’s notes, “The censorship is styfulling [sic]” (Butler, “Interview with Lance Belville”). The dictatorship focused its efforts on areas of perceived threat. Based on the comments made by playwrights to Butler, the Rusty Butler Archive provides evidence of the dictatorship’s feeling threatened by their living culture. Opinionated artists could not be trusted to leave politics out of their productions. The regime felt compelled to control the output and ensure their audiences were only consuming sanctioned content.

Self-censorship through the lens of the Rusty Butler Archive is more difficult to identify. There remain seven manuscripts that research suggests were never published. The natural question that follows is why? While it is possible that the playwrights responsible for these works were permanently silenced by censors, it is equally plausible that they never tried to publish for fear of retribution. Perhaps after witnessing the repression of the regime in the lives of their fellow playwrights, these authors decided to quietly stay off the radar. If this is the case, then the military’s fear tactics did their job—they intimidated their citizens into silencing themselves instead of revolting against the injustices taking place. Assuming these unpublished works are remnants of self-censorship, we are left to wonder just how many other works were

left in the idea phase and never made it into manuscript form? Commenting on censorship in one of his notes from 1973, Butler wrote, “[censorship is] whimsical but very pronounced now; no political dramas at this time; authors probably have manuscripts, but won’t release them” (Butler, “Monday May 14, 1973 São Paulo”). Unfortunately, when dealing with self-censorship, we are left with ambiguity.

Conclusion

The Rusty Butler Archive represents a unique set of evidence from an era in which the narrative was actively manipulated. As such, it offers a refreshingly raw perspective of the human experience during the 1964–1985 military dictatorship in Brazil. We now have the opportunity to examine it to learn in greater detail how the dictatorship operated and how it affected the cultural output of the 1960s and 70s. Understanding the particular history of Rusty Butler’s experience in Brazil provides further evidence of the dictatorship’s abuses and serves as a warning about the harmful consequences of censorship on democratic society. Moving forward, academics and artists must continue to use their voices, being vigilant in ensuring the repressive tactics introduced during Brazil’s dictatorship era are not resurrected.

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APPENDIX A: Finding Aid

Title: The Ross “Rusty” Butler Collection on Brazilian Protest Theater

Creator: Butler, Ross Erin

Dates: 1962-73

Extent: 5 Series, 46 Folders

Provenance: This collection was created by Ross “Rusty” E. Butler, Jr. when he was a doctoral student at the University of Arizona conducting research in Brazil in the late 1960s and early 70s. Rusty developed friendships with a number of leading writers and actors involved in the theater in Rio de Janeiro, including playwrights such as Plínio Marcos, Fernando Melo, Oduvaldo Vianna Filho, and Antônio Callado. These writers, actors, and cultural producers offered interviews to Butler during the course of his research. Furthermore, when he was preparing to leave Brazil to return to the United States, several pleaded with him to take their works—including work that was unpublished and in manuscript form—out of the country in order to avoid government censors. A few years after completing his graduate work, Professor Butler left his position at the University of British Columbia and academia to pursue other professional opportunities, and while he did publish one article based on his doctoral research, most of his original research materials remained untouched. It was not until Butler befriended Dr. Rex Nielson in 2018 that these materials were once again brought to light. After sitting in a box for over forty years, all of Butler’s former research materials, including the interview notes and manuscripts were donated to Dr. Nielson of Brigham Young University for further research.

Biographical History: Ross “Rusty” Butler is from Vale, Oregon. He completed a B.A. and an M.A. at the University of Oregon in Languages and Linguistics, and later went on to receive a Ph.D. from the University of Arizona, also in Languages and Linguistics. He received an Honorary Doctorate from Kyrgyz National University as well. Butler worked at Utah Valley University (UVU) for many years, serving as an Associate Vice President. He also served for approximately fifteen years as the Honorary Consul General to Russia in the state of Utah. Since 2015, he has been an NGO representative to the United Nations ECOSOC. Butler retired from UVU in 2016.

Scope and Content Note: The Ross “Rusty” Butler Collection on Brazilian Protest Theater is arranged into five major series: I. Published Books; II. Loose Notes and Interviews; III. Rusty’s Files; IV. Manuscripts; and V. Rusty’s Publications. The collection includes twenty books, twelve manuscripts, two abstracts, one magazine, various newspaper clippings, loose notes and interviews, photocopied materials, and published research information. Ross E. Butler compiled all of the materials included in this collection during his time in Brazil conducting doctoral research. The collection is of special value to researchers interested in Brazilian theater, the military dictatorship in Brazil, and Brazilian censorship from that time period.

Container List:

Series 1: Published Books

Box	Folder	Contents
1	1	Filho, Oduvaldo Vianna. <i>Os Azeredo mais os Benevides</i> . Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Nacional de Teatro – Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1968
1	2	Fernandes, Millôr. <i>Computa, computador, computa</i> . Rio de Janeiro: Editorial NÓRDICA Ltda., 1972

1	3	Filho, Oduvaldo Vianna. <i>Cuatro cuadras de tierra</i> . Vedado, Havana, Cuba: Casa de las Americas, 1964.
1	4	Gomes, Dias and Ferreira Gullar. <i>Dr. Getúlio, sua vida e sua glória</i> . Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira S.A., 1968 Insert: Butler, Ross E. – handwritten note included inside the book detailing the presentation of symbolism within the plot of <i>Dr. Getúlio, sua vida e sua glória</i> and the presence of Brazilian themes.
1	5	Pedroso, Bráulio. <i>O fardão</i> . Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Saga, 1967 Insert: Butler, Ross E. – handwritten note included inside the book detailing the presentation of symbolism within the plot of <i>O fardão</i> and the presence of Brazilian themes.
1	6	Callado, Antônio. <i>Forró no engenho cananéia</i> . Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira S.A., 1964 Insert: Butler, Ross E. – handwritten note included inside the book detailing the presentation of symbolism within the plot of <i>Forró no engenho cananéia</i> and the presence of Brazilian themes.
1	7	Filho, Oduvaldo Vianna. <i>Longa noite de cristal</i> . [Place of publication, publisher, and date of publication not identified] First-place winner “Prêmio Corôa de Teatro”
1	8	Marcos, Plínio. <i>A navalha na carne</i> . São Paulo: Editôra Senzala, 1968 Insert: Butler, Ross E. – handwritten note included inside the book detailing the presentation of symbolism within the plot of <i>A navalha na carne</i> and the presence of Brazilian themes.
1	9	Filho, Oduvaldo Vianna. <i>Nossa vida em família, segunda versão</i> . São Paulo: GEPRON Editora, 1972.
1	10	Barbosa, Dom Marcos. <i>Oratório e vitral de São Cristóvão</i> . Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Vozes, 1969
1	11	Gomes, Dias. <i>O pagador de promessas</i> . Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira, 1967 Insert: Butler, Ross E. – handwritten note detailing the presentation of symbolism within the plot of <i>O pagador de promessas</i> and the presence of Brazilian themes.
1	12	Filho, Oduvaldo Vianna. <i>Papa highirte</i> . Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Nacional de Teatro – Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1968. Inscribed. First-place winner of the Serviço Nacional do Teatro Prize – 1968
1	13	Melo, Fernando. <i>A pequena tragédia de Vera Maria de Jesus, a condêssa da lapa</i> . [Place of publication, publisher, and date of publication not identified] Second-place winner “Prêmio Corôa de Teatro”
1	14	de Hollanda, Chico Buarque. <i>Roda viva</i> . Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Sabiá, 1968

		<p>Insert: Butler, Ross E. – handwritten note included inside the book detailing the presentation of symbolism within the plot of <i>Roda viva</i> and the presence of Brazilian themes.</p> <p>Insert: Butler, Ross E. – handwritten note included inside the book summarizing the <i>Roda viva</i>'s plot.</p>
1	15	<p>Filho, Oduvaldo Vianna and Ferreira Gullar. <i>Se corer o bicho pega se ficar o bicho come</i>. Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira, 1966</p> <p>Insert: Butler, Ross E. Handwritten note included inside the book detailing the presentation of symbolism within the plot of <i>Se corer o bicho pega se ficar o bicho come</i> and the presence of Brazilian themes.</p> <p>Insert: Maciel, Luiz Carlos. <i>O bicho que o bicho deu</i>. Cut-out pages from Civilização Brasileira Magazine. Handwritten note from Ross Butler informs that the magazine was the May issue of 1966 in Rio de Janeiro. Article discusses and analyzes the play, <i>Se corer o bicho pega se ficar o bicho come</i>.</p>
1	16	<p>Sodiedade Brasileira de Autores Teatrais. “Revista de Teatro”. May and June 1972. Number 287. Features the plays “Corpo a corpo” by Oduvaldo Viana Filho and “A Estóris da Rosa Príncipe” by Elza Corrêa Rodrigues.</p>
1	17	<p>Sodiedade Brasileira de Autores Teatrais. “Revista de Teatro”. September and October 1959. Number 311. Features the plays “Chapetuba futebol clube” by Oduvaldo Viana Filho and “A menina que vendia flores” by Alexandrino de Souto.</p>
1	18	<p>Sodiedade Brasileira de Autores Teatrais. “Revista de Teatro”. January and February 1970. Number 373. Features the play “A construção” by Altimar Pimentel.</p>
1	19	<p>Sodiedade Brasileira de Autores Teatrais. “Revista de Teatro”. January and February 1969. Number 367. Features the play “Abre a janela e deixa entrar o ar puro e o sol da manhã” by Antonio Bivar.</p>
1	20	<p>Sodiedade Brasileira de Autores Teatrais. “Revista de Teatro”. July and August 1965. Number 346. Features the play “Matador” by Oduvaldo Vianna Filho.</p>

Series 2: Loose Notes and Interviews

Box	Folder	Contents
1	21	<p>Rusty’s analysis of themes present in <i>A derradeira ceia</i>, written by Luiz Marinho</p> <p>Rusty’s analysis of themes present in <i>Se eu não me chamasse Raimundo</i></p>
1	22	Rusty’s note about various Brazilian protest playwrights of the 1970s

		<p>Miscellaneous note from Rusty written on the back of a pink Brazilian legal form</p> <p>Miscellaneous note from Rusty written on a quarter sheet of white paper</p> <p>Rusty's note summarizing various articles from different issues of the Brazilian magazine "Veja" from 1968-1970.</p>
1	23	<p>Interview: March 3, 1971 with Kay Huff, Time Magazine correspondent in Rio (partial notes, ripped page)</p> <p>Interview: March 3, 1971 with Lance Belville, American playwright for Brazilian theater</p> <p>Interview: March 4, 1971 with Kay Huff, Time Magazine correspondent in Rio (partial notes, ripped page)</p> <p>Interview: March 5, 1971 with Luis Mendonça, Director in Rio (incomplete note, two ripped pages)</p> <p>Interview: March 6, 1971 with Bárbara Heliadora</p> <p>Interview: March 10, 1971 with Fernando Melo, author of <i>A pequena tragédia de Vera Maria de Jesus, a condessa da lapa</i> (Incomplete note, ripped page)</p> <p>Interview: March 11, 1971 with Oduvaldo Vianna Filho</p> <p>Interview: March 15, 1971 with Luiz Mendonça (partial interview, ripped page)</p> <p>Interview: March 18, 1971 with Oduvaldo Vianna Filho (one page split in half)</p> <p>Interview: May 18, 1973 with Bárbara Heliadora, 3x5 card</p>
1	24	<p>Realidade Magazine. August 1970 issue.</p> <p>Includes a list of "17 things that make for Brazilian happiness".</p> <p>da Mata, João. <i>A representação da paixão de N.S. Jesus Cristo e a obra grandiosa da Nova Jerusalém</i>. 1970.</p> <p>Cordel Literature. Light blue cover. 4.625 in. x 6.375 in.</p> <p>Butler, Ross E. "As 17 coisas que fazem a felicidade do brasileiro". Hand-typed notes on the Realidade magazine article.</p>

		<p>Butler, Ross E. Untitled chart. Chart categorizing various Brazilian protest dramas and the presence of “the 17 things that make for Brazilian happiness” within each one.</p> <p>Butler, Ross E. Note on Humor (2 pages)</p> <p>Butler, Ross E. 4 pages of untitled notes detailing the “17 things” and a number of Brazilian protest dramas.</p> <p>Butler, Ross E. Small note about soccer. 3x5 card.</p>
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Series 3: Rusty’s Files

Box	Folder	Contents
1	25	<p>File – “O Pagador”. Compiled by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Contains a photocopied, translated version of <i>O pagador de promessas</i>, called Journey to Bahia. Copyright by Stanley Richards and Dias Gomes, as an unpublished work. 1962. Pages 1-79.</p>
1	26	<p>File – “Liberdade”. Compiled by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Contains photocopied pages of <i>Liberdade, liberdade</i>: a stapled packet of pages 1-57 and loose pages 1-156</p> <p>Rusty’s handwritten note about the politics of <i>Liberdade, liberdade</i>.</p> <p>Rusty’s partial note written on the back of a ripped page of unrelated type.</p> <p>Miscellaneous photocopied excerpts.</p> <p>Ripped paper, discusses <i>Liberdade, liberdade</i></p>
1	27	<p>File – “Morte e vida”. Compiled by Ross “Rusty” Butler.</p> <p>De Melo Neto, João Cabral. <i>Morte e vida Severina</i>. Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Sabiá Limitada, 1967.</p> <p>Small booklet</p> <p>Rusty’s handwritten note analyzing the presence of the “17 things that make for Brazilian happiness” within <i>Morte e vida Severina</i>.</p> <p>Rusty’s handwritten note on some books he consulted at the Library of the Theater. March 8, 1971.</p> <p>Rusty’s handwritten note on various articles of <i>Visão Magazine</i>.</p> <p>Rusty’s handwritten note on various articles of <i>O Estado de São Paulo Newspaper</i>.</p>

		<p>Photocopy of the cover page, character list, and first page of <i>Morte e vida Severina</i>. Written by João Cabral de Melo Neto. Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Sabiá Limitada, 1967.</p> <p>Photocopy of an unknown newspaper featuring <i>Morte e vida Severina</i>. Main article entitled, “Tuca, Tucanos e Severinos” by Roberto Freire. (2 pages).</p> <p>Newspaper page from O Estado de São Paulo. March 21, 1971. “Suplemento literário”, featuring articles entitled, “O santo e a porca” by Ariano Suassuna, and “Teatro do Nordeste” by Timochenco Wehbi.</p>
1	28	<p>File – “Favela Theatre”. Compiled by Ross “Rusty” Butler.</p> <p>Mendonça, Luiz. “Relatório sôbre o trabalho realizado através do teatro pelo departamento de ciências sociais e a comunidade”. Dating January 15 – March 27, 1970.</p>
1	29	<p>File – “Opinião”. Compiled by Ross “Rusty” Butler.</p> <p>Rusty’s handwritten note analyzing the presence of the “17 things that make for Brazilian happiness” within <i>Opinião</i>.</p> <p>Photocopy of <i>Opinião</i>, second edition. Written by Armando Costa, Oduvaldo Vianna Filho, and Paulo Pontes. Rio de Janeiro: Edições do Val, 1965. Cover page, Copyright page, and pages 7-89. Includes some of Rusty’s handwritten markings.</p> <p>Photocopy of article entitled “Show Opinião”. Details the release of <i>Opinião</i> on disc. Two ripped pages.</p>
2	30	<p>File – “Zumbi”. Compiled by Ross “Rusty” Butler.</p> <p>Rusty’s handwritten note analyzing the presence of the “17 things that make for Brazilian happiness” within <i>Arena conta Zumbi</i>.</p> <p>Packet entitled “Arena conta Zumbi”. Author unknown. Contains a number of chants from <i>Arena conta Zumbi</i>. Incomplete copy of the play.</p> <p>Typed page of terms and definitions from <i>Arena conta Zumbi</i>. (2 copies).</p> <p>Photocopied packet, Part 1. Untitled work. Author unknown.</p> <p>Photocopied packet, Part 2. Untitled work. Author unknown.</p> <p>Photocopy of article entitled “Arena conta Zumbi”. Details the contents of the play on tape. (2 pages).</p> <p>Revista de Teatro produced by the Sociedade Brasileira de Autores Teatrais. Number 378, November and December 1970. Issue features <i>Arena conta</i></p>

		<p><i>Zumbi</i> by Gianfrancesco Guarnieri and Augusto Boal and <i>O coelhinho pitomba</i> by Milton Luiz.</p> <p>Programa em Revista produced by PROTEATRO Publicidade e Teatro Ltda., featuring <i>Arena conta Zumbi</i>. January 1971 issue.</p>
2	31	<p>File – “Plínio”. Compiled by Ross “Rusty” Butler.</p> <p>Yan Michalski. “Teatro Carioca em 1966 ou um elefante que resiste ao caos”. Cut-out pages from <i>Civilização Brasileira Magazine</i>. Handwritten note from Ross Butler informs that the magazine was a joint number in the December 1966 issue and the March 1967 issue in Rio de Janeiro. Pages 181-186.</p> <p>A series of 3 pages of incomplete notes written by Rusty Butler on the backs of three yellow Davis County, Utah School Registration cards.</p> <p>Handwritten note by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Various vocabulary terms and definitions.</p> <p>Handwritten note by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Deals with some of the “17 things that make for Brazilian happiness”.</p> <p>Handwritten note by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Various notes regarding “Balbina” from <i>Visão</i> and <i>Veja</i>.</p> <p>Three newspaper clippings from “<i>Correio da Manhã</i>” featuring the play <i>Dois perdidos numa noite suja</i> by Plínio Marcos.</p> <p>Clipping 1: Festival de Cinema. Author unknown.</p> <p>Clipping 2: Estréias. Includes showtimes.</p> <p>Clipping 3: Sucessos da semana. An advertisement for <i>Dois perdidos</i></p> <p>Newspaper cutout. “Plínio, sem palavra”. Author unknown. Rio de Janeiro, <i>Visão</i>, 17 March 1971.</p> <p>Pamphlet: “Êste mês em São Paulo”. February 1971. Publisher unknown.</p> <p>Page 16: Rusty has highlighted a passage featuring the play <i>Balbina de Iansã</i> by Plínio Marcos.</p> <p>Handwritten note by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Outlines Plínio Marcos and his position and importance, his background, his philosophy, and his views of Brazilian theatre.</p> <p>Handwritten note by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Deals with some of the “17 things that make for Brazilian happiness” present within <i>Quando as máquinas param</i> by Plínio Marcos. 16 March 1971.</p>

		<p>Handwritten note by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Miscellaneous notes about <i>Dois perdidos numa noite suja</i> by Plínio Marcos.</p> <p>A series of four handwritten pages by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Page 1: A list of 22 questions for an interview with Plínio Marcos on 27 February 1971 in São Paulo. Pages 2-3: Notes on Plínio Marcos’ interview responses to the 22 questions on page 1. São Paulo, 27 February 1971. Page 4: Rusty’s general notes on Plínio.</p> <p>Manuscript: Marcos, Plínio. <i>Dois perdidos numa noite suja</i>. Pages 1-54. Handwritten across the top of the manuscript reads: “Presented to Ross Butler by Plínio Marcos São Paulo 24 Mar. 1971”. Insert page 3: Rusty’s handwritten note on loose paper discussing the presence of “the 17 things that make for Brazilian happiness”, particularly the role of animals within the play, <i>Dois perdidos numa noite suja</i>. Insert page 7: Rusty’s handwritten note on the back of a small, Davis School District “admit to class” card. Rusty lists a few of the “17 things that make for Brazilian happiness”, but there is no other commentary.</p> <p>Manuscript: Marcos, Plínio. <i>Homens de papel</i>. Two act play. Pages 1-70. Handwritten across the bottom of the manuscript reads: “Presented to Ross Butler by Plínio Marcos São Paulo Mar. 24, 1971”. Insert page 5: Rusty’s handwritten note on loose paper discussing the presence of “the 17 things that make for Brazilian happiness” within the play, <i>Homens de papel</i>.</p> <p>Pamphlet: “Balbina de Iansã, de Plínio Marcos”. Teatro de São Pedro. Rusty has highlighted page 13, which features an article entitled, “Fora do povo não há salvação”, written by J. Ramos Tinhorão. Insert page 15: Rusty’s handwritten note on the play <i>Balbina de Iansã</i> by Plínio Marcos and its story, cast, music, dances and costumes, and vocabulary. 19 February 1971. Insert page 15: Rusty’s handwritten note on the play <i>Balbina de Iansã</i> by Plínio Marcos. Includes several quotations from, what appear to be, both interviews and newspaper articles.</p> <p>Manuscript: Marcos, Plínio. <i>Balbina de Iansã</i>. Pages 1-38. Handwritten across the bottom of the manuscript reads: “Presentado a Ross Butler, Plínio Marcos, São Paulo”.</p>
2	32	<p>File – Untitled. Compiled by Ross “Rusty” Butler. Handwritten notes from Rusty on the outside of the folder including a number of play titles and years.</p>

	<p>Photocopy of an unknown book. Entitled “A guide to popular music” according to Rusty’s scrawl on the top of the page. Rusty also notes the names Peter Gammond and Peter Clayton and Phoenix House London, 1960; possibly the authors, publisher, and date of the original book. Pages 188-189.</p> <p>Cutout page from Veja Magazine. Features an article entitled <i>Cuca vs. útero</i>, an interview with Leilah Assupção. 1970.</p> <p>Newspaper cutout. Article entitled “Problemas brasileiros – II” by Wilson Martins. Newspaper and date unknown.</p> <p>Newspaper cutout. Article entitled “Três peças atuais” by Osman Lins. Newspaper and date unknown.</p> <p>Ripped page of type listing three critics. Rusty’s note at the top informs that the list is from Dennis Allred of the U.S. Embassy.</p> <p>Paperclipped packet of three pages discussing <i>Liberty, Laughter and Tears</i>. Kallen, Horace. <i>Liberty, Laughter and Tears</i>. 1968. Piddington, Ralph. <i>The Psychology of Laughter</i>. 1963. Two photocopied pages of <i>Liberty, Laughter and Tears</i>.</p> <p>Faded page of type, song lyrics. Martinho de Vila, Nara Leão, Luiz Gonzaga, Chico Buarque. 1969.</p> <p>Blanco, Billy. “A banca do distinto”. Lyrics. One page.</p> <p>Rodrigues, Jair. “Disparada”. Lyrics. One page.</p> <p>Rocha, Daniel. “Os novos rumos do teatro”. Magazine cutout from “Revista de Teatro”. September – December 1967.</p> <p>Newspaper cutout. Theater article entitled “Imagem Externa” by Yan Michalski. <i>Jornal do Brasil</i>, Rio de Janeiro. March 1971.</p> <p>Newspaper cutout. Article entitled “Impostos acambam com o teatro”. <i>Da sucursal do Rio. O Estado de São Paulo</i>. February 1971.</p> <p>Newspaper cutout. Article entitled “A fertilidade do caos” by Sabato Magaldi. <i>Visão</i>. February 1971.</p> <p>Magazine cutout. Article entitled “O palco tomado de assalto”. Author unknown. <i>Veja Magazine</i>. 1969.</p> <p>Magazine cutout. Article entitled “Os atôres não são bonecos” by Nello Pedra Gandara. <i>Veja Magazine</i>. 1971.</p>
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		<p>Newspaper cutout. Three-page packet, stapled. Article entitled “Notícias Populares - teatro”. Author unknown. Visão. September 1970.</p> <p>Newspaper cutout. Film and theater list. O Estado de São Paulo. March 1971.</p> <p>Newspaper cutout. Film and theater list. Jornal do Brasil. 1971.</p> <p>Newspaper partial cutout. Film and theater list. O Estado de São Paulo. 19 February 1971.</p> <p>Newspaper cutout. Film and theater list. O Estado de São Paulo. 14 February 1971.</p> <p>Butler, Ross. Handwritten note on the back of a ticket stub. “Quando as máquinas param, Plínio Marcos, Rio de Janeiro, 16 de março de 1971”.</p> <p>Playbill, <i>O rei da vela</i>. Teatro João Caetano. PROTEATRO Publicidade e Teatro Ltda. Date unknown.</p> <p>Magazine cutout. Article entitled “Something is Rotten in Rock” by Ellen Sander. Magazine unknown. October 1970.</p> <p>Campus map of the University of Utah.</p>
2	33	<p>File – Untitled. Compiled by Ross “Rusty” Butler.</p> <p>Receipt. University of Victoria Printing & Duplicating Services Requisition. 30 June 1974. Request: 125 originals on Xerox machine, 2 copies of each.</p> <p>3 copies of the plays <i>Papa Highirte</i> and <i>Longa Noite de Cristal</i>, both by Oduvaldo Vianna Filho. Loose pages.</p>

Series 4: Manuscripts

Box	Folder	Contents
2	34	Pallottini, Renata. <i>Enquanto se vai morrer</i> . Escola de Arte Dramática de São Paulo, Escola de Comunicações e Artes da USP, 1973. Pages 1-69.
2	35	Viotti, Sérgio. <i>Um grito de liberdade</i> or <i>Liberdade por amor (a história de D. Pedro I)</i> . Two Acts. Teatro Popular do SESI, São Paulo, 1972. Pages 1-69.
2	36	Boal, Augusto. <i>O cavalo e o santo</i> . Five part drama. Escola de Comunicações e Artes da Universidade de São Paulo. Pages 1-23.
2	37	Boal, Augusto. <i>Filha Moça</i> . Escola de Comunicações e Artes da Universidade de São Paulo, 1973. Pages 1-13.
2	38	Marinho, Luiz. <i>A Derradeira Ceia</i> . Three part drama. Grupo Teatral do Parque Carlos Chagas, 1970. Pages 1-35.

2	39	Melo, Fernando. <i>O trágico fim de Maria Goiabada</i> . Two acts. Rio de Janeiro, 1971. Pages 1-45.
2	40	Boal, Augusto. <i>Laio se matou</i> . Escola de Comunicações e Artes da Universidade de São Paulo. Two-part drama. Pages 1-24.
2	41	Melo, Fernando. <i>Se eu não me chamasse Raimundo</i> . One act. Rio de Janeiro, 1970. Pages 1-30.
2	42	Filho, Oduvaldo Vianna and Armando Costa. <i>Allegro Desbundaccio (se o Martins Penna fosse vivo)</i> . Two-part drama. 1973. Pages 1-86.

Series 5: Rusty's Publications

2	43	Butler, Ross Erin, Ph.D. Abstract, "Artistic Exploitation of Unifying Themes in the Contemporary Brazilian Protest Theater". The University of Arizona, 1972. Reprinted from Dissertation Abstracts International. Volume XXXII, Number 10, 1972.
2	44	Butler, Ross E., University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. "Social Themes in Selected Contemporary Brazilian Dramas". Offprint of "Romance Notes", Volume XV, Number 1. 1974.
2	45	Valverde, J.A. Program: "Eighth Congress of the Canadian Association of Hispanists". June 1972. University McGill, Montreal, Quebec. Features Ross Butler as one of the scheduled speakers for Saturday, June 3, 1972, to speak on the Contemporary Brazilian Protest Theater. The program also includes a brief summary of his remarks (found on page 7).
2	46	"Inventory of Research in Progress in the Humanities". Humanities Research Council of Canada. 151 Slater. Ottawa – K1P 5H3, 1972. Features Ross E. Butler under the category of "Modern Languages and Literature, Spanish" for his works: "Modern Brazilian theatre", "Modern Latin-American Theatre", and "Golden age, theatre". Page 113.

APPENDIX B: Rusty Butler Interview Transcription, 12 September 2019

Nielson: *Calla created the finding aid, and I thought she did a marvelous job with that, very thorough.*

Butler: Wow, that's all I can say is wow.

Knapp: *Well, you had lots of great things for me to look at, so thank you.*

Nielson: *So now the next step is we're going to take the finding aid and go through it and compare what is readily available with what is rare and unusual among the materials that you gave us, and from there we'll be able to share those findings with other people who are interested in this topic, So thank you so much for sharing your materials and giving it to people because I think...*

Butler: Well, it will be interesting to see after all these years if there's anything else out there similar to that. I'm sure there must be in some instances. Other instances, I'd be shocked if there were because many of those authors would surreptitiously hand me things.

Nielson: *Exactly.*

Butler: And essentially say this is kind of one of a kind ...

Knapp: *Wow.*

Butler: You know, you're the only public person to receive this because of the censorship.

Nielson: *Exactly. Well, Calla and I thought that it would be nice to include with the archive an interview with you, in which we learned about how you came to acquire all those materials and how it came into existence. Calla has written down some questions and so if you don't mind, we'll start with some of those questions.*

Butler: Okay, please.

Knapp: *Well, I was just curious, first, how you learned Portuguese and why you chose to study it.*

Butler: Well, I served a Spanish-speaking mission³⁸, and languages always, from that time, intrigued me. The use of language and everything about language, and Portuguese was the next thing that I was interested to pick up because I was in Latin America of course.

Nielson: *Where had you served your mission?*

³⁸ Young men, young women, and retired couples of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints may volunteer to go on full-time service missions of varying lengths of time (typically 18 to 24 months) around the world.

Butler: I served a mission in what was called the West Spanish American mission, headquartered in Los Angeles, but most of my mission was in Mexico, and then when I, when I came back, I was so intrigued ... I was actually in landscape architecture prior to my mission and so that, that intrigued me. I pursued landscape architecture, but the language and linguistics and all of that sort of took over, so I started augmenting the Spanish with Portuguese, and then I started going to Brazil on a fairly regular basis. I was teaching at the University of Victoria in British Columbia at the time, and while teaching there I won a Canada Council Fellowship Grant that gave me the financial means to travel back and forth to Brazil and do research down there, and by then I'd become fairly proficient in the Portuguese language. And as I was doing research under the Canada Council grant, there were things that stood out to me, this was in the 60s, and that was during a hotbed time in Brazil as well as in the U.S. and other places.

Nielson: *So, you did – and you did your Ph.D. at the university of Arizona?*

Butler: At the University of Arizona.

Nielson: *The University of Arizona.*

Butler: Yeah, the bachelor's and master's at the University of Oregon, and Ph.D. at the University of Arizona.

Nielson: *And you went to Brazil while you were still at the University of Arizona? Is that when you went there the first time?*

Butler: Well, I went to Brazil while I was also in Victoria, at the University of Victoria, but doing Ph.D. studies gave greater credibility as far as the Canada Council was concerned. And so, while, while pursuing the Ph.D. and while pursuing the interest in, in going to Brazil the first time... And I can't even remember when that was, it was so many years ago, it was in the mid 60s, really stimulated considerable interest because of the culture, the...and I love the music, I just love it. And so, but the culture and the people, the literature, the...everything about it was just...I found it more stimulating and of greater interest to me than anything I'd seen in Latin America, and I had traveled to quite a few countries in Spanish-speaking Latin America. Although there were countries I was very fond of – Spanish-speaking countries – but Brazil kind of captured my heart, and I went there with my mother...actually we did kind of a detour, we went to Brazil, but we went to Brazil through Ecuador and Peru, which was interesting to go through those countries archeologically and Book of Mormon-related³⁹ things, and she was – my mother – was an archeologist and when we landed in Brazil, and that was the first time ever ...I knew that I was in a place that my heart was saying this is fantastic.

Knapp: *This is the place!*

Butler: Yeah, and so, I sent my mother home without me, and I was under a situation at the time, where because of tax reasons, personal income tax reasons, I had to remain outside of the U.S. for ... I couldn't spend more than "x" number of days in the U.S. And at that time, I was on a

³⁹ Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints believe in The Book of Mormon, a sacred text of scripture which takes place on the ancient American continents.

leave because of the academic year up in Canada was a much shorter academic year. But because it was so short, I had to spend time outside of the United States where my family was, and rather than go back and then go back to Canada, I decided to stay down there, and while I was down there, the president of the São Paulo Mission said to me, "How long are you going to be here?" I said, "I don't know, it could be quite a while, you know, I'm not sure."

And he said, "Well, I'm going to issue you a call as a missionary, I'm going to call you as a missionary." Which he did, and so I served in a companionship⁴⁰ in São Paulo and then Curitiba, this was, there was only one mission, you know, in the southern part. And that was a great experience, you know. Laboring with ... he basically had me training missionaries because I was older and more mature ...

Nielson: *And which president was that? Was that President Bangerter, or President Beck?*

Butler: It wasn't Bangerter ... Was it Johnson? President Johnson, I think, in fact, if I remember correctly. I mean, we're going back over 50 years ... and so, leadership, there was a lot of leadership training. And that was a remarkable experience that just cemented Brazil more in the heart, you know. And so anyway, I eventually came home and just concentrated more and more on Brazil. But some of the things I discovered as I was going back and forth was the upheaval and particularly the upheaval in social-related things, and I discovered quickly that, that one of the most effective tools that some of these protest sorts of people were using was literature, but particularly didactic literature that you would see in theater, and I went to a few of those and... I mean, they were... pretty, no holds barred. You know, I thought, "Boy, how does the Brazilian government let some of this go on?" I found out, you know, that the Brazilian government didn't let it go on if they could, if they knew about it and would answer or whatever. And it got to the point where I thought, "Gee, this is worth some time." And, so then I became more involved in that. And, the Canada Council liked my proposals for research into that. And that dovetailed into doctoral dissertation work, and I had a doctoral dissertation adviser at the University of Arizona, Dr. Leo Barrow, was his name, who was kind of a hedonistic sort of guy, you know, he was something else, but a very good dissertation director. And he was very intrigued with what was going on down there at the time. I'd come back and we would talk about it. And so, he really encouraged me and supported me and helped me get more money out of the University of Arizona and, and whatnot. And, so, that's how that's how I got into it.

Nielson: *How did you first meet these playwrights and actors?*

Butler: Well, when I started going to the theater, you know, I would kind of hang around and most generally, these were, these theater performances were ... well, if you could say off-Broadway, these were really off-off-off Broadway. I mean, these were things that were not in favor of the government and the government was not in favor of them. And so many of them were kind of surreptitiously done. And word of mouth, you know, would get out. And if you know anything about Oduvaldo Vianna Filho or Plínio Marcos and those guys, you know that they're, they were, they were not very well-liked by the powers that be, whether it's the powers that be in government or the powers that be in the real world of theater. You know, since this was a very niche type of thing, the protest movement that they would ... And so, I would just

⁴⁰ Missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are assigned to work in pairs or sometimes in groups of three, called companionships.

hang out with them after a play and inevitably, the playwright would be there. And we would just start chatting and I'd tell them what I was doing, and they became very interested in that because they could see a conduit for getting a message to the outside. And so, I had no trouble. Word got around. And during my longest stay down there and I... and I was down there for I don't know how long, but it was, it was a fairly long stay. ... I would go to Sunday services in Rio and one of the members of the branch⁴¹ was a CIA operative at the embassy.

Nielson: *Did you know he was a CIA operative?*

Butler: Well, I didn't know at first, but we became friends and he finally, you know, tipped his hand. And he provided me with intelligence on some things that were happening.

Nielson: *Do you remember his name by chance?*

Butler: I don't, no. But he was a great guy. Just a wonderful member of the Church. The CIA operatives are either the military attachés or the political attachés, you know, I mean, they vary from embassy to embassy. I think he was a political attaché; I don't think it was military attaché. But I told him what I was doing, and he said, well you've got to ... He warned me, he said, "You've got to be very, very careful, you know, tread very lightly because ... This is, these people are very much out of favor with the government. And the government would love to shut them down by very nefarious means, but they wouldn't ... All that would do would be to ignite, you know, a big stick of dynamite." So, he suggested that I kind of, without saying it in so many words, kind of go underground, you know? Which I did, and that was one of the few times in my life I grew long hair and a beard. You know, mutton chops and the whole nine yards. I looked like ...

Nielson: *Wait, did he suggest that to help gather intelligence?*

Butler: Well, no, no, he wasn't interested. He personally was not interested.

Nielson: *So, he suggested that to help you keep a low profile.*

Butler: To help me, yes. To help me. And so I did. And, and that helped to further ingratiate me into that general community. And it was a very tight-knit community you know... I'll tell you one story. This was in Rio. We weren't at Corcovado; we weren't at Ipanema. Where were we? Uh, it was an apartment complex. if I had a map of Rio, I'd be able to tell you, but anyway, it was, it was, we were in this apartment complex, and it was an evening event. And it was a number of these playwrights, but it was also a number of the activists. And they were plotting and planning ways that they could undermine the government. And in actual fact, they... I, I was not part of this little circle of sitting over here, but I was overhearing some things. They were plotting and planning to blow up an American bank, you know. And I just, I was getting snippets of this conversation. And after the conversation was over, after the little planning meeting, they kind of, you know, the booze and the drugs started coming out and in greater abundance and whatnot. And, of course, you know, I just I always had excuses for not participating in the booze and drugs and, and then the, and then the pairing off, you know. And they brought over this very

⁴¹ A small congregation organized by geography in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

attractive, I mean, this drop dead attractive Brazilian young lady to me and introduced me and said, “you know, there's a spare room, you know.” I thought “oh my good heavens,” you know, “I know my wife does not want this to happen.” So, at that point, I feigned something and left. And it was about a week later that a bomb went off in front of the Bank of America in São Paulo, shattered all the glass front and whatnot. And I thought “oh my good heavens. I overheard the planning of that!” So, I think the next Sunday, I talked to this friend of mine from the embassy, and I told him, and he said “Oh brother. You're in it pretty deep.” Because he was just pretty well certain that there were undercover people, you know, taking names and photographs and you know... and these, and he said, “I don't know what to tell you now. So anyway, I stayed down between São Paulo and Rio, because those were the two happening places, you know. The place I remember after one play, and I don't even remember what it was, it was either, I think it was Plínio Marcos, we, we chatted and chatted and finally we sat and, this was unusual because we sat down on the curb in front of the theater until about 2:00 or 3:00 a.m. just talking. And I wasn't taking notes because I, I didn't want to appear like I was, you know, so I'd rush home and I would write everything I could remember, which sometimes it was hard to do. But that was, for some reason that sticks in my mind of sitting on that curb with Plínio Marcos just chatting about the play that night, the theater in general, what was happening, what was happening in Brazil, what was happening worldwide, you know, with this revolutionary upheaval that was going on at the time. So, and because of that, he and I on subsequent visits, you know, we were friendly, and he was able to slip me things, you know, pieces here and there. And then, finally, I was advised that I probably should leave Brazil.

Nielson: *Who advised you to do, to leave?*

Butler: This friend.

Nielson: *Oh, the friend from church.*

Butler: And so, I made the arrangements. And I went to the airport to go through customs, and they took my passport. And uh...

Nielson: *Meaning they had your name on a list?*

Butler: They took my passport, and I can't remember how long it took me to get out of there, but I went to my friend, and I said, “I need some help here.” I don't know, I have no idea what he did, but apparently, he knew people who knew people or whatever. But I was finally allowed to go. And I decided that at that time that was my last visit in that cycle to Brazil because I was afraid to go back because I was on a government list. And so, I didn't go back to Brazil until ... oh, it was in the late 90s... For UVU, and we were doing kind of a student recruitment sort of thing, acquainting students with ... And my, my parents have given a sizable sum of money to, under my control, to be used for scholarships. So, we went all over, we went from Porto Alegre on the south to Manaus in the north and everywhere in between. And, I gave, I mean, we would speak to them, I would do most of the talking, and then I was asked to give firesides as well, which I did. I remember one fireside⁴² in São Paulo, my gosh, I have no idea how many youth

⁴² An organized devotional of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, separate from regular worship services.

showed up at that, but the chapel was packed, and everything was packed, the hallways and everything else, I don't know how many were there, must have been several hundred. But anyway, that was a nice fireside, but that was the first time I went back, and I was relieved that there was no ...

Knapp: *So, were you able to see any of those playwrights that you had met previously again?*

Butler: No, I didn't even attempt to, didn't even attempt to ... and I wouldn't have even known where to start to tell the truth because a lot of time had gone under the bridge and I didn't even know who was alive, who was dead, you know?

And then I, and then I went back again. My last trip to Brazil was with Governor Herbert on a trade mission, and we were exclusively in São Paulo and in Rio. And I spent a lot of time with the Neelemans, I went with David, or with Rose and Gary Neeleman, they were part of the trip. And we met with David Neeleman at JetBlue down there in São Paulo at their headquarters, at JetBlue headquarters. Well, actually, there was a trip in between, but that trip was pretty much with government, government, and trade-related things with Gary Herbert, and I remember that November 9 is my birthday, and we were there on November the 9, and I've got a picture with Gary Herbert standing with our arms around each other, with Christ the Redeemer statue in the background, so that was interesting. But there was one other trip in between those two, and that was... But this time, I was very, very heavily involved with Russia. As you can tell... I became very heavily involved with Russia. I was the Honorary Consul General for Russia in Utah for 15 years and made 50, 60 trips to Russia and spent a lot of time there. Some of it, a considerable amount of it was involved with church-related things. I was there in 2003 with President and Sister Nelson⁴³, Dantzel Nelson. My wife and I traveled with them in Russia and then went with them to Central Asia. President Nelson dedicated⁴⁴ Kazakhstan, and we participated in that. And we did some other things with President Nelson as well. But...

Nielson: *Remind me, you were at the University of Victoria in British Columbia?*

Butler: Right.

Nielson: *And then you left your teaching position to go...*

Butler: Go into business.

Nielson: *To go into business back in Oregon, correct?*

Butler: Well, back in British Columbia, first.

Nielson: *Oh, back in British Columbia, first.*

⁴³ Russell M. Nelson. Current prophet and President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since 2018. At the time of Rusty's trip, Nelson was not yet President of the Church, but was acting in his role as an Apostle (a special witness and representative of Christ).

⁴⁴ It is customary for a special prayer to be offered over a country and its people before The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints begins to build a presence in that nation.

Butler: Yeah, we formed a company in British Columbia. Real estate, sales, construction, mortgages, appraisals, that sort of thing.

Nielson: *And why? Why did you leave academia at that time?*

Butler: I had become sort of a pariah. In the 60s, I had become sort of a pariah because that was the time of all of the upheaval in the United States here. And I was recruited by the U.S. Immigration Service to be an officer for pre-clearing passengers coming into the United States from Canada, which led to some very interesting experiences, gospel-related experiences. But there were members of my department at the university who were very, very anti-American, and it, it caused them great heartburn that I was an American teaching there anyway, because as far as they were concerned, Americans didn't know anything about the Hispanic world. And degrees from American universities were just, you know, that didn't come from Cambridge or Oxford or Leeds or McGill in Canada, then it didn't amount to anything. And so I gave them quite a bit of heartburn as it was, but when I started working summer work with the United States Immigration Service, that was more than they could stand. And they started harassing me, and I mean ... it was just ... I mean, it was, there was nothing concrete, it was just pure harassment, you know, that they, that they didn't want me there. And I got the message loud and clear. And so, I thought, well, you know, I had a growing family. We had, we have seven children. And by the time ... in fact, the last one was born in British Columbia. And so, the salaries there were just not, you know, conducive to a really large family. And so, I decided to go into business with these friends and we were quite successful and did quite well financially, and I was called into various ecclesiastical callings and assignments that made it very pleasant, you know, for us as a family. My wife was the Relief Society⁴⁵ president in the ward⁴⁶ up there. And so it was, it was a very pleasant experience, and I didn't have to put up with the pressure of the University anymore. My department head was a man by the name of Dr. Pablo Cabañas from Spain. And as far as he was concerned, degrees from other than Spain or Great Britain were worthless. You know, and there was nothing that I could do to placate the man. He was a difficult man to work with as well, not just me, but he was a difficult man for everyone to work with, but particularly with me. So, I left, and then eventually, I eventually moved to Oregon to continue in business. That eventually led to working with the government. With the United States Senate and then with the White House. And one thing led to another, and the Lord knew exactly what he wanted me to do. He's got this chess set I'm sure, you know, and moves us around. So, and He knew exactly where He wanted me and what He wanted me to do. And that eventually brought me to Utah, put me at Utah Valley University and put me hosting very senior diplomats and government officials from all around the world, but primarily from former Soviet and East Bloc nations. And that's where I spent my time. And that was where I worked with many, many General Authorities⁴⁷.

Nielson: *Because it was while you were working for the Reagan Administration that you had established contacts with the Soviet Union.*

Butler: Right.

⁴⁵ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' organization for women worldwide.

⁴⁶ A congregation of members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints organized by geography. Larger than a branch.

⁴⁷ Global leadership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Nielson: *And that led to ...*

Butler: And that eventually led to what happened here. And it was great because I was meeting constantly with the First Presidency⁴⁸, President Hinckley⁴⁹, President Monson⁵⁰ and then with President Nelson while he was an Apostle and then president of the Twelve⁵¹, I worked with him and with members of the Twelve and the Seventy⁵². Not just here, you know, bringing ambassadors and heads of state leaders to meet with them, but, to take through the humanitarian center⁵³, Welfare Square⁵⁴, to meet with the General Relief Society Presidency⁵⁵, General Primary⁵⁶, General Young Women's⁵⁷, General Young Men's⁵⁸ Presidencies. So they could see the fruits of the gospel. And, frankly, what I did for the 25 years I was at UVU was exceptionally rewarding. To me and to my family. I had some of my children and their spouses accompanying me and my wife to meet with the First Presidency with ... particularly if they had served a mission ... like the First Lady of Honduras. We had a son who ...

Nielson: *Who served there.*

Butler: And the Ambassador of Guatemala. I had a son who served there, and so when we'd go and meet with the First Presidency, I'd take them with me. And that helped strengthen their testimonies because they would meet one-on-one with the First Presidency, feel the great spirit that they have. So, but anyway, the Lord took me and for around 15 years, I served as Honorary Consul General of Russia. I obviously spent far more time in Russia than I've spent anywhere else.

Nielson: *Could I ask another question going back to the moment when you were leaving Brazil. I assume you informed your friends who were playwrights, actors, that you were leaving and did they, was it at that point that they started handing you either manuscripts or say, "Here, take this with you or"?*

⁴⁸ The highest governing body of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, composed of the President of the Church and two apostles who are called to be the prophet's counselors.

⁴⁹ Gordon B. Hinckley. President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1995-2008.

⁵⁰ Thomas S. Monson. President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 2008-2018.

⁵¹ The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles is the second-highest leadership body of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the First Presidency being the highest).

⁵² General Authority Seventies—sometimes known simply as Seventies—are Church leaders who assist the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Like the Quorum of the Twelve, they travel widely to teach the gospel of Jesus Christ.

⁵³ Center for the humanitarian arm of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Located in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.

⁵⁴ Welfare Square is a landmark location in Salt Lake City, Utah for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in its efforts to care for those in need. The square hosts various employment services, food production and storage facilities, distribution centers, and training facilities.

⁵⁵ The Relief Society General Presidency leads the Relief Society, which has millions of members worldwide.

⁵⁶ The Primary General Presidency leads the worldwide Primary, the Church's organization for children ages 18 months to 11 years.

⁵⁷ The Young Women General Presidency leads and directs the Young Women organization for the whole church, which supports young women ages 12 to 18.

⁵⁸ The Young Men General Presidency leads and directs the Young Men organization for the whole church, which supports young men ages 12 to 18.

Butler: As much as they could because it was so hectic ... my leaving. I mean, it wasn't like one of these pre-planned events, you know. I mean, it was in fairly rapid order, that the events happened, that I had to leave. And but some of them just said, "Yeah, get this out of the country, because it will never be seen here," sort of thing.

Nielson: *And when you came back to the U.S., did you maintain any correspondence, or to Canada, did you maintain any correspondence with any of them?*

Butler: No, None.

Nielson: *Yeah.*

Butler: I was afraid to. I don't know, that's the fear of knowing that you're on the government's hit list, so to speak. It just took its toll on me, and I didn't want anything to do with Brazil, with Brazilians in Brazil, any correspondence, any letters, you know. Of course, this was before the days of email.

Nielson: *So that fear ... Were you aware of people being surreptitiously kidnapped or tortured by the government in Brazil?*

Butler: Not directly, but indirectly I would hear anecdotal things, you know. And I had every reason to believe them. So, I, you know, I felt like the longer I was there, the more I felt like I was walking on eggs. And the interesting thing was that these playwrights, they were revolutionaries in their own regard. But they were human beings. They were, you know, I call them children of God. They were like you and me. They weren't some crazy, off-the-chart people taking meth or something. And that was what, that was one of the things that disturbed me, that it wasn't, they weren't advocating some, some horrible things. They were advocating change that they believed was good, and I, you know, knowing what was going on with the government and whatnot, I thought that they were in the right. You know, whether I was right or wrong, I'm not sure about that. I'm not sure that the history has really come to a conclusion on all of that. But I felt that they were doing some of the right things because as you know that was a period of great oppression.

Nielson: *The year you left, do you remember what year that was?*

Butler: Um. '70, '71 maybe.

Nielson: *And you had been in the country for how long on that last trip, roughly?*

Butler: I don't know. A few months. I can't even remember.

Nielson: *But it was one of several trips where you had and had contacts with them and...*

Butler: Yeah, it was one of several trips, and the trips would get progressively a little bit longer, you know, as I would go. And most of the first trips were kind of laying groundwork for getting to know the situation, the people, the things that were happening so that I could kind of figure

out what I wanted to do, where I wanted to go with this. And like I say, like I told you, I kept all of that material with the intention of doing something major with it as a follow up. And maybe making the efforts to contact some of those people. But you know, circumstances, your life takes you other directions, and it just never happened. And finally, I thought something's gotta be done with this, it has gotta be good for someone to do something with, you know. So I, I contacted Van Gessel⁵⁹, who is in my stake⁶⁰, and he and Elizabeth Van Gessel and my wife and I worked together in a stake calling for a while before he was called to preside over the mission in Portland. And I told him, and he said, "Well, you need to contact the people at, you know, at Spanish and Portuguese and get those materials to them." And that's what happened. So...

Knapp: *Now that you've entrusted those materials to us... I guess what would, what's your hope and expectation, what would you like to see happen from all of this?*

Butler: Well, I would like to see some scholars delve into that material and do some scholarly research and maybe tie some of that together with other things, in other words, produce something of value, so that it doesn't sit there doing nothing, you know. If I thought it was just going to sit there doing nothing I would probably, it would probably still be out in my garage somewhere. But I, that's my hope, that maybe somebody like yourself would, has come up through the ranks and has established yourself in a scholarly and academic way can help encourage and maybe mentor some younger grads to, even undergrads, to delve in, to take a look at different things. I'm sure that there's got to be a paper or two in some scholarly journal that could come of that, if not more.

Nielson: *I have a couple of other questions if you don't mind. One is, I'm curious about attending these performances... what that was like in these... you called them off-off-off Broadway, as far as you know were there other Americans or other foreigners who attended?*

Butler: I never saw another one.

Nielson: *How large of an audience would be present?*

Butler: They were fairly small.

Nielson: *Small.*

Butler: Yeah... mainly because...

Nielson: *And was this mostly in Rio or also in São Paulo?*

Butler: In São Paulo and Rio both.

Nielson: *Both.*

⁵⁹ Van Gessel, a neighbor of Rusty's, was a faculty member in the Department of Asian and Near Eastern Languages at BYU.

⁶⁰ A regional organization of members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints composed of several local congregations, or wards.

Butler: They were fairly small because it was, it was hard to get the word out, you know, I mean it was kind of word-of-mouth sort of thing more than anything. You didn't go out and put up posters ... well sometimes you did, but ... by small, you know, I guess I'm trying to remember the largest performance I might've gone to... might have been a couple hundred people, but from there down to a few dozen.

Nielson: *And you mentioned that you became friends with Plínio Marcos.*

Butler: Yeah.

Nielson: *And then...*

Butler: And Oduvaldo Vianna Filho.

Nielson: *And do you remember the names of any others that you met and were working with?*

Butler: Uh no, those two stand out because there was interaction with them. I know I met some others, but you know I ... going to the performance and after the performance and then hanging out at the theater and then... maybe asking the playwright a question or two, you know, and trying to get in because ... everybody was trying to score points, you know, trying to become friends with them or whatever, with the playwright. And, but yes, I did interact with, with, a number of others, but those two in particular were, I just had more interaction with them and with Plínio I felt that we actually became friends.

Nielson: *Of the performances that you can remember, which one is the most memorable or notable?*

Butler: ... Uhh ... *Balbina de Iansã*. I think that was memorable because I was, you know, at night I would go down on the beaches at Copacabana and I'd see the, you know, the macumba...

Nielson: *The candomblé.*

Butler: The evidence and actually see the people and watch them and whatnot. So that kind of struck me, you know, that whole macumba worship. But um, I just don't remember ... there were, there were a couple of others that were memorable, that I thought, "Wow," you know, I mean that's not just because of necessarily the play or the acting or whatnot, but the audience reaction sometimes. And the audience reaction, the audiences were very much involved. You know, you'd kind of expect that of that group of people from that era. But the audience members loved to contribute to the theater during the performance.

Nielson: *Well Rusty, this has been so fascinating and really insightful for us. Thank you, very very much*

Butler: Like I say, I hope something comes of it, otherwise I would have just kept it in my garage.